THE

# INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

EDITED BY

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, C.I.E.,

LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

VOL. XXVIII. — 1899.

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

*LONDON*: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.

*LONDON*: LUZAC & Co.
*BOMBAY*: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.
*NEW YORK*: WESTERMANN & Co.
*CHICAGO*: S. D. PEET, Esq., PH.D.

*LEIPZIG*: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.
*PARIS*: E. LEROUX.
*BERLIN*: A. ASHER & Co.
*VIENNA*: A. HOLDER & Co.

# CONTENTS.

*The Names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

## MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.



## BOOK-NOTICES.



## ILLUSTRATIONS.

# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XXVIII. — 1899.

### THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BHAGAVATA PURANA.

BY REV. J. E. ABBOTT, B.A.

IN Volume XIV. of this *Journal*, page 319, Dr. Burgess calls attention to the importance of scholars preparing geographical lists from the *Itihâsas, Purâṇas, Kôshas*, and other available sources of information, as a means to the better elucidation of the **Ancient Geography of India.** Following this suggestion Dr. J. F. Fleet prepared a list of geographical names found in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, and published it in this *Journal*, Vol. XXII. page 169.

I now give a list of geographical names found in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa.* The references are to the Bombay Edition.

Âbhîra, a country and people, I. 10, 35; II. 4, 18.

Ajanâbha; = commentary says Bhâratavarsha, XI. 2, 24.

Alakâ, a city on Bhûteshagiri, IV. 6, 23.

Alakanandâ, a river flowing by Alakâ, a name for the Gangâ, IV. 6, 24; XI. 29, 42.

Ambashtha; a country, X. 83, 23.

Ânartta, or Anarta, a country = Dwârakâdeśa, com., I. 10, 35; I. 11, 1; IX. 3, 28; X. 52, 15; X. 53, 6; X. 67, 4; X. 71, 21; X. 82, 13; X. 86, 20.

Ânarttapurî, a city, the capital of Ânartta, = Dwârakâ, I. 14, 25.

Andhas; a river, V. 19, 18.

Andhaka; a people, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25; II. 4, 20; III. 3, 25; X. 1, 69; X. 45, 15; X. 80, 11; X. 80, 16; X. 83, 5; XI. 30, 18.

Andhra, a people, II. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30; IX. 23, 5.

Añga; a country, IX. 23, 5.

Animishakshetra, a *kshetra*, called in com. Vaiśṇavakshetra, I. 1, 4.

Arbuda; a country, XI. 30, 18.

Arha, a country, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25.

Arṇa, a country, X. 86, 20.

Âryâ, a river, X. 79, 20.

Âryâvarta, a country between the Vindhya and the Himâlaya mountains, IX. 6, 5; IX. 16, 22.

Asiknî; a river, V. 19, 18.

Avanti, a city, X. 45, 31; X. 58, 30; XI. 23, 6; XI. 23, 31.

Âvartana; a subdivision of Jambudvîpa, V. 19, 30.

Avatodâ; a river, V. 19, 18.

Ayodhyâ; a city, IX. 8, 19.

Badarî, a sacred place, III. 4, 4; Badarikâśram, VII. 11, 6; containing Nârâyaṇâśrama, IX. 3, 36; XI. 29, 41; Badaryâśrama, III. 4, 21; III. 14, 32; X. 52, 4.

Bâlhika, a people, X. 82, 26.

Barbara, a people, IX. 8, 5.

Barhishmatî, a city in Brahmâvarta, III. 22, 29; III. 22, 32.

Bhadrâśva, a continent, I. 16, 13.

Bhârata, a country, I. 16, 13; Bhâratavarsha, III. 1, 20; X. 87, 6.

Bhîmarathî, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 79, 12.

Bhogavatî, a mythical city, I. 11, 31.

Bhoja, a country and people, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25; III. 1, 29; III. 2, 25; Bhojarâja, III. 2, 30; X. 85, 33; III. 3, 25; X. 1, 35; X. 1, 69; X. 80, 11; X. 82, 29; XI. 30, 18.

Ikshumatî, a river in Kurukshetra, V. 10, 1.
Ikshurasoda, a mythical sea, V. 1, 33.
Indrakîla, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Indraprastha, a city, X. 58, 1; X. 58, 12; X. 73, 33; X. 77, 6; XI. 30, 48; XI. 31, 25.

Jambûdvîpa, I. 12, 5; V. 2, 1; V. 19, 29; V. 20, 2; Jambu, V. 1, 32.

Kaikaya, a people, X. 71, 29; X. 74, 41; II. 7, 35; X. 82, 13.
Kakubha, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Kâlañjara, a mountain, V. 8, 30.
Kalâpagrâma, a city, IX. 12, 6; IX. 22, 17; X. 87, 7.
Kâlindî, a river = Yamunâ, III. 4, 36; IV. 8, 43; VI. 16, 16; VIII. 4, 23; IX. 4, 30; IX. 4, 37; X. 58, 22.
Kaliñga, a country and its people, IX. 23, 5; Kâliñga, X. 61, 29, 37.
Kâmagiri, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Kâmakoshṇî, a city, X. 79, 14.
Kâmboja, a country, II. 7, 35; X. 75, 12; X. 82, 13.
Kâñchî, a city, X. 79, 14.
Kañka, a people, II. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30; X. 86, 20.
Kânyakubja, a country, VI. 1, 21.
Karṇâtaka, a country, V. 6, 7.
Karûsha, a country, X. 66, 1; IX. 2, 16; Kârûsha, X. 78, 4.
Kâśî, a city, IX. 22, 23; X. 57, 32; X. 66, 10; X. 66, 26; X. 82, 25; X. 84, 55; XII. 13, 17.
Kauśambî, a city, IX. 22, 40.
Kauśikî, a river, I. 18, 36; V. 19, 18; IX. 15, 12; X. 79, 9.
Kâverî, a river, V. 19, 18; VII. 13, 12; X. 79, 14; XI. 5, 40.
Kekaya, a tribe, X. 2, 3; X. 75, 12; X. 84, 55; X. 86, 20.
Kerala, a country, X. 79, 19; X. 82, 13.
Ketumâla, a *dvîpa*, I. 16, 10.
Khândava, a forest, X. 58, 25; X. 71, 45; Khândavaprastha, X. 73, 32.
Khasa, a people, a low tribe, II. 4, 18; Kaśa, IX. 20, 30.
Kimpurusha, a *dvîpa*, I. 16, 13.
Kirâta, a people, II. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30.
Kollaka, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Koñka, a country, V. 6, 7; V. 6, 9.
Kośala, a country, IX. 10, 29; IX. 11, 22; X. 2, 3; X. 58, 32, 34, 35; X. 58, 52; X. 75, 12; Uttara Koshala, V. 19, 8; IX. 10, 42; Kausalya, X. 82, 13; X. 84, 55; Kosala, X. 86, 20; XII. 12, 24.
Krauñcha, a *dvîpa*, V. 1, 32.
Kṛishṇâ, a river, V. 19, 18.
Kṛitamâlâ, a river, V. 19, 18; VIII. 24, 12; X. 79, 16; XI. 5, 39.
Kshârodadhi, V. 20, 2.
Kshiroda, one of the seven seas, V. 1, 33; VIII. 4, 18.
Kuṇḍina, a city, X. 53, 7; X. 53, 15; X. 53, 21; X. 54, 20; X. 54, 52.
Kukura, a country and people, I. 11, 11; X. 45, 15; XI. 30, 18.
Kulâchala, a mountain. Com. says Meru, III. 23, 39; in the country of the Pândyas. Com. says Malaya, VIII. 4, 8.
Kunti, a country, X. 82, 13; X. 86, 20; XI. 30, 18.
Kuru, a people and country, I. 11, 9; II. 7, 35; X. 2, 3; X. 57, 1; X. 71, 29; X. 72, 5; X. 75, 12; X. 82, 13; X. 83, 5; X. 84, 55; X. 86, 20.
Kurujângala, a country, I. 10, 34; I. 16, 11; III. 1, 24; X. 86, 20.
Kurukshetra, a district, I. 10, 34; III. 3, 12; VII. 14, 30; IX. 14, 33.
Kuśa, a *dvîpa*, V. 1, 32.
Kuśasthalî, a city = Dvârakâ, I. 10, 27; VII. 14, 31; IX. 3, 28; X. 61, 40; X. 75, 29; X. 83, 36; XII. 12, 36.
Kuśâvartta, a *tîrtha*, III. 20, 4.
Kutaka, a country, V. 6, 7; V. 6, 9.
Kûṭaka, a mountain, V. 6, 7; V. 19, 16.

Lankâ = Ceylon, V. 19, 30; IX. 10, 16.
Lavanodadhi, a mythical sea, V. 20, 2.

Madhu, a city = Mathurâ, I. 10, 26; I. 11, 9; I. 14, 25; I. 16, 36; VII. 14, 31; X. 1, 10; X. 45, 15; X. 47, 21; X. 86, 20; XI. 30, 18.
Madhuvana, a forest on the bank of the Yamunâ, IV. 8, 42; IV. 8, 62; IX. 4, 30; IX. 11, 14; Madharvana, IV. 9, 1.
Madra, a city, X. 82, 13; X. 82, 26.
Magadha, a country, IX. 22, 45; X. 2, 2, X. 52, 14; X. 52, 19; X. 73, 33; X. 83, 23.
Mahânadî, a river, V. 19, 18.
Mahendra, a mountain, V. 19, 16; VII. 14, 32; IX. 16, 26; X. 79, 12.
Mâhishmatî, a city, IX. 15, 22; a city of the Haihaya, IX. 15, 26; IX. 16, 17; X. 79, 21.

---

# ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXVII. p. 317.*)

## IRREGULARITIES IN THE DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVES.

### 212. 1st Declension (Masculine, a base).

(1) **Dissyllables** ending in ـَـر *ar* and ـَـن *an*, **lose the vowel of the final syllable** in declension. *E. g.*, شهر *shahar*, a town, شهرس *shahras*; پهر *pahar*, a watch, a period of three hours, پهرس *pahras*.[80]

(2) **Words [of more than one syllable], whose last syllable contains a** ـُـ *u*, **change it to** ـَـ *a*. *E. g.*, ککر *kokur*, a cock, ککرس *kokaras*; کپر *kapur*, cloth, کپرس *kaparas*; واتل *wâtul*, a sweeper, *wâtalas*.

(3) **Words in final**

(*a*) ا ـَـ *á* insert a euphonic ه *h*, و *w*, or ی *y*, the ا ـَـ *á* being sometimes shortened, and sometimes not; *e. g.*,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| آسا *Âsá*, a proper name | ... ... | آساهس *Âsá-h-as* |
| دانا *dâná*, a sage | ... ... ... | دانهس *dâna-h-as* |
| دنیا *dunyá*, the world | ... ... | دنیهس *dunya-h-as* |
| دریا *daryá*, a river | ... ... ... | دریهس *darya-h-as* |
| موسا *Músá*, Moses | ... ... ... | موساهس *Músá-h-as* |
| خدا *Khudá*, God | ... ... ... | خدایس *Khudá-y-as* or خداون *Khudá-wan* (Luke, i. 58) |

---

[80] I quote, in each case, the dative as an example. Hinton Knowles gives the nominative, *shahr*, and a dative *paharas*.

In the genitive of foreign people's names, the ا ـَا *á* remains unchanged; thus, یُوحنّا *Yôhanná*, یُوحنّا سُند *Yôhanná-sond*, while on the other hand, we have خُدایَہ سُند *Khudáya-sond*. At the same time I find ذَکرِیا یَہَہ سُند *Zakarîyá-yaha-sond*, and أُرِیا یَہَہ سَنز *Uriyá-yaha-sanz*.

(*b*) ہ *h*:—

(*a*) after ـَ *a*, unorganic ہ *h* is elided, but organic ہ *h* remains: thus,

کَلَہ *kala*, head ... ... ... ... ... کَلَس *kala-s*,

but

گُنَہ *gunah* (گُناہ *gunáh*), sin ... ... ... گُنَہَس *gunah-as* (گُناہَس *gunáh-as*, see β)

(β) after ا ـَا *á*, the ہ *h* remains and the ا ـَا *á* may be optionally shortened, *e. g.*, پادشاہ *pádsháh*, king ... پادشاہَس *pádsháh-as*, and پادشَہَس *pád-shahas*.

(*c*) ی *î*; this becomes *iy*; *e. g.*,

نَبی *nabî*, a prophet ... ... ... نَبِیَس *nabiy-as*

So in proper names

یَہُودی *Yahûdî*, a Jew ... ... ... یَہُودِیَس *Yahûdiy-as*

In the genitive, I sometimes find the ی *î* unaltered, principally in foreign names, such as زَبدی سُند *Zabadî-sond*, فَرِیسی سُند *Farîsî-sond*; so also the silent ی *y* (*alif-i-maqṣûra*) in مُوسی سُند *Mûsa(y)-sond*.

(4) **The case terminations are sometimes omitted.** I have noted this only in the ablative of Persian words in ہ *h*; *e. g.*,

خَزانَہ اَندَرَہ *khazána andara*,[81] out of the treasury (Matth. xii. 35; xiii. 52)

**213. 2nd Declension (Masculine, i base).**

[*Note.*—The nominative of all nouns of this declension really end in a very short *u*, thus *kulu*. The *u* is, however, hardly heard in pronunciation, and is not usually written.]

(1) **Final**

(*a*) ـُو *uv* becomes ـِو *iv*; *e. g.*, نیچُو *nechuv*, a child, نیچِوِس *nechivis* (Voc. اَی نیچِوِ *áy nechivi*);

(*b*) ی *î*, becomes ی *y*; *e. g.*, بوی *bôî*, a brother, بایِس *bôy-is*, plural بای *bôy*[i]. The genitive oblique is بائی سَنزِ *bôy*[i]*-sanzi* (Matth. vii. 3).

[81] [This is quite according to rule. See § 197 as corrected.] [82] [Original altered slightly here.]

(2) **Changes of the Medial Radical Vowel take** place in the oblique cases of the singular, and throughout the plural: *viz.*: —

(*a*)[83] Medial ـُ *u* or *o* becomes ـَ or ـٚ *ạ* [in the instrumental singular, and nominative plural (*i. e.*, only before the short *ⁱ*), and ـَ or ـٚ *a* in the other cases of the singular and plural]. Thus:—

پۄہُل *pohul*, a shepherd; instr. sing. پۄہَل *pohạlⁱ*; dat. sing. پۄہَلس *pohalis*;

وٲتھرُن *watharun*, a carpet; instr. sing. وٲتھرَن *watharạnⁱ*; dat. sing.

وٲتھرَنس *watharanis*; [abl. sing. وٲتھرَنہٕ نِشہٕ *watharani nishạ*].

چاوُل *tsâwul*, a goat; instr. sing. چاوَل *tsâwạl*; dat. sing. چاوَلس *tsâwalis*.

پھۄل *phol*, grain; instr. sing. پھَل *phạlⁱ*; acc. sing. پھَلس *phalis*; یِپۄت *yipot*,

a yoke; یِپَت *yipạtⁱ*, یِپَتس *yipatis*; لۄہ *loh*, a fox; لَہ *lạhⁱ*, لَہس *lahis*:

پۄچھ *potsh*, a guest; پَچھ *pạtshⁱ*, پَچھس *patshis*.

[Note that in the case of *u* (not *o*) the change does not take place in the case of monosyllables. Thus from کُل *kul*, a tree, we have کُل *kulⁱ*, and کُلس *kulis*, not کَل *kạlⁱ*, or کَلس *kalis*. In the case of *o* the change is invariable. The word رُت *rut*, good, however, makes رَت *rạt*, in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus رَت *rạtⁱ*, رَتس *rạtis*. The nominative singular, itself, is often written رٕت *rạt*, which gives the pronunciation better. In Nâgarî, it is spelled without any medial vowel at all, thus, रु *rtᵘ*.]

(*b*) و ـُ *ô*, becomes آ *ô*; *e. g.*, بۆی *bôî*, a brother, بآیس *bôyis*; مۆل *môl*, a father, مآلس *môlis*; دِنوۆل *dinawôl* (noun of the agent, of دِیُن *diun*, to give), دِنوآلس *dinawôlis*; کۆج *kôj*, luncheon, کآجس *kôjis*.[84]

These changes take place[85] only in the accusative and instrumental singular, and in the nominative plural [*i.e.*, only before the short *ⁱ*, and before *is*]. In the other cases of the singular and of the plural, the آ *ô* is further changed to ا ـَ *â*. We thus get the paradigm of مۆل *môl*, a father.

[83] [The original has here been added to by the translator.]

[84] So also all nouns in وۆل *wôl*; *e. g.*, دَہ اشرفہٕ وآلس *dah-ashrafiwôlis*, to one who owns ten pieces of money; قُدرت وآلس *qudrat-wôlis*, to the Mighty one. Np. (Matth. i. 19) has رَنِ *ranⁱ* (instr. of رۆن *rôn*, a husband, instead of رآن *rônⁱ*.

[85] [I here alter the arrangement of the original slightly.]

| | Singular. | | Plural. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | مٔول *môl* | ... ... ... ... ... | مآل *môli* |
| Voc. | مالیا *mâlyâ* or مالہٕ *mâli*[86] | ... ... | مالیَو *mâlyau* |
| Acc. | مٔول *môl* | ... ... .. ... ... | مآل *môli* |
| Instr. | مآل *môli* | ... ... ... ... ... | مالیَو *mâlyau* |
| Dat. | مآلس *môlis* | ... ... ... ... ... | مالن *mâlen* |
| Gen. | مآلِ سُند *môli sond* | ... ... ... | مالن ہُند *mâlen-hond* |

[The explanation of the declension of these nouns[87] in *ôl* (or more correctly *ôlu*) is that the base of the noun really ends in *âl*. Thus, the base of *môlu*, a father, is *mâl*, which we find in Shînâ as *mâlo*, and in the Kôhistânî of the Indus as *mhâla*. In Kâshmîrî, *â* is one of the most unstable vowels. Before a *u*, whether pronounced or not, it becomes a broad *ô*, and before an *i* which is not final, or before a final *i* which is not fully pronounced, it becomes *ô̂*. Thus when *u* is added to form the Nominative singular, *mâl* becomes *môlu*. When *is* is added to form the Dative, it becomes *mô̂lis*. When *i* is added to form the Instrumental singular or the Nominative Plural, it becomes *mô̂li*. But when a *final* fully pronounced *i* follows, it is not changed, as in *mâli sût*, with the father, in which the final *i* of the Instrumental is fully pronounced before a postposition, as is the usual case. Similarly no change occurs in the oblique cases of the plural, for the termination which follows commences neither with *u* nor with *i*.]

[(*c*) و ـُو *û*, becomes *ô*, but not in the singular, or in the nominative plural. We thus get the following forms of هٔون *hûn*, a dog:—

| | Singular. | | Plural. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | هٔون *hûn* | ... ... ... ... ... | هٔون *hûni* |
| Instr. | هٔون *hûni* | ... ... ... ... | هونیَو *hônyau* |
| Dat. | هٔونس *hûnis* | ... ... ... ... | هونن *hônen* |

Here the case is very similar. The real base vowel is *ô* not *û*. But *ô* is still more unstable than *â*, and before every *u*, whether pronounced or not; and before every *i*, whether fully pronounced or not, it becomes *û*. Hence we have even *hûni sût*, with a dog, while in the case of the nouns in *ôlu* (*âl-u*), the *â* was unchanged before a fully pronounced *i*.]

(*d*) یُ *yu* [*iu*], becomes ـِ *i*; *e. g.*, مہنیو *mahnyuv*, a man, مہنوِس *mahnivis*; پھیور *phyur*, a drop, پھرس *phiris*; کھیل *khyul*, a flock, کھلس *khilis*; مینٛد *myund*, leprosy, مندس *mindis*. [Here the base is really *mahniv*, etc.]

[86] Np. always مالہٕ *mâli*; *e. g.*, ای مالہٕ ابرٛھامہٕ *ay mâli Abrahâmi*, O Father Abraham; so also بایہٕ *bâyi* from بوی *bôi*, brother.

[87] Similarly is declined, بوی *bôi*, brother, and all nouns in ول ـُول *ôl*, including nouns of the agent in وول *wôl*; *e. g.*, nom. pl. بآی *bôyi*; آول *ôl*, a nest, nom. p l. آل *ôli*; دنوول *dinawôl*, a giver; nom. pl. دنوآل *dinawôli*.

(e) یو *yû*, becomes ي *î*; *e. g.*, نیور *nyûr*, a meadow, نیرس *nîris*; کریور *kryûr*, a well, کریرس *krîris* (Luke, xiv. 5); [تیور *tyûr*, a sheep, تیرس *tîris*; چیون *tsyûn*, a pillar, چینس *tsînis*].

[The word چیون *tsyûn*, a pillar, given above, is irregular.

Its principal parts are :—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | چیون *tsyûn* | چین *tsîni* |
| Instr. | چین *tsîni* | چینیو *tsênyau* |
| Dat. | چینس *tsînis* | چینین *tsênyau* |
| Abl. | چینه *tsêni* | چینیو *tsênyau* |
| Gen. | چینیک *tsênyuk* | چینین هند *tsênyan hond*] |

[Here the base is really *tsên-*, and the changes are parallel to those which we noticed in the case of *mál=*.]

## 214. 3rd Declension (Feminine, i base).

(1) **Disappearance of terminations.** — [All the instances here given by the author belong to the fourth declension, and are there described by the translator. The one exception is the word اچھ *achh*, which belongs to the third declension, and is quite regular. Thus, instr. sing. اچھه *achhi*; dat. sing. اچھه *achhi*; nom. pl. اچھه *achhi*; instr. pl. اچھیو *achhyau*; dat. pl. اچھن *achhen*. The author quotes some passages from Np., but some of them are manifest misprints, and the others are incorrect.]

[(2) Changes[88] of the radical vowel take place in the oblique cases of the singular, and throughout the plural: *viz.*: —

(*a*) آ *ô* becomes ا ـَـ *á*; *e. g.*, ماج *môj*, a mother, ماجه *máji*;[89] دآر *dôr*, a beard, دارۂ *dári*; کآم *kôm*, work, کامۂ *kámi*. [See the remarks made above regarding *mál=*.

All nouns of this declension originally ended in *i*, which is not pronounced or written at the present day, except in a few isolated instances. It has, however, left its trace in the nominative Singular.]

---

[88] These changes have been partly mentioned by the author on a subsequent page, where they will be omitted in translation. I have incorporated all the author's remarks. The author states that he is indebted to Dr. Bühler for most of his statements.

[89] In Np. *ô* is sometimes denoted by و ـُـ and sometimes by آ. Thus (Matth. xix. 29), موج (nom.), or elsewhere مآج *môj*. So also the sign آ for *ô* is used throughout with very little system.

The following is an example of the declension of this very common class of nouns:—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | ماج *mŏj*,[90] a mother ... ... ... | ... ماجہ *māji* |
| Voc. | ماجی *māji*[91] ... ... ... ... | ...ماجیو *mājyau* |
| Acc. | ماج *mŏj* ... ... ... ... | ... ماجہ *māji* |
| Instr. | ماجہ *māji* ... ... ... ... | ...ماجیو *mājyau* |
| Dat. | ماجہ *māji* ... ... ... ... | ... ماجن *mājen* |
| Abl. | ماجہ *māji* ... ... ... ... | .. ماجیو *mājyau* |
| Gen. | ماجہ هند *māji-hond* ... ... ... | ماجن هند *mājen-hond* |
| Loc. | ماجہ *māji* ... ... ... ... | ... ماجن *mājen* |

(*b*) *ū* becomes *ō*, in the same cases; *e. g.*, کور *kūr*, a daughter, کورہ *kōri*, کورن *kōren*, etc; لور *lūr*, a stick, *lōri*;[91a] [Compare § 213, 2, *c*].

(*c*) *ī* usually becomes *ē*.[92] Thus سیر *sīr*, a brick; سیرہ *sēri*.

(*d*) ـَ *a̤* becomes ـَ *a* in monosyllables; *e. g.*, گب *ga̤b*, a sheep, گبہ *gabi*; but in words of more than one syllable, the ـَ *a̤* remains; *e. g*, ببر *baba̤r*, the sweet basil, ببرہ *baba̤ri*; ددر *dada̤r*, a cucumber, ددرہ *dada̤ri*.][93]

(3) **Final Consonants are changed in the same cases**; *viz.*:—

(*a*) ٹ *ṭ* becomes چ *ch*; *e. g.*, ژٹ *tsoṭ*, bread; ژچہ *tsochi*; زٹ *za̤ṭ*, a rag, زچہ *zachi*.[94]

(*b*) [ٹھ *ṭh* becomes چھ *chh*. Thus, کاٹھ *kōṭh*, a stalk, کاچھہ *kāchhi*.]. ڈ *ḍ* becomes ج *j*; *e. g.*, اهرنڈ *aharanḍ*,[95] the collar-bone, اهرنجہ *aharanji*.

(4) **Final vowels take euphonic additions**, before the terminations of the cases.

(*a*) Final ا ـَ *ā* takes euphonic ی *y*; *e. g.*, گنگا *gangā*, the Ganges, گنگایہ *gangā-y-i*.

(*b*) Final ی *ī*,[96] becomes یِ *iy*; *e. g.*, بستی *bastī*, village, بستیہ *bastiyi*. In the genitive[97] the ی *ī* remains unaltered; *e. g.*, بستی هند *bastī-hond*; خانسامانی هند حساب دہ *khānasāmānī-hond hisāb di*, give an account of thy stewardship (Luke, xvi. 2)

---

[90] Np. (Matth. xix. 29; Luke, xviii. 29) also موج *mŏj*; *e. g.*, یامول یاموج *yā mŏl yā mŏj*, father or mother; مول موج *mŏl mŏj*, parents. [*Mŏj* is the correct form.]

[91] Np. always ماج *mŏjī*.

[91a] [Exceptions are دور *dūr*, a lane, and مور *mūr*, a twig, in which the *ū* is not changed].

[92] [Exceptions are پیر *pīr*, a table, and a few others, in which the *ī* is not changed.]

[93] [There is a slight difference in pronunciation between these two *a̤*. The *a̤* in *ga̤b* is pronounced something like a short German *ü*. That in *baba̤r* like the *a* in America pronounced very shortly and quickly.]

[94] [See 2 (*d*) above.]

[95] From the list of words in Mp.

[96] Np. has sometimes ـِ *i* instead of ی *ī*; *e. g.*, Luke, xix. 24, اشرف *ashrafi*, a gold coin.

[97] In Np. sometimes also in the dative and locative singular; *e. g.*, بستی اندر *bastī andar*, in a village (Luk xix. 30); مرضی موجب *marzī mūjib*, according to desire (Luke, xxiii. 24, 25).

(5) [After *ts*, چ *ts*, ڇ *tsh*, and ژ *z*, in this declension, every *y* is dropped and every *i* or *a* in the plural becomes *a*. Thus, مَچ *mạts*, a mad woman; nom. pl. مَڇ *matsạ*; instr. pl. مَچو *mạtsau*; dat. pl. مَچن *matsan*.]

**215. 4th Declension (Feminine, i and a base).**

(1) **Arabic words in** ت ـَ *at*, like جماعت *jamā'at*, assembly, multitude, قدرت *qudrat* power, **change,** in the same cases **the final** ت *t* **into** چ *ts*. [The final ـَ *a* of ت *at* is changed to ـَ *ạ*.] In the singular, all case terminations are dropped. Thus:—

Sing.; instr., dat., abl., loc., جماعچ *jamā'ạts*; genitive, جماعچ هند *jamā'ạts hond*;[98] so also قدرچ وول *qudrạts-wôl*, a mighty one.

Plur; instr., جماعچو *jamā'ạtsạv*; dat., loc., abl., جماعچن *jamā'ạtsạn*; gen., جماعچن هند *jamā'ạtsạn hond*. [Note the Terminations *ạv* instead of *au*, and *ạn* instead of *an*.]

(2) **Final** ات *āt* **becomes, in the same cases** (the case terminations being similarly omitted in the singular) آچ *ôts*; *e.g.*, اڈرات *aḍ-rāt*, midnight, اجہ رآچ *aji rôts*, at mid-night; از چہ رآچ *azạ chi rôts*, to-night; یمی رآچ *yemiy rôts*, on this night; چتجن رآچن *tsatajen rôtsạn*, for forty nights; ترن رآچن *tran rôtsạn*, for three nights; رآچ هندہ ژورمہ پہرہ *rôts handi tsôrim*, *pahrạ*, at the fourth watch of the night. So also decline وهرات *wahrāt*, the rainy season.

[The above is as given by the author, but the rule is really much wider. With certain exceptions, all nouns of the fourth declension

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ending in | ت *t* | change it to | چ *ts* |
| | تھ *th* | ,, | ڇ *tsh* |
| | د *d* | ,, | ژ *z* |
| | ن *n* | ,, | ن *ñ* |
| | ہ *h* | ,, | ش *sh* |
| and some in | ل *l* | ,, | ج *j* |

Before this changed letter every ـَ *a* becomes ـَ *ạ*, and every اَ *ā* becomes *ô*. Examples are رات *rāt*, night, رآچ *rôts*; کوتھ *koth*, a bank, کوڇ *kotsh*; گرند *grand*, a counting, گرنژ *granz*; یرن *yīran*, an anvil, یرن *yīrañ*; کاہ *kāh*, the eleventh lunar day, کآش *kôsh*; وال *wāl*, a hole, وآج *wôj*.

The words in ل *l* which follow this rule are وال *wāl*, a hole; سال *sāl*, a wife's sister; زال *zāl*, a net; کل *kal*, consideration; هال *hāl*, a house (generally, but sometimes masculine at the end of a compound, as in چٹهال *tsaṭahāl*, a school-house); and, optionally, کنڈل *kunḍal*, a kind of cup, and کرتل *kartal*, a sword.

[98] Np. (Mark, xiii. 35) has in one instance رآچہ *rôtsạ*. Everywhere else, as above.

The following are exceptions, and do not change their final consonants :—

وَت *wat* a road ; لَت *lat*, a kick ; دَت *dat*, a clod ; تھُت *thot*, an impediment ; چُت *tsot*, the anus; چِت *tsit*, a sprain ; چینٛت *tsênt*, tumbling heed over heels ; گَت *gat*, a flood ; پِینٛت *pînt*, a trifle ; لَت *lat*, a little (in compounds, as in پرانلَت *prânalat*, a spark of life) ; ٹونت *tônt*, a beak ; کَتھ *kath*, a story ; وِتھ *veth*, the river Jhelum ; کھون *khon*, the elbow ; تَن *tan*, the body ; نان *nán*, the navel ; سون *son*, a co-wife ; ھَن *han*, a little ; بَن *ban*, a pile.

The words یَڈ *yad*,[99] the belly ; وَڈ *wad*, discount ; تھَر *thar*, the back ; کُٹھ *koth*, Aucklandia Costus ; کھار *khâr*, an ass's load ; مار *mâr*, the name of a river ; سار *sâr*, a cross-beam ; and راش *râsh*, stock-in-trade, drop all case terminations, but change ـَ *a* to ـَ *a*, and ا ـَ *â* to آ *ô* in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus, from یَڈ *yad*, یڈ *yad* ; from کھار *khâr*, کھآر *khôr*. گاڈہ ھنزہ یڈ اندر *gâdi-hanzi yad andar* (loc.), in the belly of the fish.

The word گاو *gâv*, a cow, becomes گوو *gôv* in all cases except the nominative singular.

Words like بینہ *beñe*, a sister, are thus declined :—

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | بنہ *beñe* ... ... ... ... | ... بنہ *beñi* |
| Instr. | بنہ *beñi* (Luke, x. 40) ... ... | ... بنو *beñau* |
| Dat. | بنہ *beñi* ... ... ... ... | ... بنن *beñan*] |

### 216. Compound Substantives.

The first substantive is usually put in the oblique form ; *e. g.*, آبہ نُٹ *âb-a nut*, a water-jar ; خونہ مُل *khûn-a mol*, blood price, price of blood ; کھاسرہ جای *khâsir-a jâê*, skull-place, Calvary ; دچھہ باغ *dachh-i bâgh*, vine-yard ; رتہ پھیر *rat-a phyur*, blood-drop ; انجیرہ کُل *injîr-a kul*, fig-tree ; کنڈہ کل *kandi kul*, thorn-bush, etc. So also زمینہ ٹکرہ *zamîna tukra*, a piece of land ; چھاول بچہ *tshâval' bacha*,-a he-goat kid, a kid of the goats ; گاڈہ ٹکرہ *gâdi tukra*, a piece of fish ; پانچھ داندہ ھوورہ *pântsha dând-a hôvari*, five yoke of oxen. (Luke xiv, 19 Compare, ھت پاجہ تیلہ *hat pûja tîl*, a hundred barrels of oil ; ھت منہ کنکہ *hat man-a kanaka*, a hundred measures of wheat.

Composition can, however, also be effected by means of the substantival adjective in ـُک *uk* ; *e. g.* زیتونک کہ *zaitûn-uk koh*, the Mount of Olives, *lit.*, the olive-mount.

(*To be continued.*)

---

[99] This word is incorrectly given by the author as belonging to the third declension. The others are not mentioned by him.

# DETAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.*

BY M. A. STEIN, PH.D.

## I. — Personal Narrative.

AT the end of November, 1897, Major H. A. DEANE, C.S.I., Political Agent, Swat, Dir. and Chitral, had been kind enough to call my attention to the opportunity which the punitive expedition, then under consideration against the tribes of Bunēr, would offer for the examination of the antiquarian remains of that territory. Bunēr, as that portion of the ancient Udyāna which had hitherto been wholly inaccessible, and as the place from which a number of Major Deane's puzzling inscriptions in unknown characters had been obtained, could reasonably be expected to furnish an interesting new field for archæological exploration. I was hence eager to avail myself of the occasion.

Thanks largely to Major Deane's recommendation and the kind interest shown in the matter by the Hon'ble Mr. DANE, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, and my friend Mr. MAYNARD, the Junior Secretary, my application to be deputed with the Malakand Field Force during its operations in Bunēr was readily approved of by the Hon'ble SIR MACKWORTH YOUNG, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The Local Government agreed to bear the expenses connected with my deputation. On the 29th December, when returning from a short archæological Christmas tour in the Swāt Valley, I received at Hoti-Mardan telegraphic intimation that the Government of India in the Foreign Department had sanctioned the proposal. In accordance with the instructions conveyed to me I saw on the same day at Kunda Camp Major-General SIR BINDON BLOOD, K.C.B., Commanding the Malakand Field Force, who very kindly assured me of his assistance in connection with the proposed archæological survey. He also informed me of the early date fixed for the commencement of the operations against Bunēr. I had just time enough to hurry back to Lahore, where the Annual Convocation of the University required my presence, and to complete there the arrangements for my camp outfit and for a Surveyor from the Public Works Department who was to accompany me.

On the afternoon of the 4th January 1898 I left Lahore after assisting at the Convocation held under the presidency of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor and Chancellor of the University. Starting from Nowshera Station on the following morning I caught up on the same day General Blood's Division while encamped at Katlang on its march towards the Bunēr border. Heavy rain on the preceding day had made the air remarkably clear. As I passed through the breadth of the great valley which forms the ancient **Gandhāra**, the barren mountain ranges enclosing it on the north and south stood out with a boldness reminding me of classical regions. From Mardan to Katlang the rugged Pajja Range, which in its secluded straths and nooks hides a number of ancient sites, kept all the way prominently in front. On a small spur descending from this range, which is passed to the east of the road close to the village of *Jamālgarhi*, the ruins of the large Buddhist monastery came into view, which was excavated here by General Cunningham. I was unable to re-visit these interesting remains for want of time, but was informed that numerous injured torsos of statues which had been brought to light by those diggings, still cover the ground in several of the Vihāra Courts.

At Katlang I was joined by Fazl Ilāhī, Draftsman, from the office of the Executive Engineer, Peshawar, who was to act as my Surveyor. There I found also Shērbāz, Jamadār of Swāt Levies, and Katōr Shāh, a Miān from Shāhbāzgarhi, whom Major Deane had kindly sent to accompany me to Bunēr and to assist me by their local knowledge.

---

* This Report was submitted to the Government of the Punjab on the 26th July, 1898, and has since been printed by order of that Government. It is reprinted here with the kind permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as conveyed in letter No. 891, dated 19th December, 1898, of the Revenue Secretary to the Local Government. — M. A. ST.

**Sanghau.** — On the 8th January the force moved from Katlang to *Sanghau*, at the entrance of the defile leading to the **Tangē** Pass which had been selected as the route for the advance into Bunēr. A reconnaissance conducted by General Blood up the defile showed that the pass was held by a gathering of tribesmen under numerous standards. Accompanying this reconnaissance, I came in the narrow ravine through which the path leads, and about a mile and a half above Sanghau village, upon unmistakeable traces of an ancient road. I was able to examine these before the Sappers had commenced their work of improving the track. In several places where the present path runs along rocky cliffs high above the stream draining the gorge, I noticed supporting walls of rough but solid masonry. They resembled closely in their construction the walls over which the ancient so-called "Buddhist" roads on the Malakand and Shāhkōt Passes are carried in parts. Higher up in the defile the traces of this old road seem to be lost. At least I did not come across any on the following day either on the track chosen for the transport route or during my climb up the hillside to the north.

When returning to the camp it was too late to examine closely the ruins which were pointed out to me as those of '**old Sanghau**' on a spur about 1½ miles to the east of the village. Seen from below they appeared to consist of groups of solidly built old dwelling-places, such as are found in great numbers covering the hillsides at various points of the Lower Swāt Valley. About half a mile further in a north-easterly direction old remains are said to exist near a large spring, the water of which is now brought by a stone-conduit down to Sanghau village. A great deal of ancient Buddhist sculpture has been extracted at various times from ruined sites near Sanghau, but it is only of the excavations conducted for General Cunningham that some account can be traced.

The night passed in camp at Sanghau, and thus yet within British territory, brought some "sniping" which was attributed by competent judges to 'loyal' subjects of that neighbourhood. On the afternoon of the following day the Tangē Pass was taken after a prolonged artillery fire and some fighting. While the Paṭhāns, Sikhs and Dogrās of the XXth Regiment, Punjab Infantry, climbed in splendid style the high peak commanding the pass on the west, the Highland Light Infantry, West Kent and XXIst P. I. Regiments carried the naturally strong position of the enemy in front. I watched the interesting engagement from the spur occupied by the mountain batteries in action and climbed up to the narrow rocky ridge which forms the pass, as soon as it had been taken. From that commanding height, circ. 3,800 feet above the sea, there opened a wide view over the western portion of Bunēr bounded in the direction of Upper Swāt by Mounts Ilm and Dosirri.

**Tangē Pass.** — At a point where the crest forms a salient angle to the west, and about 300 yards from the saddle by which the mule-track crosses the pass, I noticed the remnant of what was probably once a small fortification, in the form of a semi-circular platform built of rough masonry. The outside wall supporting it was traceable for a length of 20 feet. The tribesmen holding the pass had raised one of their main sangars on this very platform. The gathering of standards I had noticed near this spot in the early part of the day showed that it had been considered important and held in force also by the most recent defenders of the pass. The heavy shell and shrapnell fire from the field and mountain batteries must have made the place uncomfortable in the earlier part of the day.

The absence of other traces of old fortification on the ridge is easily accounted for by its extreme narrowness and the steepness of the cliffs on its western face. These cliffs themselves would form a sufficiently strong line of defence against any enemy not armed with modern guns. On the Tangē Pass there was thus neither room nor need for such extensive fortifications as can still be traced in ruins of evidently ancient date on the Malakand and Shāhkōṭ Passes.

Accompanying the troops of the 1st Brigade which I still found on the crest of the pass, I reached by nightfall **Kingargalai**, a Bunēr village belonging to the Salārzai tribe, situated in

the valley some two miles from the eastern foot of the pass. This small village formed our quarters — tight enough they were, considering that the village had to accommodate three regiments of infantry with a brigade staff, etc. — for that night and the next two days. The forcing of the pass had apparently put all thought of open resistance to an end. This and the neighbouring villages were found completely deserted, but Jirgās of the Salārzai and other adjoining tribal sections were soon coming in to treat for terms. General Meiklejohn, Commanding the 1st Brigade, hence kindly allowed me to start already on the morning of the 8th January with a small escort for the inspection of the extensive ruins plainly visible to the west of Kingargalai on the spurs sloping down into the valley.

**Ruins near Kingargalai.** — The most conspicuous groups of ruins were found situated on a series of rocky ridges which jut out, with a general direction from north to south, into the valley leading to the north-west of Kingargalai towards the *Nawedand* Pass. They form the extreme offshoots of spurs descending from the high peak to the west of the pass, which has already been mentioned. The largest of these ridges, which also bears the most prominent of the ruins, lies at a distance of about 1¾ miles from *Kingargalai*.

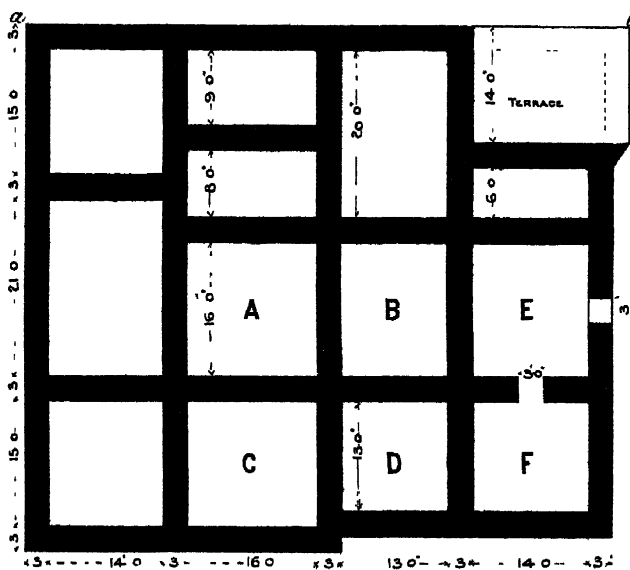
All along the crest of the ridge and also for a short distance down its slopes are found separate groups of ruined buildings. They are erected either where small level shoulders give sufficient space, or on walled-up terraces leaning against the hillside. Their general plan and construction clearly prove them to be the remains of ancient dwelling places. The walls consist of solid masonry resembling closely in its construction that seen in the walls of the Takht-i Bāhi Vihāras and other ancient **Gandhāra** ruins. Large rough slabs, of approximately equal height but irregular shape at the sides, are placed in regular courses. Sufficient space is left between them laterally to allow of the insertion of small flat stones which are placed in little columns, filling the interstices. Vertically each course of slabs is separated from the next by a narrow band of small flat stones which are put in a single or double row and are intended to adjust slight inequalities in the thickness of the slabs.

This peculiar system of masonry which has been described in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, is found in the walls of all ruins of pre-Muhammadan date throughout the territory of the old **Gandhāra** and **Udyāna**. It distinguishes them in a very marked fashion from all structures of modern origin which show invariably walls of small uncut stones set in mud plaster without any attempt at regular alignment. Such walls, unless of exceptional thickness, can easily be pulled down with a few strokes of the pick-axe, and when decayed leave after a few years nothing but shapeless heaps of loose stone and earth. The ancient walls on the other hand are of remarkable firmness and have stood the test of time extremely well, particularly where an outer coating of plaster has originally protected them against atmospheric influences. This is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that I have found among the ruined sites of Lower Swāt walls of this construction still standing to a height of 30 feet and more. In some instances, too, such walls could be utilized for the foundation of portions of the modern fortifications erected at Malakand and Chakdara.

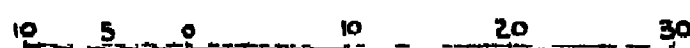
The buildings which cover the above-described ridges vary considerably in size and plan. Those which occupy sites allowing of greater extension consist of a series of large chambers grouped round a central pile. This is generally raised above the level of the rest by a high base of solid masonry. Plan *I* shows the disposition of a typical structure of this class which stands near the north-eastern extremity of the central ridge above referred to. The interiors of the rooms have been filled up to a great extent by masonry which has fallen from the walls and roofs. The portions of the walls still standing reach in many places only a little above the level of this débris. It is thus impossible to indicate with certainty the position of the doors by which the several apartments must have communicated with each other.

# PLAN OF RUINED BUILDING NEAR KINGARGALAI



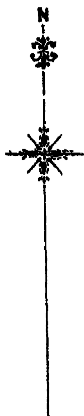

SCALE OF FEET



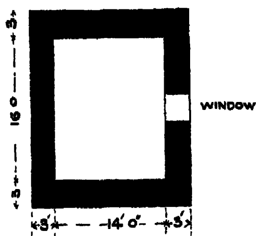
# PLAN OF RUINED BUILDINGS

NEAR

# KINGARGALAI



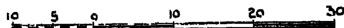

PLAN

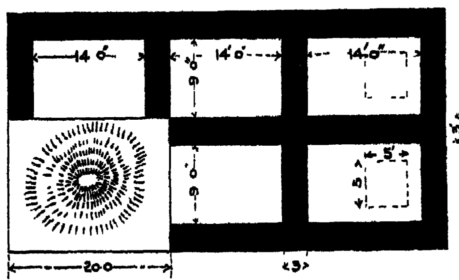



EAST SIDE ELEVATION




SCALE OF FEET



In the case of this building the original level of the central rooms marked *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* seems to have been raised considerably above the ground, as their interior was found now to be nearly 12 feet higher than the rock on which the walls are based. As in the case of similar structures examined in Swāt, it is probable that the lower storey of this central pile was built solid. The entrance into the upper storey containing dwelling rooms was through an opening higher up in the wall which could be reached from outside only by means of a ladder. This arrangement, which is clearly designed with a view to defence, is still actually observed in the construction of most village watch-towers across the Afghān border.

That special regard was paid to considerations of safety in the case of most, if not all, the structures here described is evident from the very positions chosen for them. The rocky spurs on which they are found have no other recommendation as building sites except the facilities they offer for defence by their steepness and comparative inaccessibility. The crests of the ridges, which these buildings chiefly occupy, are nowhere less than about 300 feet above the level bottom of the valley. The inconvenience arising from this position in respect of the water-supply, etc., is so great that only an important consideration like that of safety could compensate for it. At the same time it deserves to be noted that these buildings are everywhere standing at such a distance from each other that at a time, when firearms were unknown, none could be said to be commanded by its neighbour. It looks as if the condition of inter-tribal feud and rivalry which make each man of substance in the average trans-border village watch his neighbour as a likely foe, had already been realized in a far earlier period.

The position which these buildings occupy and the succession of terraces on which some of them rise, give them from a distance more the appearance of small castles than of ordinary dwelling places. They resemble in this respect closely the collections of fortified houses which cover the hill-sides at numerous old sites of the Swāt Valley, like *Landake*, *Baikhēla*, *Katgala*, etc. As a distinctive feature, however, it must be mentioned that I have not come across, either among the ruins near Kingargalai or elsewhere in Bunēr, the semi-circular buttresses which are found very commonly among the Swāt ruins at the corners of such structures, in particular of isolated square towers.

To the west of the spur, which, amongst other ruins, bears that shown in Plan *I*, there runs another smaller ridge, which, with its western scrap, faces the side valley of *Manōra*. Along the narrow neck of this ridge too there are numerous ruins of the above description. The ground-plan of one amongst them which represents the simplest type and still shows a well-preserved entrance at some height above the ground, has been reproduced on Plate *II*. On the opposite side of the Manōra Nullah and further up on the hill-sides of the main valley towards the Nawedand Pass, I could see other groups of ruined buildings. But the instructions given to me as regards the limits of my explorations on this first day on Bunēr soil did not allow me to proceed further in that direction.

**Ruins near Tangē Pass.** — Moving then back to the east along the main hill-side, I passed two more spurs running down into the valley nearer to Kingargalai. These were also found to be covered with ruined buildings of the kind already described. Still further to the east at the point where the main valley of Kingargalai is joined by the one leading to the foot of the Tangē Pass, there is a small low spur which has been used as an old building site. At its very end and at a level of only about 50 feet above the flat bottom of the valley, I found the ruin of which a plan is given on Plate *II* below. Its peculiar feature is a platform of solid masonry on which rises a small conical mound of rough stones set in layers. The height of the mound is about 11 feet, including the base.

It appears probable that we have in this mound the remains of a small Stūpa. Unlike other mounds of this character met subsequently during my tour in Bunēr, it has escaped being dug into by treasure-seekers. Adjoining the base to the east there are four rectangular rooms of which the walls can yet clearly be traced. Their construction is exactly the same as

that of the walls in the buildings already described. On the floor of the two front rooms there were signs showing that stones and earth had recently been displaced. The Pathān sepoys of my escort, led by an instinct evidently due to experience, at once suspected a hiding place. By removing the topmost stones and then digging down with their bayonets they soon opened two little wells sunk into the ground. They measured each about 5 feet square and were lined with old masonry down to the solid rock. They were found filled with grain and small household property which some neighbouring villagers had evidently deposited there in anticipation of our invasion. There can be little doubt as to these wells having originally been constructed for a similar purpose. Small underground store-rooms of this kind have been found under the ruins of the Takht-i Bāhi monastery and elsewhere.

On either side of the short valley running to the foot of the **Tangē** Pass I noticed several ruined buildings perched high up on isolated cliffs and ridges. They appeared to be similar to those already visited in the valleys towards *Nawedand* and *Munūra*. But the shortness of the remaining daylight made their examination impossible. Considering the number and position of all these ruined habitations, it seems evident that the site to the west of Kingargalai must have been a place of some importance in pre-Muhammadan times. This is easily accounted for by its position on the routes to the Tangē and Nawedand Passes, which both represent important lines of communication. The latter pass in particular, which from all accounts seems comparatively easy for transport animals, opens a very convenient route to the valley of *Bāzdarra* in the west. From this again the Yusufzai plain to the south as well as the Shāhkōt, Chirāt and Mōra Passes leading into Lower Swāt can be reached without difficulty. In this connection I may mention that a coin of *Ooemo Kadphises* (circ. 1st Century B. C.), kindly shown to me by the Chaplain attached to the Highland Light Infantry Regiment, was picked up during the occupation of Kingargalai in a small cave on the hill side rising behind the village.

I was unable to ascertain the local name, if any, given by the present inhabitants to the ruins described. The whole population of the valley had fled on the day of the fight on the Tangē Pass, and was still keeping with such cattle as they had managed to save, on the top of the high hill ranges above the valley. It was evident that the occasion, which had thrown Bunēr temporarily open, was not the best for collecting local traditions regarding ruined sites from the Paṭhān inhabitants. Comparatively new-comers to the country themselves and in part migratory as they are, they were often, when got hold of, found unable to give more information than that conveyed by the designation "*Kāpir kandare*" ("Kāfir ruins"). This is bestowed indiscriminately on all kinds of ancient remains.

**Ruins near Nansēr.** — On the following day, the 9th January, the troops of the 1st Brigade still remained at Kingargalai, while the mule track across the pass was being improved for the transport. I had first hoped to examine the valley further down as far as *Bampōkha*, which the column marching across the Pirsai Pass was expected to reach that day. But a subsequent order fixed the nearer village of Nansēr as the limit of my reconnaissance. This lies about two miles to the east of Kingargalai in a small side valley opening to the south-west. Just opposite to the entrance of the latter the main road of the valley turns round the foot of a very steep and rocky spur which trends from the range to the north. Having noticed high up on this spur walls of ancient look, I climbed up to them and found, at a height of about 500 feet above the valley, two oblong terraces. One is built of solid old masonry along the back of the narrow ridge and extends for about 30 feet from north to south with a breadth of 15 feet.

A short distance above, and connected with it by much decayed parallel walls, is a larger walled-up terrace of remarkably massive masonry, placed, as it were, *à cheval* across the ridge. It measures 45 feet from east to west and 20 from north to south. Its top where nearest to the rocky base still rises to a height of 12 feet above it. There can be little doubt as

to this structure having once served the purposes of defence. The position is admirably adapted for this, being approachable only with difficulty over steep cliffs and commanding an extensive view up and down the valley. Small mounds found on the top of these terraces are probably the remains of former superstructures, which being built of less solid materials have decayed long ago. The soil between the rocks on the slopes below is covered with old pottery.

From this point I had noticed villagers, chiefly women and old men, descending from the opposite heights to the houses of Nansēr, evidently bent on removing property they had left behind on their first flight. As I hoped to receive from them information as to old remains in the neighbourhood, I descended and approached the village. The sight of my small escort was, however, sufficient to cause a fresh stampede of the village folk. When at last after a great deal of parleying some old men were induced to join me, they could only point to a few ruined walls on a hill to the south of the village.

One *Spīngiro* ('greybeard'), however, knew of a ruined '*gumbaz*' (dome, circular building) to the west of Kingargalai. As this expression is invariably used by the Pushṭu-speaking population of the border for the designation of Stūpas, I did not hesitate to start back under his guidance in the direction indicated. We had passed the ruins examined on the preceding day and proceeded up the *Manōra* Nallah for nearly two miles further before I could ascertain from my guide that the *gumbaz* he had previously referred to as quite near was in reality beyond the range which forms the watershed towards Bāzdarra. To reach the spot and return to camp the same evening was manifestly impracticable at the late hour of day. I was thus reluctantly obliged to turn back to Kingargalai, richer only by an experience of the unreliability of putative distances in the Bunēr hills. I had already before heard of the existence of old ruins near Bāzdarra, and wish that I may before long have an opportunity to visit that site and other neighbouring localities to the south of the Shāhkōṭ and Mōra Passes.

**Juvur.** — On the 10th I accompanied the march of the greater portion of General Meiklejohn's Brigade to *Juvur*, a large village to the north-east of Kingargalai and below Mount Ilm. The route led for the first four miles down the valley to Bampōkha, where the stream which comes from Kingargalai is met by the one flowing from the Pirsai Pass. Before reaching **Bampōkha** the road winds round the foot of a detached small ridge which is covered with ruined buildings and terraces resembling those seen near Kingargalai. The short halt made by the troops at Bampōkha was not sufficient to allow of an inspection of these remains. A short distance beyond Bampōkha the route turns off to the north, and Mount **Ilm** comes prominently into view. This fine peak, 9,200 feet above sea level, with its fir-clad slopes and rocky summit, dominates the landscape in most parts of Western Bunēr and forms the boundary of the latter towards Upper Swāt. Subsequent enquiry showed that Mount Ilm as the site of more than one Tīrtha must have enjoyed a great sanctity in Hindu times. To the west of the mountain is the *Karakar* Pass, the favourite route of communication between Bunēr and Swāt. In the valley which leads up to the pass lies the village of **Juvur.**

Here the population had not entirely fled, though all houses were appropriated for the accommodation of the troops. I was thus able to collect some information as to old remains in the vicinity. As the Brigade remained at Juvur I could utilize the following day (11th January) freely for their inspection. An inscribed stone had been reported to me near the village of *Charrai*, situated about two miles to the north-east. But on reaching the spot indicated, which is at the foot of a rocky spur descending from Ilm and about one mile to the north-east of the village, I found that the supposed inscription on a large isolated rock to the right of the path consisted only of a series of cup-shaped holes, probably artificial. The spot is known as *Laka Tiga.*

Returning thence to Charrai, I ascended the narrow gorge, through which the stream of Charrai flows, to an open well-wooded glen known only by the somewhat general designation of **Tangai** ('defile ; small valley'). Tangai, which is separated from the Juvur Valley by a low

watershed, lies in a direct line about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-east of Juvur. Along the slopes of the little spurs, which enclose the glen like an amphitheatre, I found numerous traces of old habitations. Their walls and terraces were generally far more decayed than those of the ruins near Kingargalai. This is in all probability due to the thick jungle which covers this site. The series of fine springs which issue at the foot of the hill-slopes and feed the Charrai stream explains sufficiently the presence of so many ancient dwelling places in this secluded nook of the mountains.

**Rock sculptures near Juvur.** — Ascending the spur in the centre of the amphitheatre described, to a height of about 300 feet above the little plain at the bottom of the glen, I reached the rock-cut images of which one of my Juvur informants had told me. The remnants of old walls stretch up close to the foot of the large rock which bears these relievos. The south face of the rock offers a flat and nearly vertical surface about 33 feet long and 30 feet high; on it a tripartite niche has been cut out to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It measures 6 feet 9 inches in length and 5 feet in height; its foot is about 5 feet above the ground. In the centre of the niche is a well-carved relievo figure of Siva, 4 feet 6 inches high, showing the god seated, with his left leg reaching below the seat and the left hand holding the club. On either side of this central image is a smaller figure about 2 feet 9 inches high representing a god seated with crossed legs. The one on the proper left holds in the left hand a lotus on a stalk, and evidently represents Vishṇu. The figure on the proper right, which has become more effaced, seems to sit on an open lotus and is probably intended for Brahman. All three figures are surmounted by halos.

There can be no doubt as to these sculptures being anterior to the Muhammadan invasion; probably they are of a considerably earlier date. This may be concluded with good reason from the boldness and good proportions still observable in the design of the relievos, notwithstanding the decay which has overtaken the more exposed portions. To the damage caused by atmospheric influences has been added some chipping done by mischievous hands apparently not so very long ago. Treasure-seekers seem also to have recently been at work here as shown by some small excavations at the foot of the rock. In view of the interest attaching to these sculptures, I regret that no photograph could be obtained of them. They are approached only by a narrow ledge some 3 feet broad, and the rock below them falls off with great steepness. The carvings are thus visible only for one standing immediately before them or from some considerable distance.

The purely Hindu character of these rock sculptures and of those subsequently examined at *Bhai* near *Pādshāh* is a point deserving special notice. It is an additional proof of the fact that Buddhism, which from the exclusive reference made to it in our written records — the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims — may be supposed to have been the predominant creed in the old Udyāna, was there as elsewhere in India closely associated with all popular features of the Hindu religious system. This conclusion is fully supported by what other evidence is at present available. Thus the coins struck by the rulers of these regions, from the times of the later Kushans down to the last 'Hindu Shāhiyas,' show an almost unbroken succession of Hindu, and more particularly Śaiva, devices.

Ascending from Tangai to a saddle in the spur to the west, I obtained a good view of the Karakār Pass and the valley leading up to it from Juvur, but did not notice any more ruins in this direction. I then returned to the glen and proceeded to the small rocky hill known as **Nīl Dērai**, which flanks the road from Tangai to Juvur on the east. I found it covered on the south face with a series of ancient walls supporting terraces and with masses of débris which evidently belonged to higher structures now completely decayed. These walls stretch up to the very top of the hill which forms a small plateau of irregular shape about 85 yards long from east to west and in the middle about 20 yards broad. All round the top foundations of old walls could be traced, by means of which the available space had been enlarged,

and perhaps also fortified. Similar remains are said to exist on the slopes of the higher hill known as *Ghūnd*, which faces Nīl Dērai on the western side of the defile leading to Tangai.

On the following day, the 12th January, General Meiklejohn's column marched from Juvur to Tursak by the shortest route which lies in the valley drained by the Charrai stream. As my information did not point to the existence of old remains in this direction, I obtained permission and the necessary escort to proceed to Tursak independently by a more circuitous route. This was to enable me to visit the ruins which had been reported to me near *Girārai*, and to see the portion of the main valley of Bunēr between Bampōkha and Tursak.

**Girārai.** — Girārai I found to be situated about 5 miles to the south-west of Juvur in a broad open valley which leads to the Girārai and Banjīr Passes in the west. About half way I noticed ruins similar in appearance to those of Kingargalai on a detached spur of the hill range to the north of the valley. I could not spare time for their inspection. The locality is known as *Bakhta*. In **Girārai** itself, which is a village of some sixty houses, the only ancient remain I could trace, was a fine ornamented slab built into the north wall of the 'Sūra Masjīd.' Its lotus ornament shows in design and execution close affinity to the decorative motives of Gandhāra sculptures. Though it was evident that this slab had been obtained from some ancient structure in the neighbourhood, my enquiries failed to elicit any indication of its place of origin. The villagers' plea in explanation of their ignorance on this point was that they had come to the place only six years ago when the last redistribution of villages had taken place among the Salārzai clan. The custom here referred to of redistributing at fixed periods the village sites and lands amongst the various sections of a clan by drawing lots, prevails, in fact, all through Bunēr. It might in itself account to a great extent for the scantiness of local traditions.

There was, however, less difficulty in tracing the ruins about which I had heard at Juvur. They were found to be situated at a place known as **Alī Khān Kōṭe** ('*Alī Khān's* huts'), about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Girārai. Like the village itself, they lie at the foot of the hill range, which divides the valleys of Girārai and Kingargalai. Conspicuous ruins of buildings and terraces, all constructed of ancient masonry, cover the several small spurs which descend here into the valley. The best preserved are on a spur flanking from the west the approach to the gorge through which the direct route to Kingargalai leads.

At the eastern foot of this spur is a narrow tongue of high and fairly level ground, stretching between the bed of the Girārai stream and the entrance of the above-named gorge. On this strip of ground I came upon several circular mounds which are undoubtedly the ruins of Stūpas. The one in the centre still rises to a height of about 20 feet above the ground-level. It has been dug into apparently some time ago by treasure-seekers. The excavation they effected shews the solid, though rough, masonry of which the mound is built. Around it are remains of walls indicating, perhaps, an enclosing quadrangular court. The wall facing west can be traced for a length of 42 feet, that to the north for 40 feet. About 20 yards to the south-west from this Stūpa is another still larger mound thickly overgrown with jungle. It reaches to a height of about 25 feet and has evidently not been disturbed. The remaining portion of the level ground to the east is strewn with small mounds, some of which in all probability mark the site of votive Stūpas of modest dimensions. Regarding a probable identification of this site, I must refer to the explanations given below in Section II of this Report.

After returning from Alī Khān Kōṭe and Girārai, I marched along the well-cultivated ground at the northern foot of the hills which separate Girārai and Bampōkha. About one mile to the east of Girārai I noticed traces of old walls, much decayed and overgrown by jungle, on a flat terrace-like plot of ground projecting from the hill-side. They seemed to belong to a large square enclosure with a stūpa-like mound in the centre. After crossing the broad valley in which the stream coming from the western slopes of Mount Ilm flows down towards Bampōkha, I struck the road which leads in the valley of the Barandu River from

Bampŏkha down to Tursak. The dry alluvial plateaus passed along the left bank of the river, the bold and fairly well-wooded ranges to the right towards the Pirsai and Malandri Passes, and the fine view of snowy mountains far off in the Indus direction, — they all reminded me forcibly of scenery I had seen in Kashmīr.

**Tursak.** — Close to the north of the road and at a distance of about 2½ miles from Tursak, I found a large square mound rising to about 13 feet above the ground. The late hour of the day at which this site was reached permitted only a rapid examination. It showed that the whole mound was artificial, constructed of rough layers of stone, with masses of débris, apparently from fallen walls, over them. The corners of the mound lie in the direction of the cardinal points. The north-east face, which was more clearly traceable, measured on the top about 100 feet. At the south corner are the remains of a small circular mound which evidently was once a Stūpa. To the south of the latter again, and outside the square, rises another circular mound about 18 feet high, which seems to have been connected with the quadrangular terrace by means of a narrow platform. The position of these mounds is such that the structures marked by them must have been when intact conspicuous objects far up and down the valley. The obligation of arriving in camp before nightfall forced me to leave these interesting remains far too soon. I had hoped that it would become possible to revisit them subsequently from Tursak. In this, however, I was disappointed. It was dark before I reached the camp pitched outside Tursak.

On the following morning (13th January) a column composed of half the Brigade marched from Tursak to the valley of **Pādshāh** in the north. As this move appeared to offer an opportunity for approaching localities on Mount Ilm from which Major Deane's agents had previously procured impressions of inscriptions, I decided to accompany it. Before starting I paid a visit to **Tursak** village with a view to tracing there the original of the small inscription which I had published from a cloth impression as No. 27 in my paper on Major Deane's inscriptions.[1] The note which accompanied this impression described it as taken from "an inscription on a stone in the wall of the house of a Mulla, Tursak in Bunēr. It is said to have been taken originally from some old ruins with other stones for building purposes."

On entering the village I soon realized the peculiar difficulties with which the search for detached inscriptions in Bunēr has proved to be attended. Neither of the two guides, with whom Major Deane's kind forethought had provided me, knew anything as regards this inscription. I was thus forced to fall back upon enquiries among the few inhabitants who had not deserted their homesteads. None of them could, or would, give information as to the particular Mullā's house the walls of which must be supposed to contain this little epigraphical relic. **Tursak** is a very large village, in fact the biggest in Bunēr, and boasts among its population of not less than twelve Mullās. It was with difficulty that I got half a dozen of these Mullās' houses pointed out to me. But the search which I made in succession in these deserted dwellings proved fruitless, and from the beginning offered little promise.

The walls in the houses examined, like those in most villages or dwellings in Bunēr, are built of rubble and are covered in large portions with rough plaster. In several of the houses there was a number of rooms and sheds ranged behind the entrance court-yard, indicative of the comparative ease of the owners. This meant a considerable addition to the extent of the wall surface calling for examination. In order to secure a reasonable chance of discovering here a small stone, the exposed surface of which, as shown by the impression, does not measure more than 8 by 6 inches, it would have been necessary to scrape the walls of the plaster wherever it seemed recent, and to devote altogether to this search far more time than actual conditions permitted. The cursory inspection of half a dozen houses and the repeated attempts to elicit information from such inhabitants as the sepoys of my escort managed to get hold of, had already cost me more than an hour when I turned at last my back on the lonely alleys of Tursak to start on the march towards *Pādshāh*.

[1] See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, Part I., page 4.

**Pādshāh.** — The route leads first to the north through an open fertile valley, which is watered by the stream coming from Charrai. Skirting the foot of the high *Jaffar* hill, the road then turns to the north-east and ascends a low watershed near the village of Burjo Khāna. Here an extensive view opened embracing the greater part of the fine broad valley of Pādshāh and the whole of the high mountain range to the north, between the peaks of Ilm and Dosirri. The streams which drain this portion of the range on the south unite close to the village of **Pādshāh,** which thus by its very position is marked as a place of importance. It is the site of the holiest Muhammadan shrine in Bunēr, the Ziārat of Pīr Bāba Ṣāhib; it had on this account been singled out for a visit by General Meiklejohn's column. I had caught up the latter near Burjo Khāna and rode ahead with its advance guard of Guides Cavalry to close Pādshāh village, which was reached after a march of about 9 miles from Tursak.

The large Jirgās of the Gadazai tribe, which soon made their appearance before the Political Officer, showed that, notwithstanding rumours to the contrary, resistance was not to be expected at this sacred spot either. The troops were accordingly ordered to halt at *Bhai,* about two miles before Pādshāh, and to return to the main valley below Tursak on the day following. These dispositions made it clear to me that my chance of approaching the localities on Mount **Ilm,** which had yielded the inscriptions already referred to, would be limited to the few remaining hours of the day. I was, therefore, glad to obtain permission to join in the reconnaissance which Captain Todd, Assistant Field Intelligence Officer, with a mounted escort was pushing towards the Jowarai Pass to the north-west of Pādshāh.

At *Lagarpūr,* the first village reached, I was able to obtain accurate information as to the position of **Miāngām,** where two of Major Deane's inscriptions, published by me in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal (Part I., 1898, Nos. 29 and 30), had been obtained. It is described as a small village occupied by *Miāns* or Saiyids who have given it its name. It is situated on a shoulder of the great spur which runs down from Ilm Peak in a south-easterly direction. The designation *Ilm-o-Mianz* ('Centre of Ilm') which is used in the notes of Major Deane's agents indifferently with Miāngām for the place of origin of these inscriptions, does not seem to be known as a local term. It describes, however, accurately enough the situation of the place. As all my informants agreed in speaking of Miāngām as covered with snow at the time, it must evidently lie at a considerable altitude.

**Bishunai.** — A rough ride of about two miles over a very stony road along the stream which flows from the Jowarai Pass brought us close to the village of *Bishunai.* I had been particularly anxious to reach the latter, as four of the most characteristic inscriptions of the Bunēr type, of which impressions have been secured by Major Deane, are described as having been found on stones in the vicinity of this village. They have been published as Nos. 2-5 in M. Senart's "*Notes d' Épigraphie Indienne,*" Fascic. V.[2]

Having reached so near to the desired point, I felt all the more disappointed when I found that I should have to turn back again without being able to explore it. The escort of Guides Cavalry accompanying Captain Todd was under orders to rejoin their squadron at Bhai in time to allow the latter to return to Tursak the same evening. The time, which remained after the hurried ride up the valley, would barely allow of the ten minutes halt on the road which was required by Captain Todd to sketch the main topographical features of the Pass in front of us. A visit to Bishunai village, which lies a short distance off the road to the north, could under these circumstances not be thought of, still less a search for the inscriptions referred to. For the disappointment thus experienced, the fine view which opened from this point could scarcely afford me compensation. The valley which leads up to the watershed towards Upper Swāt, being flanked by snow-covered spurs from Ilm and Dosirri and well-wooded in its higher portion, bore quite an alpine character.

---

[2] See "Les récentes découvertes du Major Deane," *Journal asiatique,* 1894.

Returning to Pādshāh as fast as the tired horses could bear us, we passed close to the **Ziārat of Pīr Bāba Ṣāhib,** hidden in a luxuriant grove of Chinars, pines and other trees. A general order previously issued prohibited us, like other unbelievers, from entering this the most famous Muhammadan shrine of Bunēr. But the accounts subsequently given to me by those who were allowed to pay their respects to the buried saint, showed that the shrine erected at his resting place can lay claim neither to architectural interest nor antiquity.

The Ziārat occupies a spot close to the confluence of the streams which come from the Jowarai Pass and the south-western slopes of Dosirri, respectively. The ample water-supply they secure accounts for the evident fertility of the Pādshāh Valley. Both above and below the village stretch broad terraces of well-irrigated rice fields. The well-to-do condition of the place is indicated by the respectable number of Hindu traders (Khattrīs) settled there. Two of these men had not fled and were induced to accompany me to the camp at Bhai. I was able to obtain from them curious information regarding the condition of the Bunēr Hindus and the sacred sites or Tīrthas visited by them in the neighbourhood.

**Tīrthas on Ilm.** — From evidence which I hope to discuss elsewhere, it appears that the Hindu Baṇiās, resident in Swāt and Bunēr, represent the trading castes of the old Hindu population which had remained in these valleys after the Paṭhān invasion. Neither they themselves nor their Afghān masters know of any tradition indicating a later immigration from India proper. It is evident that the same reasons which enable these families of Hindu traders at the present day to maintain themselves and their religion amongst the fanatical tribesmen, are sufficient also to account for their original survival. In view of this circumstance it may safely be assumed that the sacred sites to which the pilgrimages of the Bunēr Hindus are now directed, mark Tīrthas of considerable antiquity.

The most popular of these pilgrimage places seem to be the **Amarakunda** spring and the **Rām Takht**, both situated on Mount Ilm. The sacred spring appears to lie close to the main summit of the mountain and on its southern face. Remains of an ancient enclosure or building are said to be visible near it. The *Rām Takht* ('Rāma's throne') is described as an ancient walled platform about two miles distant from the Amarakunda and on the northern slope of Mount Ilm towards the Swāt Valley. It is visited by the pilgrims in conjunction with the Amarakunda on Sundays falling in the month of Jyaishṭha. Srāddha ceremonies are performed at both spots by the accompanying Purohitas, who are said to possess also some account (*māhātmya*) of the legends connected with the Tīrthas. Of the few Purohita families of Bunēr there are one or two settled at Pādshāh and at Gōkand, a village situated some distance further to the north towards Dosirri. But these had fled. I was in consequence unable to ascertain the particular legends which are supposed to account for the sacredness of these spots.

The night from the 13th to the 14th January was passed in bivouac with General Meiklejohn's force in the fields near Bhai village. The troops were to march next morning down to Elai in the Barandu Valley by the direct route leading along the Pādshāh stream. As the information collected by me did not point to remains of interest likely to be found in this direction, I obtained permission to return with a small escort to the Divisional Head-Quarters Camp at Tursak, the neighbourhood of which I had not been able to examine previously. Before, however, starting on the march back to Tursak, I was induced by information given to me regarding certain carved images to ascend the rocky hillside which rises immediately above Bhai to the north-west.

**Remains near Bhai.** — About half a mile from the village and at an elevation of circ. 200 feet above it, I came upon the remains of two Stūpas on a narrow terrace which juts out from the hillside. They are situated close to a spring known by the name of *Jurjurai* and appear now as solid mounds of rough masonry laid in regular courses. The Stūpa immediately to the south of the spring shows a square base, the south-east face of which measures about 50 feet. The height of the whole mound is about 30 feet, but seems to have been once

considerably greater, as the top appears now artificially levelled. About one hundred yards further to the west rises another small Stūpa. Its conical top is comparatively well preserved and shows clearly on its west face the consecutive courses of masonry. The base can no longer be traced distinctly on the hillside. The total height of the mound I estimated at about 35 feet. Traces of old walls and terraces are still visible near these Stūpas.

After climbing some 300 feet higher by a rough path along the steep cliffs I was taken by my Gujar guides from Bhai to a large overhanging mass of rock. This forms on the west a kind of grotto, which seems to have been artificially enlarged. Inside this and on the inner face of the rock, I found a much-effaced group of relievos, representing a seated Hindu deity in the middle, with a smaller seated figure on either side. The total breadth of the relievo group is about 5 feet, and the height of the central figure a little over 3 feet. To the right of this group there are two smaller images carved from the rock, each about one foot in height. As all these relievos have suffered considerably owing to the friable nature of the stone, I could not trace with any certainty the deities they are intended to represent. In general style and treatment these relievos seemed to approach closely to the rock sculptures of Charrai described above.

**Environs of Tursak.** — After visiting these remains I marched back by the previous route to **Tursak**, which I reached in the afternoon. Having obtained a mounted escort in General Blood's Camp I then started for a rapid examination of the neighbourhood. The position which Tursak occupies shows great natural advantages. The main valley of Bunēr opens there first to greater width and is crossed at this point by a series of convenient routes which connect Upper Swāt with much-frequented passes leading down to the Rustam Valley. It is evidently due to this favourable position that Tursak is now the largest place in Bunēr. The same considerations seemed to indicate that the site was of importance already in earlier times. I was, therefore, not surprised to find that even a cursory inspection of the neighbourhood acquainted me with ample evidence of ancient occupation.

In the first place my attention was attracted by a series of strongly-built ancient dwelling places visible on the crests and slopes of the rocky spurs of **Jaffar** hill which overlook Tursak on the north-east. They appeared in form and construction to resemble closely the fortified buildings examined near Kingargalai, Juvur, etc. But as they are situated at a considerably greater height above the valley than at the last named localities, I was unable to spare the time necessary for their examination. Restricting my search to the valley stretching east and south of Tursak, I first visited the village of *Anrapūr*, situated on the southern bank of the Barandu River about two miles below Tursak. From there the fertile and well-wooded valley could be overlooked as far down as Dagar.

**Stūpa of Gumbatai.** — Guided by information obtained at this village, I recrossed then to the left bank of the river and came at the very foot of Jaffar hill, where two projecting spurs form a kind of rock amphitheatre, upon a large ruined site with a Stūpa and remains of a monastery. The former accounts for the name **Gumbatai**, by which the spot is known, *Gumbat* (or *Gumbaz*) being the ordinary designation among Afghāns of any ruined building of circular shape, whether a Stūpa, temple or vaulted tomb. The extent of the ruins and their situation only a few hundred yards off the main road, which leads from Tursak to Elai and down the valley, showed clearly the importance of these remains. I accordingly determined after a rapid survey to utilize the following day for their exploration. I returned by nightfall to Tursak, which proved to be only about 1½ miles distant to the north-west by the direct road.

General SIR BINDON BLOOD, to whom I made a report regarding these interesting remains, very kindly agreed to my request and allowed me to employ a small detachment of Sappers on trial excavations at this site. Accordingly on the following morning (January 15th), when the Tursak Camp was broken up and the troops moved off to Dagar and Rēga, I proceeded with a small party from the 5th Company, Bengal Sappers and Miners, which the Officer Commanding Royal Engineers could spare from road-making work, to the site of *Gumbatai*.

The ruins as shown in the site plan on Plate No. *III* occupy a broad open glen at the south foot of the Jaffar hill, enclosed in a semi-circle by rocky ridges. The remains now visible above ground form two distinct groups. The larger one lies on a small terrace-like plain at the very entrance of the glen, raised about 50 feet above the level of the river banks. The second group, about 100 feet higher up, is built on the hillside to the north, where the steep slope is broken by a small projecting spur.

At the east end of the lower group rises a ruined Stūpa which in its present state of destruction forms a mound of roughly circular shape, about 55 feet in diameter at its present base and circ. 30 feet high. The level ground immediately adjoining the Stūpa mound in the west is flanked on the north and south sides by two thick walls, 60 feet long, which form a kind of court (marked *A*; see detailed plan, Plate *IV*). Attached to the west end of each wall is a small circular structure containing a round chamber of 14 feet diameter. Little is left above ground of the walls of these round structures. But from their position and size it can be assumed with great probability that they were intended like the corresponding round chambers in the ruined monasteries of Guniār (Lower Swāt), Takht-i Bāhi, etc., to serve as chapels for the reception of more important images.

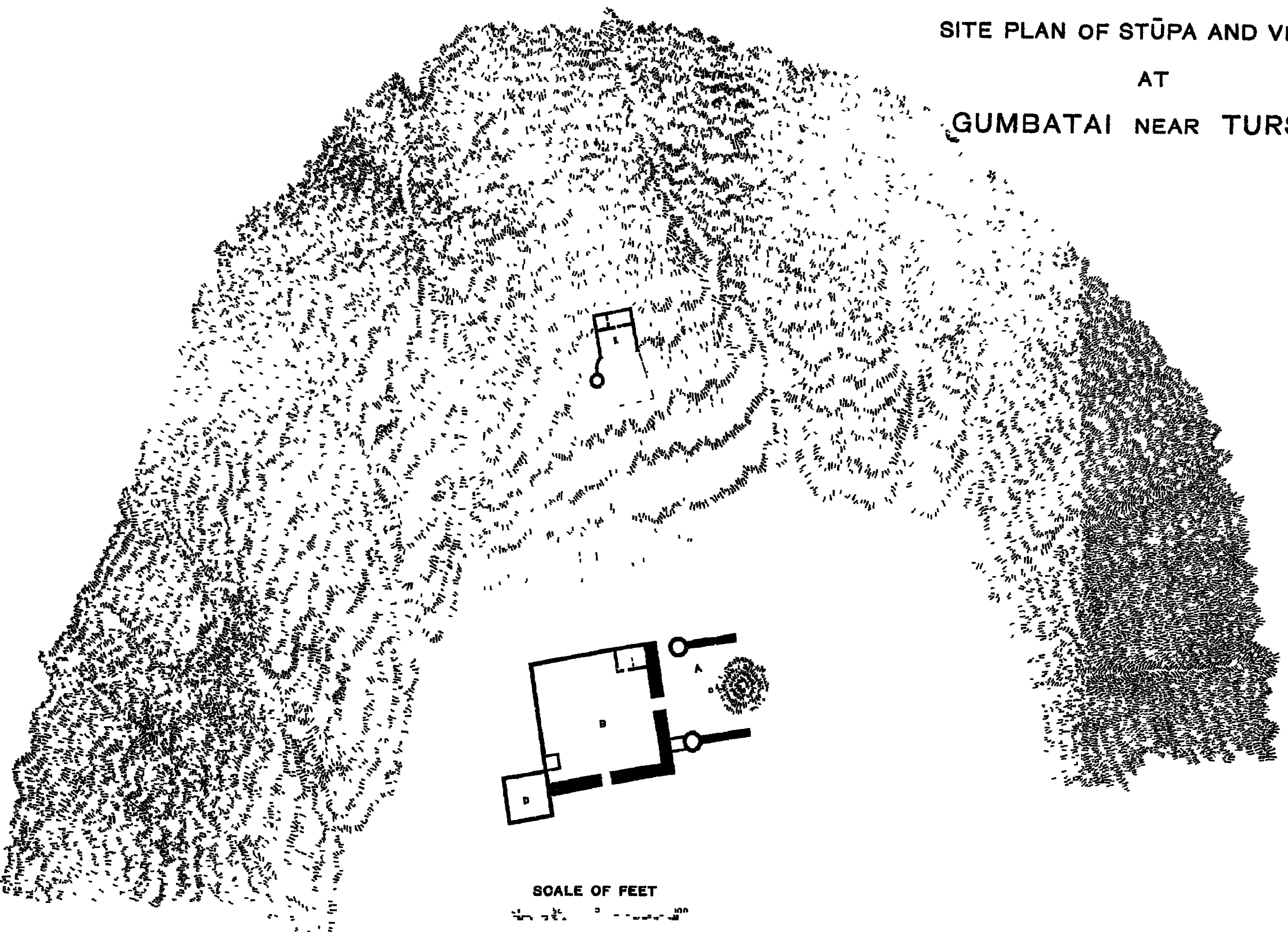
The two walls referred to extend on the east only up to a line which would pass through the centre of the Stūpa. There are no traces of any walls or buildings to the east of the Stūpa, nor of any other structure which could have served to close the Court *A* on this side. The opposite or west side of Court *A* is formed by the enclosing wall of a great quadrangular court (shown as *B* in plan), which almost joins it, the distance between this wall and the circular chapels mentioned being only 15 feet. This court, which is approached by a gate 15 feet broad, evidently sighted on the Stūpa, is remarkable for its size and the massive construction of its walls. It forms nearly a square measuring inside 135 feet in width and 136 feet in length. The walls now traceable above the ground show strangely enough a striking difference in thickness. Whereas they are only 4 feet thick on the north and west side, they measure fully 16 feet in the south and 15 feet in the east. It is probable that this difference must be explained by the thicker walls having been built for the purpose of providing room for small cells, such as are found around the courtyards of several of the Gandhāra monasteries and of most of the great Kashmīr temples. As the walls inside reach nowhere higher than 4 to 5 feet above the present level of the court, and as the latter has clearly been filled up to a considerable height by the accumulation of débris, the point could be definitely settled only by excavations.

As evidence probably pointing in this direction it may be mentioned that whereas the outside faces of the south and east walls can yet be traced quite clearly rising in many places to 6 or 7 feet above the outside ground level, this is possible only at a few spots in the case of the inside faces. The difference is likely to be due to the greater decay to which the construction of hollow spaces like the supposed cells would have exposed the portions of the walls facing inside. The construction of the walls throughout was found to resemble closely that described above in connection with the Kingargalai ruins. But the size of the stones used was on the whole larger.

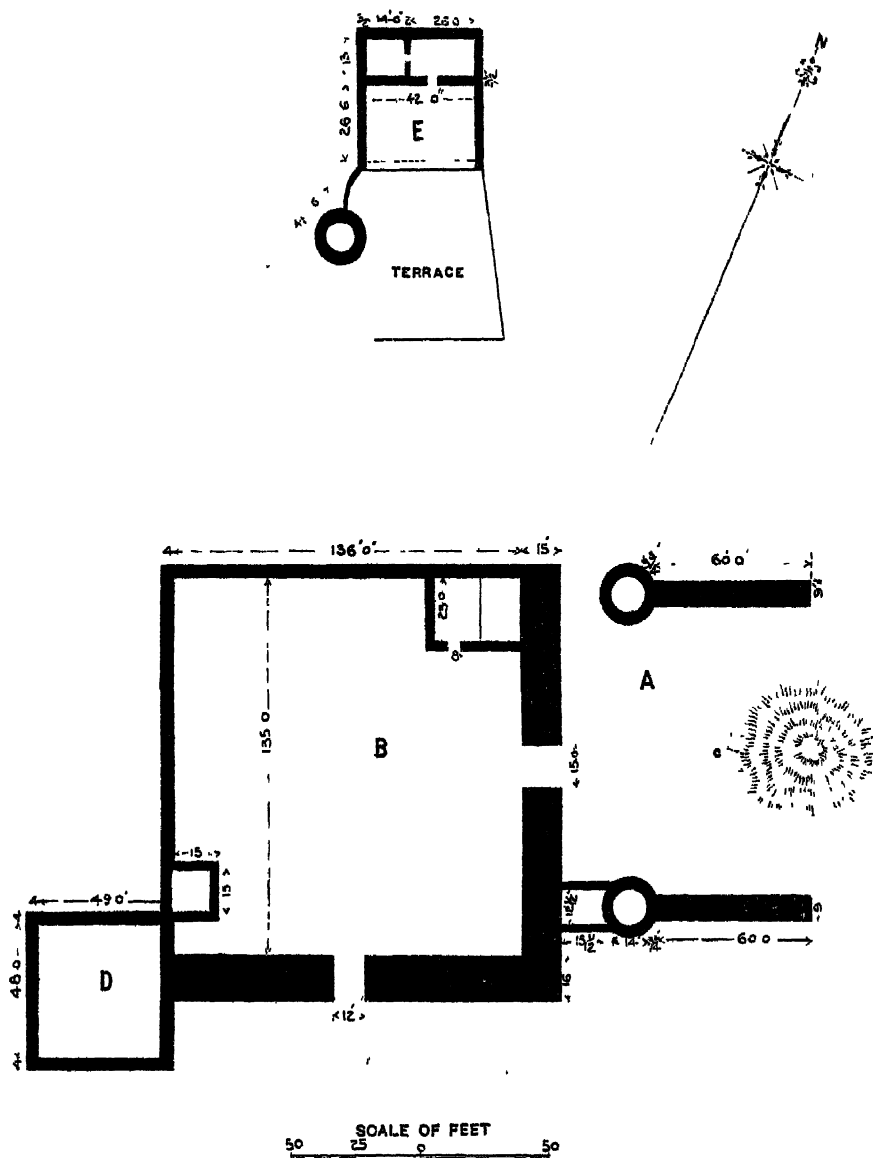
In the north-east corner of Court *B* there are walls joining at right angles the north and east enclosing walls. They may have served to form a separate small chapel-court or dwelling-place. A similar but smaller structure can be traced near the south-west corner of the court.

The second group of ruins higher up the hillside shows in front a walled-up terrace, about 60 feet broad, with a circular structure on one side similar to the 'chapels' flanking the Stūpa Court *A*. Behind the terrace are the remains of walls forming chambers of no great size. About half-way between the two groups of ruins I traced an insolated block of masonry about 20 feet square forming a terrace, the original destination of which cannot be surmised with any certainty. A small mound of débris lying near its centre may possibly mark the position of a little votive Stūpa.

III.


SITE PLAN OF STŪPA AND VIHĀRA
AT
GUMBATAI NEAR TURSAK
A
B
D
SCALE OF FEET

# DETAIL PLAN OF STŪPA AND MONASTERY AT GUMBATAI NEAR TURSAK



**Excavation at Gumbatai.** — After making a general survey of the remains here briefly described, I turned my attention to the Stūpa mound. This, notwithstanding the state of utter dilapidation to which it has been reduced, still reaches to a height of about 30 feet above the present ground-level. The mass of rough masonry of which the Stūpa was constructed has evidently been used since a long time as a convenient quarry. On the north face regular courses of large blocks could still be clearly distinguished ; the other sides of the mounds are hidden by large masses of débris. No clear idea could thus be formed of the original shape of the upper portion of the Stūpa.

The centre of the mound has been dug into from above to a depth of about 10 feet. Judging from the comparatively thin growth of jungle on the south face where most of the materials then extracted had been thrown down, the digging could not have been done many years ago. The treasure-seekers, who were then at work here, had evidently not carried their labours deep enough to touch the main deposit of relics which from the analogy of other Stūpas may be supposed to be placed on or below the level of the base.

In order to obtain some indications as to the position of the Stūpa base and the depth of the original ground level in the court, I had trial trenches opened by the small party of Sappers, both at the west entrance of Court *A* and at the foot of the Stūpa mound to the west. At the latter place the Sappers after working through about 3 feet of débris came upon a solid block of closely grained stucco which when cleared was seen to mark the corner of a square platform. The exact spot at which this corner was struck is marked by *c* on the plan. The block forms a square of 9 inches, with a height of 13 inches. It is ornamented on two sides which were found to face nearly due west and south. That this was the original position of the block was made evident by a stone base unearthed below it which showed exactly the same bearings.

The little stucco pilaster is ornamented at its foot by a series of mouldings. These project about 1 inch beyond the flat middle portion of the block which is about 4 inches high. The top part, about 5 inches high, also projects and shows a kind of egg and dart ornament in bold relievo and in two rows divided by a narrow band. The stone base below the stucco-block could be cleared only to a depth of about 10 inches. Its top forms a square of 1½ feet, and is decorated on the sides facing west and south by a bold cornice projecting in several well-carved mouldings to a total breadth of about 5 inches. Continuing the excavation to the east of this corner and towards the Stūpa for a distance of about 5 feet a masonry wall was laid bare running flush with the south face of the stucco-pilaster and its base. Fragments of stucco were found sticking to the joints of the masonry courses. It may thus be concluded that this wall was decorated similarly to the above described corner.

From the position occupied by this wall, as shown on the plan, it will be clear that it could not have formed part of a square basement of the whole Stūpa. It is more likely to have belonged to some platform raised by the side of the Stūpa and possibly on the basement of the latter. Such a platform might by the analogy of the examples presented in the ruins of Takht-i Bāhi, Jamālgarhi and other Gandhāra monastaries (see *Arch. Survey Reports*, V., pl vii, xiv) be conjectured to have served either for the placing of images or a small votive Stūpa. In support of this conclusion reference may also be made to the comparatively high level at which this stuccoed wall was unearthed. Near the west entrance of the court the present ground level seemed lower than at the foot of the mound. Yet a trial trench carried down to a depth of fully five feet, failed to reach there the original floor of the court. The accumulation of débris must be supposed to have been even greater immediately round the Stūpa. There is thus reason to assume that the real base of the Stūpa is yet buried at some depth below the platform brought to light. This will also explain why the ornamented stucco-pilaster remained the only piece of sculptured work unearthed during this brief excavation.

**Elai.** — I regret all the more the very limited extent of the excavations made, as the explanations given below, (see Part II.) will show that these ruins may be identified with great pro-

bability with a sacred site of considerable fame described by the Chinese pilgrims. The Sapper detachment had orders to follow at no great distance the rear guard of the column which was moving down the valley to Dagar. The men were accordingly obliged to stop digging early in the afternoon. I myself left Gumbatai some hours later after completing the survey of the ruins, in order to rejoin General Meiklejohn's Camp at Rēga. I first marched in the fertile plain by the left bank of the Barandu River to a point about two miles lower down the valley. From there the village of *Elai*, picturesquely situated in the angle formed by the Barandu and Pādshāh rivers, could clearly be seen. From the hillside above Elai some small inscribed stones, now in the Lahore Museum, have been picked up by Major Deane's agents. According to the information supplied to him there were no ruins near. The distinct view of the hill slopes with which I had to content myself, also failed to show me any ruined buildings above ground.

I then crossed to the right river bank and followed a track leading over an arid alluvial plateau to a point about two miles distant from Elai where the river passes through a remarkably narrow gorge of sandstone rocks known as the *Surwai Khandau*. A short distance below this gorge the road to Karapa and the south-eastern portion of the valley known as Panjpāo turns off to the right. It ascends a narrow and steep defile which cuts through the rocky range of high hills lining here the south or right bank of the Barandu River. Through the whole of the gorge, which is about three-fourths of a mile long, there leads a fairly broad path fit for laden animals. It is cut either into the rock or carried on walled-up foundations of ancient masonry along the cliffs.

**Karapa Road.** — This road, which in its construction, resembles closely the ancient roads over the Malakand and Shāhkōt Passes already mentioned, goes back undoubtedly to pre-Muhammadan times. It may safely be taken as an indication of an important route having led already at that period through the Karapa defile. The latter is crossed by the direct lines of communication connecting the Malandri and Ambēla Passes with the central portion of Bunēr and hence with Pādshāh and the other routes into Upper Swāt. The above-named passes must have at all times attracted traffic. They give access to the old trade emporium marked by the site of the present *Rustam*,[3] and to the important ancient route leading to the east of the Indus *viâ Udabhāṇḍa* (Waihand, Und) and Taxila. The evident care bestowed on the construction of a road through the difficult defile which falls into the direct line continuing those routes to the north, is thus easily accounted for.

After crossing this defile the large village of Karapa was passed at the edge of the Panjpāo plain. Proceeding about two miles further to the south-east I reached after nightfall the village of *Rēga*, nestling at the entrance of a side-valley, and the camp established there. The village had been singled out for a visit of General Meiklejohn's Brigade as the home of the "Mad Faqīr" whose fanatical preaching had been the immediate cause of last summer's rising sin Lower Swāt, the siege of Malakand, and the events that followed. After assisting in the early morning of the 16th January at the destruction of the Faqīr's house and mosque which were blown up and burned, I proceeded to the examination of the ancient remains reported to me in the vicinity of *Sunigrām*. Major Deane had already previously heard of them through one of his agents. As this agent (Shērbāz) now actually accompanied me, I had no difficulty in finding the ruins referred to.

(*To be continued.*)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NAUGAZA TOMBS.

WITH reference to the note on Naugaza Tombs, *ante*, Vol. XXV. p. 204, I well remember my mother relating to me about fifteen years ago the virtues of the tomb known as Naugaz Nagop in the Intabaldi Fort in Nagpur, at which wishes of the worshippers were supposed to be granted.

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

# NOTES ON THE TAMIL ANTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT SONGS, ENTITLED PURRA-NANNURRU.

BY G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., BALLIOL COLLEGE AND INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD.

## I. — Kô-Pêrum-Çôṛan, and the Poets, Pottiyâr and Piçirân-thaiyâr.

THE renowned king, **Kô-Perum-Çôṛan,**[1] whose capital was **Urraiy-ûr,**[2] after a reign diversified by the rebellion of his two sons, renounced his kingdom, went 'to the north' (the banks of the Ganges ?), as an ascetic, and died there. His most intimate friends, **Pottiyâr** and **Piçirânthaiyâr,** eventually shared his hermit cell, and all three after death were commemorated by stones placed side by side over their urns.

The poet **Kaṇṇaganâr** (of whom nothing else is recorded), visiting this spot, sang as follows 218) : —

'Red gold, and coral, pearls, and rare
Gems the mighty mountains bare,—
Remote their homes in sea or mine,—
If once the precious things combine,
And men in costly shapes entwine,
Henceforth in blended beauty one they shine.
So *worthy men with worthy side by side*
*Remain ; the worthless with the worthless bide.*'

The history of these three, — who were so diverse in many ways, though inseparable in life and death, — as traced in P. N. N., is the favourite Tamil illustration of faithful friendship. (See Pope's *Kurraḷ*, Ch. 79.) In *Nâlaḍi* also Ch. 21-24, many exquisite thoughts on friendship are to be found.

When this king was at strife with his sons, a poet called **Eyiṭṭiyanâr** addressed a lyric to him 213) in which he said :—

'O king, whose white umbrella shines resplendent, and whose mighty power subdues thy foes ! In this world crowned with flowers, and begirt with the swelling sea, the two, who owe their birth to thee, cannot be any of thine ancient enemies ; nor, though ye are now opposed, can they ever really egard thee as an enemy to them ! When, full of glory, you at length leave this world, and rise to the world of the exalted ones, whose must be the heritage you leave behind ? This thou knowest well, so give ear to me, thou who art of illustrious fame ! If these your sons, misled, array themselves against you, and you conquer them, to whom will you bequeath the wealth you leave behind ? If they should overcome you, you but incur disgrace, and your enemies will triumph. Cease then this strife. Let not your lofty mind be bewildered, but prepare for them the feast in which the Immortals shall rejoicing share.'—(*Kurraḷ*, 86.)

It seems that this sensible expostulation was successful, and peace was restored.

The old king himself has left some specimens of his poetical genius. The following is said to have been composed after he had resigned his kingdom, and gone 'to the north' (214) :—

'They who have not assured their minds
By the vision[3] undoubting, pure, that aye endures,
Say not, 'shall we do good deeds or shall we not.'
Who hunts an elephant may gain an elephant ;
Who hunts a quail, may come back with empty hand.
Therefore if men have lofty aspirations,
They must carry them out in successful deeds, and so gain
Enjoyment of the world beyond the reach of sense.

[1] Kô = king. Perum = great. Çôṛan = 'Lord of the Çôṛa, or Chola kingdom.'
[2] Or Warriôr, near Trichinopoly.
[3] See K. Ch. 36. *Kâḍçi* is T's great word, and really = Faith.

Should this not be theirs, in some future birth they may win release.
And if there be no future birth, — yet to found
Their fame on earth like Himâlaya's lofty peak,
And to pass away with body unstained by evil,
Is surely asceticism's highest gain.'

**Piçirânthaiyâr** came from the village of **Piçar, near Madura**; and so was not a subject of the king to whom he was so much attached. The name seems to have been given to him jocosely by the king, as *ânthai* means 'owl;' so the sobriquet was equal to the **owl of Piçir**, which may have been a sly hit at his verses. **Pottiyâr**, on the other hand, seems to have lived at his friend and patron's capital. The name (if it be not a mere bye-name) signifies 'he of the hollow tree,' and the merry hearted king made a joke on this also, as we shall see. When Kô-Perum-Çôran 'went to the north, his two friends went with him, but the king sent Pottiyâr home, bidding him remain there till he had a son born to him, after which a place should be found for him in the retreat. He did not return, it seems, till after the king's death. All this is necessary to be kept in mind in reading the lyrics.

**Piçirânthaiyâr**, who was a true optimist, was once asked why, though old, he was not grey or decrepid; his reply is curious (191):—

My years are many, yet my locks not grey;
You ask the reason why, 'tis simply this:
I have a worthy wife, and children too;
My servants move obedient to my will;
My king does me no evil, aye protects;
To crown the whole around me dwell
Good men and true, of chastened souls with knowledge filled.

At another time he was asked, Who is your so much beloved king? and replied:

(212) **The Merry Monarch.**

If you ask us 'who is your king'? Our king is He who
To the labourers gives strong palm wine strained and mellow,
And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,
And fills their mouths with lampreys' rich roast flesh.
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger's pangs.
He is the lord of **Kôṛi**, the mighty **Çôṛa** king.
He loves converse with **Potti**, whose friendship knows no flaw.[4]
All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

Had the bard of the **Nâladi** heard this song? Assuredly in 137 he echoes its sentiment.

It seems that when the king was in his final retreat Piçirânthaiyâr did not join him at once and the ascetics around said:—'He will not come. Men do not remember their friends and benefactors when they are no longer able to help them.' To this the king replied in two short songs, in which he says (215, 216):—

'Though he belongs to **Piçir** in the Pâṇḍiyan's land, he stood by me in the time of wealth, will he not stand by me in my time of grief?'

'O ye of excellence fulfilled, he was ever full of pleasant qualities and ne'er despised me; he was joined to me by friendship's closest ties. He never delighted in falsehood that withers men's glory. When he spoke of me to others he was wont to call me, by virtue of his intimacy, the silly Çôṛan.[5] In my time of grief he will not fail to come. Forthwith he will be here. Prepare his place by mine.'

[4] A play on words: *potti* means 'hollow'; but there is no hollowness in this Potti.
[5] This illustrates *Kurraḷ*, Ch. 81 and Ch. 45.

This is another of his songs in praise of his king (67) :—

O lordly male-swan! lordly male-swan!
Like the bright face of the king, who after gaining the victory, and slayiny his foes,
Is gracious to his own land, rises the moon, two parts dark, and two parts light.
So shines he in the evening hour, while we are troubled in our wanton idleness.
Thou, having fed upon the grain that grows by the ford of **Kumari's** stream,
Goest northward to Himâlaya's mount.
Happy in thy flight thou mayest linger in the Çôṛa Land,
And with thy dear one mayest alight on the upper balcony of stately home of **Urraiyûr.**
Stay not to ask the warder's leave, — unhindered enter the palace; and when the great king **Kiḷḷi** asks who thou art,
Say only, 'I come from neath the feet of **Ânthai** of the great town of **Piçir'**;
And forthwith he will give thee rich jewels, that shall delight the heart of her the noble love.

**Against Arbitrary Taxation.**

The following is one of the very few songs of **Piçirânthaiyâr** not connected with Kô-Perum-Çôṛan. There was a young prince, called the learned **Pâṇḍiyan Nambi**, who was **of the Madura dynasty**, and renowned for his learning; but, it might seem, rather disposed to be tyrannical in government. It runs as follows (184) :—

'If an elephant take mouthfuls of ripe grain cut for it,
The twentieth part of an acre will yield it food for many days;
But if it enter a hundred fertile fields, with no keeper,
Its foot will trample down much more than its mouth receives.
So if a wise king, who knows the path of right take just his due,
His land will prosper, yielding myriadfold.
But, if the king, not softened by his knowledge, take just what he desires,
Nor heed prescription's rule, feasting with song and dance
Amid his court and kindred, and show no love to his subjects;
Like the field that elephant entered,
His kingdom will perish, and he himself will lose his all.'

**Pottiyâr** was sent back by his king, and bidden come again when his son had been born. On his arrival at the spot, when some years had elapsed, he found the place where his memorial was to be erected, and it seems as if it were the place where he like his beloved king and late companion was to end his days by voluntary abstinence from food. This is supposed to be his song addressed to his late master and friend (and sure they were not words of love!) (222) :—

' You said,
" Go back, and come when she whose footsteps leave
Your shadow never, she adorned with radiant gems,
Your well-beloved, has borne you son of glorious worth."
Sure you forgot the friendship 'twixt us twain, —
But no, I was not so forgotten, much-loved one!
Where is the place designed for me?
A shade to many wert thou, the world extolled thy fame.
Thou didst remember life to come
And so didst all renounce,
And here a stone is all that's left of thee;
Yet those like thee, when soul is severed from the frame,
Forget not ancient friendship, when their friends draw near.'

### (221) The Dirge.

**Perum Çôṟan.**

He had the praises manifold of minstrels whose wants he relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his court;
He swayed his sceptre in accordance with the teaching of the sages;
He cultivated the friendship of the honoured wise;
He was gentle to women, brave and strong in the face of the brave;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.
Such an one death did not consider, but carried off his sweet soul.
Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Come, all ye bards, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with immortal praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns.
Such is the lot of him who was our guardian true!

### The Empty Stall. (220)

*The song of* **Pottiyâr** *when he returned from the north leaving his beloved king to die.*

'The keeper who has lost the huge elephant which he daily supplied
With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
Is sad as he surveys the vacant pillar where it stood,
And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
The courtyard in the ancient town where **Kiḷḷi** lived and died;
Kiḷḷi, with wealth of chariots, o'er which waved the conqueror's wreath'?

There is another poet of whom we have three very exquisite lyrics. He would seem to have been one of the company gathered around the genial king, Ko-Perum-Çoṟan, and so an intimate friend of the two merry bards before mentioned. His name was '**Kaniyan of the flowery hill.**'

### (192)

### The Wise Man Equable.

To us all towns are one; and all men are our kings;
Evil and good come not to men from other folk,
So pain and pain's relief are from within.
Death is no novelty, nor do we joy in life,
As though it were some morsel sweet.
When we are grieved, we bear it, nor complain;
This precious life of ours is like a raft
Floating adown the waters of some mighty stream,
That roars and tumbles over boulders huge;
When from the skies with lightnings mixed the pelting storm
Comes down: the raft goes on as fate ordained.
Thus have we seen in visions of the truly wise.
In prosperous hours we marvel not at greatness of the great;
Still less can we despise the lowlier lot.

### (194)

### Diversities of Human Destiny.

Look narrowly, and in one house they wail the funeral chant
And in adjoining home the marriage drum sounds out mid festive song,
There go embracing friends just met with festive wreaths,

And there they weep because they part.
Thus hath the Maker shown his lack of love.
Ah, evil is the world! See that thou do
Good deeds, bringers of pleasure to the world.

Comp. Nâl. 23.

If the friendships of Orestes and Pylades are worthy of remembrance these friends of 1,000 years ago should not be forgotten. They stand out of the shadows of the past like kindly-hearted Epicureans, loving and beloved; and their deaths even were not gloomy, but wise and philosophical, as they understood wisdom and philosophy.

---

## DETAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.

BY M. A. STEIN, C.I.E., PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 28.)

**Stūpa of Sunigrām.** — About one mile to the north of Rēga where the valley leading down from the Malandri Pass in the south-west debouches into the Panjpāo plain, I had already on the previous evening when on my way from Karapa to Rēga, noticed a large mound suggestive of the remains of a Stūpa. This assumption soon proved correct on closer inspection. The mound rises to a height of about 25 feet above the flat level of the plain. Wherever the débris covering its sides had been removed by the action of rain or other causes, it showed the same courses of rough masonry which had been noticed in the Stūpas previously described. Judging from the dimensions of the present base of the mound which measures circ. 240 feet from east to west and 200 feet from north to south, this Stūpa must have been by far the largest of all those examined in Bunēr. If a conclusion can be drawn from the state of utter dilapidation in which it is now, it may also be looked upon as one of the oldest. At about half its height a kind of terrace can be traced all around the mound: this probably indicates the elevation from which the Stūpa proper rose above the basement.

The top of the mound now forms a slightly sloped oval measuring circ. 120 feet from east to west and 75 feet from north to south. I am inclined to explain this peculiar shape by the assumption that the basement which shows a similarly elongated form was broader to the east and west than on the other two sides. The decay of the originally hemispherical mound must thus have been more rapid on the north and south sides where there was no broad terrace to retain the loose masonry brought down by the rains, etc., than on the east and west where the masses of débris accumulated over the original basement. In support of this explanation I may mention that the slopes of the mound to the north and south appeared steeper. It is just on these sides that the courses of masonry composing the mound are traced most clearly on the surface.

For some distance from the foot of the mound to the south the ground is covered with low heaps of débris which seem to indicate the site of ruined buildings once attached to the Stūpa. These remains were, however, too indistinct and too much overgrown by jungle to permit of a plan being taken in the short time available.

**Well near Sunigrām.** — At a distance of about 60 yards to the south-east of the Stūpa there is an ancient stone-lined well which has remained on the whole in a remarkably good state of preservation. The well proper is 8 feet in diameter and is enclosed by a circular wall, 5 feet thick, of carefully set masonry. Adjoining to the west is a staircase which leads between equally well-built walls down to the level of the water. This is now 18 feet below the ground level, and is reached by 23 steps. The accompanying plan and section (V) shows the construction of the well. Some of the stairs have crumbled away, and also the side-walls have suffered in parts notwithstanding the repairs which are indicated in several places by coarse masonry of a later date.

Apart from these repairs the whole of the walls shows to perfection that peculiar form of masonry — large blocks in level courses and columns of small stones in the interstices — which has been described already above as characteristic of all the ancient structures in this and the neighbouring regions. There is no special feature to indicate the relative age of the well as compared with that of the ruined Stūpa. Its escape from the fate of the latter may be due to continued use and consequent repair. Some Khattrīs from Rēga whom I met near by, were prepared to ascribe the well to *Birmal*, *i. e.*, Bīrbal, the renowned minister of Akbar. But this tradition, if it is one at all, cannot refer to anything more than a clearing of the ancient well which may have become disused and filled up with earth. These informants knew of no other name for the site but *bahai*, which in Pashtu is the ordinary designation for any stone-lined tank or well with steps leading down to the water.

**Sunigrām.** — The village of *Sunigrām*, a small place, lies about half a mile to the north of this site. It occupies a saddle-like depression between the east foot of the rocky hill range through which the Karapa defile leads, and a series of small fir-covered hillocks which rise like islands from the plain and form a continuation of that range to the south-east. There is nothing ancient to be noticed about the village itself but its name *Sunigrām*, which is undoubtedly of Indian origin and hence old.

The second part *grām*, from Sanskrit *grāma* ('village'), does not occur in any other Bunēr local name I know, and is but rarely met with in the neighbouring territories of Swāt and Yusafzai (see *Jolagrām*, *Pajigrām*, and *Udegrām* in the Swāt Valley; *Naugrām*, on the Khudu Khēl border; *Asgrām* and *Kābulgrām*, on the Indus). It is scarcely necessary to point out how common on the other hand this ending, in its varying vernacular forms of *grām*, *gām*, *gāon*, *grāon*, etc., is throughout the whole of Aryan India. The first part of the name *Suni-* is clearly connected with Sanskrit *suvarna*, 'gold,' and represents probably a Prakrit derivative of *sauvarṇika*, 'goldsmith.' Thus in Kashmīrī, which may be considered a near relative of the old Indo-Aryan dialect once spoken beyond the Indus, we have *sun* ('gold') and *sunar* ('goldsmith') derived by a regular process of phonetic conversion from Sanskrit *suvarṇa* and *suvarṇakāra*, respectively (compare also Hindī *suniyār*). Derivatives from Sanskrit *suvarṇa* are not amongst the words borrowed by Pashtu from Indo-Aryan dialects. It is thus certain that the local name *Sunigrām* must go back to a period preceding the Paṭhān occupation.

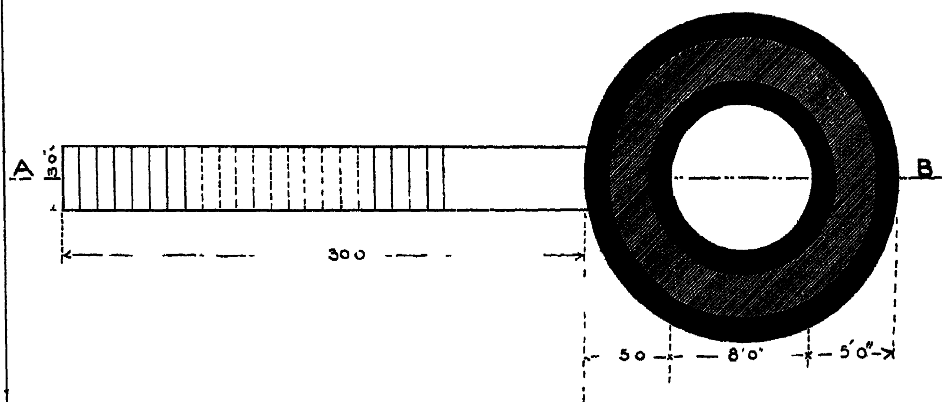
**Pinjkōṭai.** — Immediately above the village, and to the west of it, rises the rocky hill range which has been mentioned in connection with the Karapa defile. Guided by Shērbāz, I ascended its steep scarp in a northerly direction to a height of about 400 feet above the bottom of the valley until I reached the point from where a rocky spur running south-east to north-west juts out towards the Barandu River. It is about one-third of a mile long and is known by the name of *Pinjkōṭai* (also pronounced *Panjkōṭai*). The crest of this spur is fairly level and bears the ruins of a large number of buildings which in construction and character resemble closely the ancient dwelling places examined near Kingargalai and Juvur.

On the west slope of the spur, and towards its north-west extremity overlooking the river, are the comparatively well-preserved ruins of what evidently was once a monastery of great size and importance. They consist, as shown on the attached site-plan *VI*, in the first place of a series of large terraces. These are built against the hillside by means of strong supporting walls and extend for nearly 300 feet from north to south with a total breadth of over 160 feet. At the south end of these terraces rises a block of vaulted rooms with attached courts constructed of solid and carefully set masonry. At the north end of the terraces, and close to their edge, are the much injured remains of some smaller structures. Among them is a square block of masonry (*B*), which judging from the remains of a small circular mound built over it can have been nothing but the base of a little Stūpa. The circular pit excavated in the centre of this mound shows that treasure-seekers have erenow recognized its true character and been at work here. The little square structure (*C*) to the east, which is even more injured, may also mark the position of a small Stūpa.

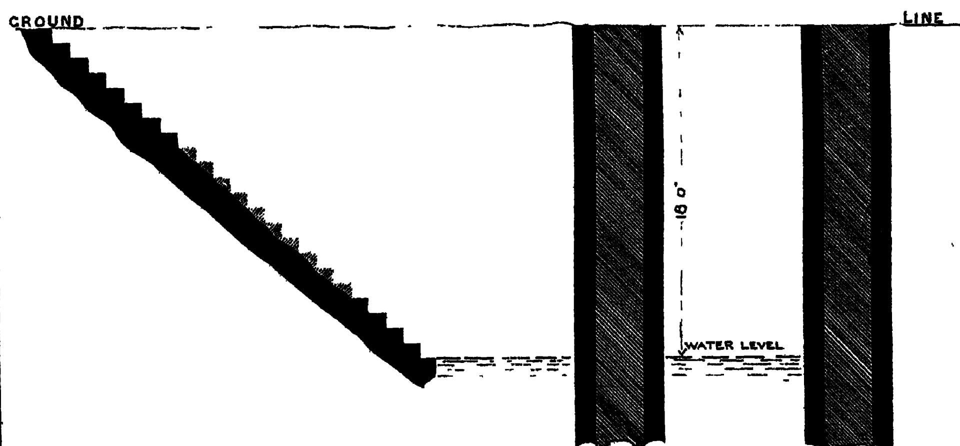
PLAN AND SECTION OF OLD WELL

AT

SUNIGRĀM




SECTION ON LINE A.B.




SCALE OF FEET



# SITE PLAN OF PINJKOTAI RUINS

N

39'0"
23'0
17'0"
D
18
C
18'
25'0"
B
25'0"
65'0"
51'6"
103'0
110'0"
K
40'0"
A
55'6"
7
F
H
I
50'0"
J
E
G

SCALE OF FEET

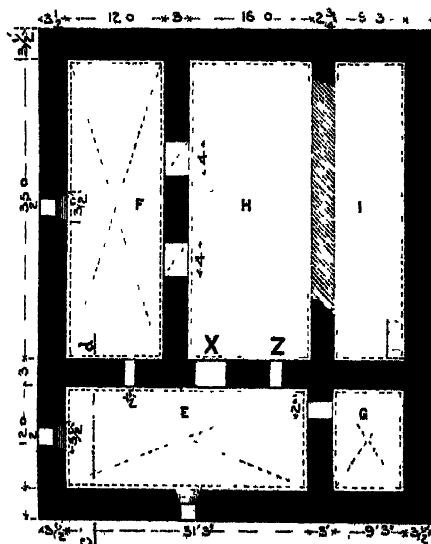
20 10 0 20 40 60 80

# DETAIL PLAN OF MAIN BUILDING AT PINJKOTAI, SUNIGRĀM

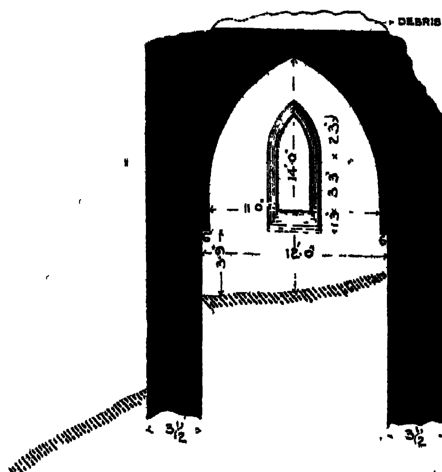
SCALE OF FEET



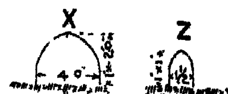

PLAN




SECTION ON LINE c.d




ELEVATION OF PASSAGE




SCALE OF FEET



**Vihāra of Pinjkōṭai.** — The interest of the main building *A* lies in the good preservation of its superstructures which acquaint us with some details of architectural construction not otherwise traceable in the extant remains of Bunēr. They are illustrated by the detail plan *VII*.

Three rooms of this building, forming its south and west side, show high pointed vaults of overlapping stones which spring from a projecting cornice of the longer side walls. The height from this cornice to the point of the arch is 10 feet 3 inches. The construction of the vault and cornice is shown by the section given for the line *cd* in the detail plan. The total height of the rooms could not be ascertained, as the interior is partly filled up by masses of débris from the fallen portions of the vaults. The width of the vaults is 12 feet in the two larger rooms *E* and *F* which are 31 and 35 feet long, respectively. In the small room *G* the width covered by the vault is 8 feet and 3 inches and the length 12 feet. These three rooms communicated with each other and the central court *H* by means of passages of varying width surmounted by pointed arches of overlapping stones. Owing to the accumulation of débris only these arches are now visible above the ground level. The elevation of two of these passages, *X* and *Z*, has been shown in the detail plan.

Besides the passages leading into the central court there were windows to admit light into the larger rooms. These windows are placed in the centre of the walls and end in pointed arches, as shown in the section of line *cd*. Their width is 2 feet, and their height to the point of the arch is 5 feet 6 inches. The sill or lower edge and the sides of the windows are bevelled inwards by means of regularly receding courses, evidently with a view to distributing the light more evenly over the room.

The central apartment *H* is the largest in this pile of building, being 35 feet by 16 feet. It does not appear to have been roofed, and must hence be assumed to have formed a kind of central courtyard. It has no direct entrance from outside, but was evidently approached by a passage which leads to the adjoining room *I* through a dividing wall now for the greater part broken. This latter apartment, which is also 35 feet long, but only 9 feet 3 inches broad, does not show either any trace of having been roofed. In its south-east corner are the remains of a staircase leading up to the open quadrangle *J* which occupies the raised terrace immediately to the east. As this staircase, as far as can be judged from the present condition of the building, was its only entrance from outside, we may conclude that the small court *I* formed a kind of open ante-room to the whole block.

The quadrangle *J* is in reality a terrace, 55 feet deep and 50 feet broad, built against the rising slope of the ridge and screened on the east and south by strong walls 7 feet thick. The unusual thickness of these walls suggests that they contained niches which might have been used as small cells. But the ruined condition of the walls and the great masses of débris and earth which cover their foot inside the quadrangle made it impossible to ascertain this point. Judging from the relative position and size of this enclosure, it might be conjectured that is served, like similar open courts in the ruined monasteries of Takht-i Bāhi and Jamālgarhi, described by Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæological Survey Reports*, V, pp. 30, 50), as a meeting place for the fraternity of monks.

To the north of this court, but at a considerably lower level, extends another large platform (*K*), 110 feet long, which shows no trace of superstructures. From this a flight of 7 steps leads down to the artificially levelled ground on which the main block of building stands. Immediately to the north of the latter is a large terrace, 103 feet long by 88 feet broad, supported on the sides facing the downward slopes of the hill by basement walls over 30 feet high.

**Construction of Pinjkōṭai ruins.** — The massive construction of these walls and the great extent of the terraces which they support suffice to indicate the importance of the site. The blocks of stone used in the walls, both of these terraces and of the main building, are on the whole larger than in any other structure examined in Bunēr; they are often over 4 feet long

with a thickness of 1 foot. Though the blocks are but roughly hewn, as throughout the masonry of the ancient buildings in Gandhāra and Udyāna, yet special care has been taken to arrange them in even and regular courses. The interstices of each course are not merely filled as usual with closely packed columns of small flat pieces, but show besides the use of a kind of thin mortar which must have added considerably to the consistency and strength of these walls. It is evidently due to the exceptional solidity of the construction that the walls of the main block still show a height of 23 feet at the north-west corner where they rise on the massive foundation of the terrace basement.

An equally significant feature of the *Pinjkōṭai* ruins is the comparatively great span of the overlapping domes which form the roofs of the two large rooms in the main building. The span of 12 feet covered by these domes is not reached by any extant arched structure in Gandhāra or Udyāna. The domes in nearly all the buildings surveyed by General Cunningham are limited to about 8 feet (see *Archæological Survey Reports*, V, p. 52). The wider span assumed by him in two examples is a matter of conjecture.

It will help us to form a correct estimate of the relative importance of the Pinjkōṭai ruins, if we compare them also in other respects with the remains of such well-known sites as Takht-i Bāhi and Jamālgarhi. This comparison suggests itself all the more, as the general situation of the ruins near the ridge of a steep rocky spur bears a striking similarity to that of the last-named great monastery. Referring then to the plans of the latter, as recorded after excavation in plates vii. and xiv. of General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Volume V, we note at once that though the number of separate buildings at present traceable at Pinjkōṭai is far smaller than that brought to light in the course of prolonged explorations at the above two sites, yet the size of the structures still above ground at Pinjkōṭai is decidedly more imposing.

The same holds good as regards the extent of the terraces and their substructures which here as there were indispensable to provide the requisite level building ground. That the ample space thus provided at Pinjkōṭai was once occupied by a greater number of buildings than now visible can be inferred from the low mounds of débris which stretch in various directions across the terraces to the north of the main pile of building. It is likely that these little mounds, of which, I regret, it was impossible to make any plan in the very limited time available, mark the position of small detached structures which here as at Jamālgarhi may have contained the cells of the monks attached to the establishment. Other small buildings of this kind situated nearer to the rising slope of the ridge are, perhaps, buried under the masses of detritus carried down from the latter.

It remains yet to be noted that the Stūpa *B* referred to above would, as shown by the dimensions of its extant base, 25 feet square, well bear comparison with the corresponding structures of Takht-i Bāhi and Jamālgarhi. The chief Stūpa of the first-named monastery rose on a basement, 20½ feet square (*Archæological Survey Reports*, V, p. 26), and the 'great Stūpa' of the second did also not measure more than 22 feet in diameter (*ib.*, p. 47). The oblong enclosure *D*, 30 feet long by 20 feet broad, which adjoins the Stūpa of Pinjkōṭai on the north may like the small 'Chapel courts' found at the two Gandhāra monasteries, have served for the placing of Buddha statues. But the walls of this enclosure are in so ruined a condition and its interior so much covered with débris that any conjecture regarding its original character, if not tested by excavation, must necessarily remain hazardous.

I cannot conclude this account of the ruins examined on the Pinjkōṭai spur without referring to the magnificent view enjoyed from their site. Standing at the north-west corner of the walled-up terraces, near the remains of the Stūpa, I had before me the whole expanse of the Barandu Valley stretching, with a varying breadth of 4 to 6 miles, from *Elai* in the west towards *Matwanai* in the east. The river which winds along the southern side of the valley, often divided into several channels, passes close to the north foot of the spur. Looking to the north beyond the valley and the hill range immediately skirting it, the double-peaked

cone of Mount *Dosirri* with its cap of snow came prominently into view. To the north-west the fir-clad slopes of Mount *Ilm* could clearly be seen through the gap formed by the valley which runs down to Elai. In the west appeared the rugged heights of *Jaffar* hill near Tursak. In the east the extensive view across the plains and low alluvial plateaus of the central Barandu Valley was limited only by the high *Dūma* range which divides Bunēr from the Indus Valley. From the steep cliffs, which form the extremity of the ridge towards the river and overlook the ruins, the panoramic view was still wider. It comprised the long-stretched ranges which run up towards Mount Mahāban in the south-east, and the still higher peaks of the 'Black Mountains' beyond the Indus.

The prominent position occupied by the Pinjkōṭai ruins and their relatively great extent are indications that the convent to which they belonged must have been once important and well known. It is necessary to lay stress on the evidence furnished by these points. It will help to strengthen the arguments set forth below regarding the probable identity of these remains with the *Mahāvana* monastery of Hiuen Tsiang (see below, Part II).

**Takhtaband Stūpa.** — Already when standing on the height of the spur above the Pinjkōṭai ruins a massive mound of masonry further down the valley had attracted my attention. It was the Stūpa which Shērbāz's report had led me to expect in that direction. To this I proceeded accordingly when the survey of the Vihāra remains was completed. From the foot of the spur the way lay across the level plain which stretches here on both sides of the river. After going for about 1½ miles in the direction of E. S. E. and crossing the river I reached the Stūpa.

It rises a short distance from the left river bank, about 60 yards from the extreme western end of a small rocky ridge which without attaining any great height stretches across the valley to the east towards Shālbandai. This Stūpa, which from the name of the village nearest to it on the right bank of the river I propose to call that of *Takhtaband*, has even in its present damaged condition better retained its original appearance than any other structure of this type in Bunēr. It forms a dome of a shape somewhat resembling that of a bulb and rises to a height of about 26 feet above its base. It is constructed of horizontal courses of massive but rough masonry, none of the stones now exposed having received any dressing.

This dome is again raised on a large base about 25 feet high, which originally formed a quare measuring about 84 feet at the foot, approximately orientated. The accompanying elevation (Plate *VIII*) shows the exact dimensions of the Stūpa and its basement. Both have completely been stripped, evidently long ago, of their outer casing of masonry. No remains of it can be traced now on or about the mound. It was evidently carried away to be used as building material. In the same way the inner masonry has also been cut away to some depth round the foot of the Stūpa, the upper portions of which in consequence are now overhanging.

The Stūpa has been opened by a broad cutting which reaches to the centre and runs through its whole height on the east side. This excavation has been carried even further down into the base to a depth of about 8 feet. There can thus be no doubt that relic deposits have been reached and abstracted. It must be supposed that this spoliation took place a considerable time ago as the débris of the materials excavated can no longer be distinguished.

The cutting here indicated has laid bare a little chamber lined with large and carefully cut slabs in the centre of the Stūpa. It is 7 feet high and forms a square of 7 feet, of which the astern side is now removed. The floor of this chamber was originally about 12 feet above the level of the Stūpa base. There is every reason to believe that this receptacle was intended for a relic deposit. Square hollows or wells of exactly similar position have been found in several of the Stūpas excavated in the Punjab and the Kabul Valley, also in the great Stūpa of Manikyāla.[4] As far as I could examine the walls of this chamber from below, they bear no

[4] Compare Gen. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, V, pl. xxii.

trace of any decoration or inscription. In order to reach them closely a ladder or scaffolding would have been necessary.

The elevation reproduced shows that there must have been a platform extending round the foot of the Stūpa which had served as a procession-path. But owing to the dilapidated condition of the base, the original width of this platform can no longer be ascertained. It is probable that it was approached from the east, as on this side there are traces of projecting masonry which may have served as the substructure of a staircase.

Neither in the narrow flat gap, which separates the Stūpa mound on the east from the foot of the rocky ridge above referred to, nor on the open ground on any of the other sides was I able to discover any remains above ground which might indicate the previous existence of walls or buildings. It must, however, be noted that the ground all around the Stūpa, which is of a rich alluvial soil, is under cultivation. This would easily account for the removal of such remains if they were not of a very massive character. The late hour at which I reached this site and the necessity of returning soon to camp did not allow me to examine the slopes of the ridge closely. It is possible that remains of dwelling places for the attendant priests could be traced there. From below none were discernible.

During the day a portion of the Brigade had marched at no great distance down the valley to Bājkatta. To this circumstance was probably due the utterly deserted condition of Takhtaband village. I was unable to obtain there any local information regarding the Stūpa.

**Barkili.** — The night was passed in General Meiklejohn's Camp near Barkili, which I reached after a march of about 3 miles from Takhtaband. There I ascertained that the greater portion of the force was to move on the following day into the Chamla Valley *en route* for the Ambēla Pass. This was probably the last day I could hope to spend on the soil of Bunēr proper. I accordingly resolved to utilize it for an attempt to reach the sites near the villages of *Nawakili*, *Mullaisap* and *Zangi Khān Banda* from which a number of inscriptions either in original or impressions had been obtained by Major Deane's agents. These villages, all belonging to the Nūrizai clan, are situated in the valley which leads from Karapa in a south-westerly direction to the Malandri Pass.

Starting in the morning of the 17th January I marched first round the foot of the several spurs which descend from the high range to the south and run out into the Panjpāo plain between Barkili and Karapa. On the way from the former place to Rēga I passed the opening of the valley known as *Bēshpūra*, evidently an old name of Hindu origin to which Captain F. S. Robertson, of the Survey Department, had been kind enough to draw my attention. The valley is now practically uninhabited. At Karapa, which is a thriving village of some size, I picked up Aslām Khān, one of the inhabitants, who had assisted my guide Katōr Shāh on previous occasions in tracing inscribed stones in this neighbourhood. He first offered to show me "Būts," on the hillside west of the village. But after reaching the small cave to which I was taken, and examining with some difficulty its narrow recesses, I convinced myself that the supposed relievo images were only natural markings of the rocks.

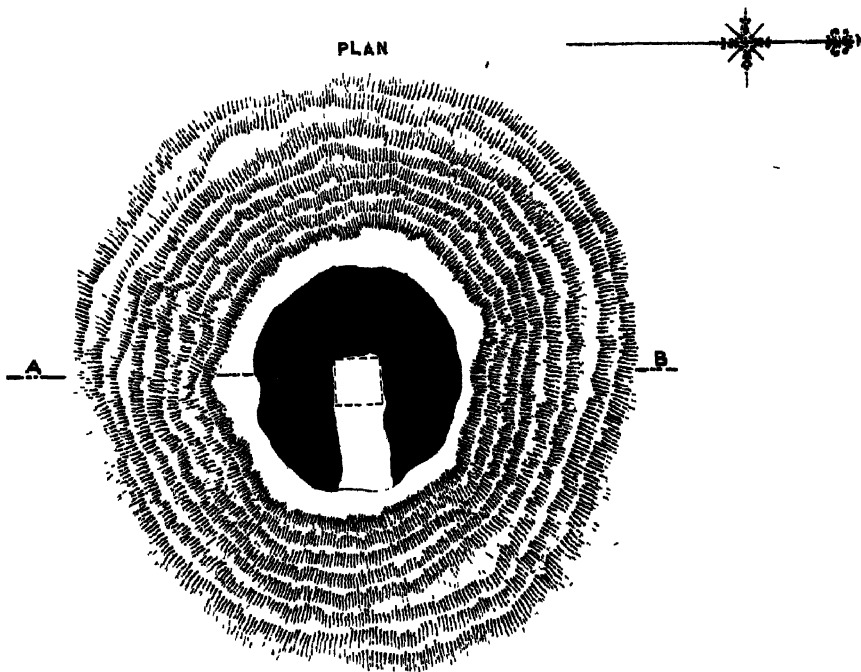
**Mound near Nawakili.** — I then marched in the broad open valley to the south-west until at a distance of about 4 miles I reached *Nawakili*, a fair-sized village situated at the point where the valley forms an inlet to the south towards Mount Guru. About half a mile to the south of the village is a mound covered with old masonry known as *Surkhau Kandar*. It occupies the west foot of a small fir-covered spur, and on the sides seems partly to have been terraced. On the top old walls are clearly marked. The centre is occupied by a square of old masonry, 34 feet each face, rising only one or two feet above the ground. The western face is continued to the south by another wall for about 22 feet, and this is approached by a kind of terrace sloped as for stairs.

PLAN AND SECTION OF STŪPA

NEAR

TAKHTABAND

PLAN




SECTION ON LINE A B




SCALE OF FEET



It was here according to Katōr Shāh's statement that he picked up, from below the north face of the mound, one of the inscribed stones delivered to Major Deane. Of another stone said to have been found further down the slopes, the agent who accompanied Katōr Shāh on that occasion is supposed to have taken an impression.

I was particularly anxious to ascertain the position of the large inscription in unknown characters, of which an impression, marked as having been obtained at Nawakili, had reached me from Major Deane in September 1896. It is now reproduced on No. 82 of Plate X prepared for my second paper on these inscriptions. But the villagers whom I examined would know nothing either of this or any other inscribed stone in the neighbourhood. Aslām Khān who, I have reason to believe, acted as guide to at least one of Major Deane's agents in this vicinity, grew equally ignorant in view of this attitude. After repeated attempts to elicit information by various means, I was reluctantly obliged to abandon the search.

The motives of the villagers in denying all knowledge of inscriptions are not far to seek. Their combined fanaticism and ignorance must make them anxious to keep from the 'unbeliever,' in particular when he appears as one of the invaders, information about records which might be supposed to lead to the discovery of hidden treasure or similar advantages. Obstacles of this kind could, among a population as fanatical as the Bunērwāls, be overcome only by the fear of a more immediate danger. But in the present circumstances, when the evacuation of the territory by the troops was known to be a matter of a few days only, the threat of more stringent measures, even if I had been able to give effect to it, would have probably produced no result. It was but too clear that, with an escort of eight sepoys and the certainty of the near retirement of the troops, little impression could be made.

**Zangi Khān Banda.** — The advanced hour and the necessity of reaching before nightfall the distant camp at Barkili obliged me to forego a visit to *Zangi Khān Banda.* This place from which a series of stones inscribed with very peculiar characters had been secured on several occasions by Major Deane's people,[5] was according to local information at a considerably greater distance towards the Malandri Pass than the available sketch maps had led me to suppose. Nor could I have reasonably expected to fare there better than at Nawakili, seeing that even Katōr Shāh denied having had anything to do with the finds in that locality.

**Mullaisap.** — Marching then back from Nawakili I took occasion to visit *Mullaisap* (for Mullā Īsuf ?) which lies in a side valley opening to the south-east, about half way between Nawakili and Karapa. Two impressions had reached me of inscriptions near this village. But my local enquiries as to the actual position of the stones were here also of no avail. I could, however, convince myself that neither here nor at Nawakili nor at Karapa were there any conspicuous ruins with which these inscriptions could be connected. On the other hand, none of the sites at which remains of Stūpas or monasteries are still extant, have hitherto contributed to our collection of Bunēr inscriptions. This observation seems to give some foundation to the belief that the originators of the latter must be looked for elsewhere than among the founders or attendants of the Buddhist shrines still extant in ruins.

I reached Barkili Camp, where only a small detachment of troops had been left, late in the evening, having marched my escort that day probably not less than 25 miles. On the next day, the 18th January, the remainder of the troops still in Bunēr was under orders to retire over the so-called Bunēr Pass and to join the 2nd Brigade which had in the meantime occupied the head of the Chamla Valley through the defile of Ambēla. In order to utilize the few hours still available to me on Bunēr soil I moved in the morning in a north-easterly direction down to the river. There an insolated hill rising several hundred feet from the plain close to the villages of Kalpanai and Bājkatta offered a central and very comprehensive view over the

[5] See Nos. 47-50 of the inscriptions reproduced in Part I of my "*Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane.*" According to the information supplied with them these stones were "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stupa completely buried in the ground at *Bughdarra,* which is the ravine near Zangi Khan Banda." For other inscriptions from this locality see Nos. 79-81 of Part II.

whole of Lower Bunēr. From Matwanai in the east, where the Barandu River enters a narow defile leading down to the Indus, to Elai in the west, the whole expanse of the valley on both sides of the winding river lay clearly before me. No ruins or artificial mounds offered themselves to view from this commanding position, except the Stūpa of Takhtaband already described. Nor could the Hindu traders, whom I got hold of in Kalpanai village, tell me of any other ancient sites within reach besides those already visited.

**Chamla Valley.** — I accordingly returned by midday to the deserted camp of Barkili and hence crossed with the rear guard the pass usually designated as that of Bunēr, which leads to the head of the Chamla Valley. The latter is drained by the river, which receives the streams from the northern slopes of Mount Mahāban and joins the Barandu not far from its own junction with the Indus. Chamla geographically as well as ethnographically forms a territory distinct from Bunēr proper. The fir-covered top of the pass was reached through very pretty forest scenery, and offered to me once more a striking view across Bunēr, bounded in the north only by the snow-capped ranges of the Dūma Mountains, Dosirri and Ilm.

Reaching in the afternoon the camp which was pitched below the village of Ambēla, I took an opportunity to represent to General JEFFREYS, Commanding the 2nd Brigade, my desire of approaching Mount Mahāban as closely as the military dispositions permitted. From the time that the Bunēr Expedition had been taken into view I had fondly entertained the hope that it would give me the chance of reaching that mountain which has never yet been visited by a European or surveyed. This desire arose from the fact that of the various positions which have been proposed for the *Aornos* of the historians of Alexander there is none which in my opinion has a better claim for serious consideration than Mount Mahāban.

**Mount Mahāban.** — I need not review here the numerous opinions which have been advanced since General Court took up the question in 1836 regarding the site of that famous mountain stronghold. They have been fully set forth and discussed by General Cunningham in a separate chapter of his *Ancient Geography of India.*[6] Nor is this the place to explain the reasons which seem to me to militate against any one of the suggested sites that are at present accessible for examination, such as 'Rāja Hōdi's Castle' opposite Attock, the Karamā hill, the ruined castle of Rānigat.[7]

The claims of Mount Mahāban were first advanced by the late General Abbott, of Abbottabad, nearly half a century ago. They were rightly based by him on the close agreement which the main orographical features of that mountain, as then known, its proximity to the Indus, its great height and extent,present with the description of the Greek historians.[8] No fact has since come to light which could shake the weight of the arguments derived from this observation.[9]

[6] See pp. 58 *sqq.*; compare also Sir E. Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, I, pp. 496 *sqq.*

[7] General Cunningham himself, evidently after a good deal of hesitation, settled upon Rāṇigat as the most likely position. But that distinguished antiquarian, to whose intuitive perception in matters of ancient topography we owe many happy identifications, was himself constrained to own in this case that he did not feel satisfied with this location. To any unbiassed student of the question who has visited the ruins on the Rāṇigat hill, the objections must appear unsurmountable. Its great distance from the Indus, its comparatively small height, and still smaller summit are all features which cannot be reconciled with the salient points of the Greek accounts.

[8] See General Abbott's paper "*Gradus ad Aornum,*" *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 309 *sqq.* Before him General Court already seems to have thought of Māhāban as a possible position for Aornos; see his incidental reference, *J. A. S. B.*, 1839, p. 310.

[9] The main objection which General Cunningham raises to Mount Mahāban as the representative of Aornos (*Ancient Geography*, p. 61 *sq.*) is based on the assumption that it is the 'great mountain' by the side of which the *Mahāvana* monastery of Hiuen Tsiang was situated. "If any fort had then existed on the top of the mountain," General Cunningham argues, "it is almost certain that the pilgrim would have mentioned its name," etc. After what we have shown below as to the real position of the Mahāvana convent, it is clear that this negative argument, weak in itself, falls to the ground.

Nor can I attach any greater importance to his other two objections, derived as they are from such defective information as has hitherto been available regarding the shape and extent of the mountain and its several spurs. In the absence of any proper survey it is impossible to assert the easy accessibility of the mountain as contrasted with the description given of the steepness of Aornos, or to compare its circuit with the varying figures recorded for the latter by the historians of Alexander.

But the heights of Mahāban have continued to be as inaccessible to Europeans as they were then. It has hence been impossible to obtain that detailed topographical evidence, without which it seems hopeless to expect a definite settlement of this much vexed question.

My interest in Mount Mahāban as the probable site of Aornos was considerably increased by the important information which Major Deane had recently obtained through native sources regarding extensive remains of an ancient fort situated at a point of Mahāban known as *Shāhkōṭ*.[10] Can these ruins be referred to so early a date as Alexander's invasion, or do they at least indicate the likely position of an old fortification? Only an archæological survey of the mountain could give us the answer.

The ready submission of the Chamla clans induced the military authorities to abstain from any further advance to the east down the Chamla Valley. This made it clear to me that the hope I had cherished of visiting Mount Mahāban could not be realized on the present occasion. If the head of the Chamla Valley had been occupied for more than a few days, the despatch of a separate detachment to that distance might yet have possibly been arranged for in the interest of the topographical survey. For this Mount Mahāban owing to its height and position represents also a point of considerable importance. But the evacuation of Chamla and the return of the whole of the force to British territory were already fixed for the following day. The hopes of Captain Robertson, the Field Survey Officer, were like my own doomed to disappointment.

Considering the circumstances I could but feel grateful when General JEFFREYS very kindly agreed to let me utilize that last day for a rapid excursion down the Chamla Valley. In order to enable me to extend it as far as possible he was pleased to grant me a mounted escort from the Xth Regiment Bengal Lancers. I had thus at least the satisfaction of approaching the north foot of Mahāban closer than I could have hoped otherwise.

**Sūra.** — Starting on the morning of the 19th January from the camp below Ambēla I reached after a ride of about four miles the large village of *Sūra* situated on the southern side of the valley. Some Hindu Khattrīs of this place whom I examined knew of an old site about half a mile to the south of the village and at the foot of a low spur which descends here from the Sarpati Range. On proceeding to it I found a spring enclosed in a square basin of ancient masonry. This is visited as a Tīrtha by the Hindus of the neighbourhood. Close to the west of the spring is a terrace-like mound about 20 feet high, the upper part of which appeared artificial. The top, which forms a small plateau about 200 feet from west to east and 100 feet broad, is covered with remnants of old walls built of large but undressed stones. There are evident traces of a terrace about 15 feet broad which seems to have run round the mound at a lower level. The sides are covered with broken pottery. I was unable to ascertain from my Hindu guides any tradition regarding this site, or the special name of the locality. They too were well acquainted with the sacred Tīrthas on Mount Ilm and had more than once performed the pilgrimage.

**Account of Shāhkōṭ.** — I rode on through the level ground of the valley, which is here more than a mile broad and well-cultivated, past Nawagai and Timūli Dhērei, until I reached the small village of *Katakōṭ*. There, I had been told, resided a Malik particularly well-acquainted with the Mahāban region. I found in him a very intelligent old man, ready to describe what he had seen on frequent visits to his Amazai friends, who are in the habit of grazing their cattle on the mountain. He knew well the ruins of *Shāhkōṭ*. He described them as situated on a rocky spur near the highest point of Mahāban and to the north-east of it. Both the village of *Malka* (once the seat of the Hindūstānī fanatics and burned after the Ambēla Campaign, 1863) and the Indus could be seen from the plateau occupied by the ruins. I was particularly glad to note in the course of my examination that the Malik's description of the ruined fort agreed closely with the account given by Major Deane's informant. The substantial accuracy

[10] See his above quoted paper, *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 673.

of the latter account can hence not be doubted. The ruins appear now to be overgrown by dense jungle. The slopes of the mountain below Shāhkōṭ were described as steep and rocky on all sides, and particularly so towards the Indus, where the ascent is by a narrow path.

My informant did not stop at describing to me the mountain of my desire, but also promptly offered, when alone with me and my surveyor, to conduct me to it in person. Twelve hours' marching and climbing might have sufficed to reach it. Under other circumstances the temptation would have proved too much for me. But the thought of my escort and the promise I had given of rejoining the troops before they had cleared the pass, left me no chance but reluctantly to refuse this offer.

**Kuria.** — I then continued my ride to the large village of *Kuria* not far off, which had been indicated to me as the extreme point reached by a previous reconnaissance of the force. The village lies on an alluvial plateau in the centre of the valley and opposite to a bold fir-clothed spur which descends from the high *Sarpati* Range, the continuation of Mahāban to the west. From the rising ground to the east of the village an extensive view opened down the valley towards Amazai territory and up to the snow-covered heights of Mahāban, comparatively so near and yet beyond reach. I had but little time to enjoy it. The advanced hour and the thought of the long ride yet before us necessitated an early return. The road I followed back to Ambēla lay more to the north side of the valley, but did not bring into view any further object of antiquarian interest.

**Ambēla Pass.** — When Ambēla was reached in afternoon after a ride of about 9 miles from Kuria we found the large camp already deserted. I followed the route taken by the troops into the wooded gorge which leads to the *Ambēla Pass,* and overtook the rear guard of the force close to the saddle of that famous defile, ever memorable in the annals of frontier wars since the fights of 1863.

Rugged heights to the right and left crown the Kōtal, which Paṭhān tradition calls so forcibly *Qatalgarh,* the house of slaughter.'[11] On them there were yet clearly visible rough stone walls among the rocks, marking the sites of the "Eagle's Nest," the "Crag Picket" and other positions which were held so heroically and at the cost of so much blood during those weeks of a desperate struggle. I had thus the satisfaction of casting my farewell look towards Bunēr as one of the last who left its soil, and from a spot full of historical associations, not less stirring because they were modern. I derived some consolation from the memories of that other Bunēr campaign. From the point of view of antiquarian research I had reason to regret the short duration of the present expedition. Yet it was evident that its almost too rapid success had its compensations in another direction.

There was little to remind me of those days of hard fighting as I passed through the long winding ravines full of a luxuriant vegetation down to the southern foot of the pass. Apart from the long files of ammunition mules and their escorts passed on the way, there were only a few buffaloes, captured as a last lucky prize by a rear guard picket on the heights near the pass, to show that we were leaving an enemy's country. It was dark when I reached Surkhābi at the mouth of the pass and in British territory, and night before I arrived at the camp pitched near the little town of Rustam. Thus a long day of nearly forty miles' ride and march brought my tour with the Bunēr Field Force to a close.

**Bakhshāli.** — On the following day I rode into Mardān, visiting on the way a few old sites close to Rustam and near *Bakhshāli.* Those near the former place have already been referred to by General Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Reports. At the latter place I enquired particularly after the find-spot of the interesting ancient birch-bark manuscript which was discovered here seventeen years ago, and which has since been edited by Dr. Hoernle.[12]

[11] I cannot refrain here from drawing attention to the series of splendid ballads in which Afghān popular poetry commemorates the events that played at this site. My lamented friend the late M. Darmesteter had reproduced them, with a masterly translation, in his *Chants populaires des Afghans.*

[12] See *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVII, pp. 33 *sqq.*

I had the chance of discovering the village Chaukidar who had actually been the finder, and was taken by him to the exact spot where the manuscript was unearthed. As I think the site has not been accurately indicated before, its brief description may be useful.

The spot is at the north-west end of a series of ancient mounds known as *Pandhērei.* They stretch in the direction from north-west to south-east and for a length of about half a mile to close the south-west corner of the present village. The mounds rise to about 20 feet above the present ground level, and are constantly dug into for the sake of building materials. Walls of uncarved stone are found in many places at a depth of from 3 to 8 feet from the present surface. Close to the spot where the find was made a well had been sunk at the time, and the field near its side dug down by 3 or 4 feet in order to bring it more easily under irrigation. In the bank thus formed in the mound to the east of the field, the manuscript had come to light. According to the account of the discoverer it was only two or three feet below the present surface, placed between two stones and embedded in earth. As there are no visible traces of walls near the spot it may be assumed that the manuscript was originally removed from some other place and buried here in the ground for protection or some other purpose It may be added that there are numerous ancient wells near the Pandhērei site. One of them which is close to the north of the central mound, has been recently cleared. It is circular and shows courses of solid ancient masonry, exactly of the same type as seen in the old well near the Sunigrām Stūpa. According to my informants more of these ancient wells in the neighbourhood would be cleared if experience did not show that they do not draw water or soon run dry. Does this observation indicate a change in the level of the subsoil water ?

Arrived at Mardān, where General Blood's Division broke up, I was engaged during the next few days in revising my materials and arranging for the preparation of the drawings attached to this report. I subsequently proceeded on a brief visit to Malakand in order to communicate personally to Major DEANE the main results of my Bunēr tour which he had done so much to facilitate. After another short stay at Mardān spent in preparing the preliminary portion of this report I returned to Lahore, where I resumed charge of my office on the 1st February, 1898.

## II. — Notes on the Ancient Topography of Bunēr.

Having completed my account of the ancient remains surveyed in Bunēr I shall proceed to examine briefly the results that may be derived from the materials now collected for the elucidation of the ancient topography of that region. It has appeared to me more appropriate to discuss these results together and in a separate chapter. For it is only by comparing the whole of the ancient notices we possess of Bunēr with the archæological data now available that we can arrive at approximately safe conclusions regarding the identification of several ancient sites.

The ancient notices of Bunēr I allude to can unfortunately at present not be found in the form of inscriptions or in Indian historical records. Nor can they be gathered from the accounts which have reached us of Alexander's exploits in these regions. In view of what has been said above as to the probable identity of Mount Mahāban with Alexander's Aornos, it appears possible that the great invader actually passed through a part of Bunēr on his way from the valleys of the Panjkōra and Swāt. But the references by his historians to localities in this direction (*Ora, Bazira, Dyrta*) are so vague and partly contradictory that guesses as to their identification can in the present state of our knowledge scarcely answer any useful purpose [13]

**Chinese Notices.** — We are indebted for those notices exclusively to the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims who either on their way to Gandhāra or in pious excursions from the latter, had occasion to visit the sacred Buddhist sites in Udyāna.

That the present territory of Bunēr must have been comprised in the ancient Udyāna had been recognized long ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham and V de St. Martin when they endea-

[13] For a convenient summary of such guesses regarding places connected with Alexander's march towards Aornos, compare Dr. M'Crindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 72 *sqq.*, 335 *sqq.*

voured to map out the corresponding portions of the pilgrims' travels.[14] But as long as the Swāt Valley and the mountain territories bordering on it remained wholly inaccessible to Europeans and hence to a great extent a *terra incognita* also from a geographical point of view, the elucidation of details affecting the ancient topography of any one of these regions was manifestly impossible. Even now, when the veil has been partially lifted, the task could scarcely be attempted with any hope of success, were it not for the fortunate circumstance which supplies us in the site of the ancient capital of Udyāna with a fixed and safe starting point for our enquiry.

**Position of Mangali.** — I refer to the identification of the town of *Mangali* (*Mung-kie-li*) which Hiuen Tsiang, the latest and most accurate of those pilgrims, mentions as the residence of the kings of Udyāna.[15] This is undoubtedly the present *Manglaur* in Upper Swāt, which is still remembered in local tradition as the ancient capital of the country. This identification was first proposed by V. de St. Martin. It has since been confirmed beyond all doubt by the examination of the extant remains both at Manglaur and lower down in the Swāt Valley.[16] It has a special importance owing to the fact that Hiuen Tsiang and also the earlier pilgrim Sung-Yun (A. D. 520) take the royal city as their starting point in giving the direction and distances for the various sacred sites described by them in Udyāna. Taking into account the ascertained position of *Manglaur* at the point where the spurs descending to the north from Mount Dosirri meet the Swāt River and turn it to the west (circ. 72° 28′, long. 34° 48′ lat.), it is clear that we must look for the ancient sites of Bunēr among those localities of Udyāna which the pilgrims describe as situated to the *south* of Mangali.

**Hiuen Tsiang's account.** — The fullest account we receive of these localities is that preserved in the *Si-yu-ki* or "Records of the Western Countries" of Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Udyāna from Udabhāṇḍa or Und on the Indus towards the close of 630 A. D.[17]

We leave aside for the present the reference made in his narrative to Mount *Hi-lo*. It is described as situated 400 *li*, or approximately 66 miles to the south of *Mung-kie-li*, and in view of this great distance cannot have been situated in Bunēr proper. We are then first taken to the *Mahāvana* convent. It lay about 200 *li* south from the capital by the side of a great mountain. The legend connected with it represented Buddha to have practised here in old days the life of a Bodhisattva under the name of *Sarvadarāja*. Seeking a refuge from his enemy he had abandoned his kingdom and come to this place. There he met a poor Brahman who asked for alms. Having nothing to give him owing to his own destitute condition, Buddha had asked to be bound as a prisoner and to be delivered to the king, his enemy, in order that the Brahman might benefit by the reward given for him.

"To the north-west of the *Mahāvana* Saṅghārāma one descends from the mountain and after proceeding for 30 or 40 *li* arrives at the *Mo-su* Saṅghārāma."[18] At this site the name of which is explained by the Chinese editor to mean 'lentils' and must hence probably be restored into *Mo-su-lo* (Skr. *masūra*), there was a Stūpa about 100 feet in height, and by the side of the latter a great square stone which bore the impress of Buddha's foot. When Buddha in old time planted his foot at this spot, "he scattered a *koṭi* of rays of light which lit up the Mahāvana

[14] See *Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 81 *sq.*; *V. de St. Martin, Mémoire Analytique sur la carte de l' Asie Centrale et de l' Inde*, pp. 313 *sqq.*

[15] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 121.

See *Mémoire Analytique*, p. 314, where the correct derivation of *Manglaur* (Manglavor) from Skr. *Mangalapura* is also indicated. Hiuen Tsiang's *Moung-kie-li* (to be read *Mangali*, see *St Julien, Méthode pour déchiffrer les noms sanscrits*, p. 156) represents a shorter form *Mangala*, abbreviated *bhīmaṛat*, like *U-to-kia-han-cha* (*i. e.*,* Udakahāṇḍa) for *Udabhāṇḍapura*, the ancient name of Waihand-Und on the Indus.

[16] See Major H. A. Deane's paper "*Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra*" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society London, 1896, p. 656. Major Deane during the reconnaissance made into Upper Swāt in August last after the siege of Malakand, was able to pay a flying visit to the neighbourhood of Manglaur, which abounds in ancient remains. He there was able to recognize several of the Stūpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

[17] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, I., pp. 123 *sqq.*

[18] I have followed in the above abstracts Beal's translation, modifying its expressions only in a few places where the French version of Stan. Julien appeared to supply a more precise wording.

Sanghārāma, and then for the sake of Devas and men he recited the stories of his former births. At the foot of this Stūpa is a stone of yellow-white colour which is always damp with an unctuous moisture. This is where Buddha, when he was in old time practising the life of a Bodhisattva, having heard the true law, broke one of his bones and wrote [with the marrow] sacred books."

Going west 60 or 70 *li* from the Mo-su convent Hiuen Tsiang notes a Stūpa built by King Aśoka. Here was localized the well-known legend which records how Tathāgata, when practising the life of a Bodhisattva as Rājā *Sibika*, had cut his body to pieces to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk.

**Fa-hien's notice.** — The short distances which Hiuen Tsiang indicates between these three sacred sites show clearly that they must all have been situated somewhere within Bunēr territory. And in full agreement with this conclusion we find that the two earlier pilgrims, Fa-hien and Sung-Yun, who do not know the Mahāvana Sanghārāma, but mention the two other sites of Hiuen Tsiang's account, also place the latter distinctly to the south of the royal city of Udyāna, *i. e.*, in Bunēr.

Fa-hien[19] who had arrived in '*Wu-chang*' (Udyāna) about 403 A.D., and had spent the summer retreat there, descended thence south and arrived in the country of *Su-ho-to*, where Buddhism was flourishing. There was in it the place where in a former birth "the Bodhisattva cut off a piece of his own flesh and with it ransomed the dove . . . . On the spot the people of the country reared a tope adorned with layers of gold and silver plates." "The travellers, going downwards from this towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhāra." It cannot be doubted that the Stūpa seen by Fa-hien was that connected with the legend of Sibikarāja, which Hiuen Tsiang mentions a short way to the west of the Mo-su convent. It is equally evident that the district of *Su-ho-to*, in which it lay, must be identified with the present Bunēr. Arguing from the position indicated for *Su-ho-to* by its mention to the south of Udyāna and on the way to Gandhāra, General Cunningham had already rightly recognized that the territory thus designated could not have been the large valley of the Swāt River itself, as others have assumed, but that the name must have been limited to the smaller tract of Bunēr.[20]

**Sung-Yun's account.** — Evidence equally convincing as that just discussed may be drawn from *Sung-Yun's* narrative. Sung-Yun, who visited the 'U-chang country' towards the close of A.D. 519 as an imperial envoy, notices to the south of its royal city the place where Buddha in a former age "peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it, and broke off a bone of his body for the purpose of writing with it. Aśoka Rāja raised a pagoda on this spot for the purpose of enclosing these sacred relics. It is about ten *chang* (120 feet) high. On the spot where he broke off his bone the marrow ran out and covered the surface of a rock which yet retains the colour of it, and is unctuous, as though it had only recently been done."[21] The place is spoken of by Sung-Yun as situated in the '*Mo-hiu*' country.[22] Though we are unable to account for this name, the description shows clearly that the Stūpa here referred to can be no other but the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang in connection with the Mo-su Sanghārāma.

In view of this identity of the site it is of interest to compare the different indications given by the two pilgrims as to its position. Whereas Hiuen Tsiang places the Mo-su Sanghārāma 30 or 40 *li* to the north-west of the Mahāvana monastery and the latter again about 200 *li* south of *Mung-kie-li*, Sung-Yun who also starts from the royal city of Udyāna puts the former site at a distance of (more than 100 *li*) to the south of it. Apart from the

19 See *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, translated by J. Legge, 1886, pp. 29 *sqq*.

20 Compare *Ancient Geography*, p. 82.

21 See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, Introduction, p. xcvii; compare also the translation given by A. Rémusat from an extract in the *Pian-Tian*, *Foeh-koue-ki*, p. 50.

22 *Mo-hiu* is possibly only another attempt to reproduce in Chinese characters the local name which is given as *Mo-su* in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative. It should be noted that the text of Sung-Yun's report seems in a far less satisfactory condition, especially in regard to names, than that of Fa-hien or of the Si-yu-ki; compare Beal's *Introduction* to the latter, p. xcvii, note 68.

identity of the bearings the two statements agree also closely enough in respect of the distances. It must be remembered that the expressions of the texts distinctly indicate approximate measurements. Allowance must further be made for the different length of the several routes which the pilgrims might have chosen for their journey from Upper Swāt into Bunēr.

The records of the Chinese travellers have shown us that among the sites of antiquarian interest described by them in or near Udyāna there are three for the identification of which we have to look within the limits of modern Bunēr. From a comparison of these accounts we have seen that the data they furnish regarding these sites are consistent among themselves, and hence evidently accurate. As information has now become available also as regards the actual topography of Bunēr and the most prominent of its ancient remains, an attempt may well be made to trace the sites of those Stūpas and monasteries among the extant ruins of the territory.

*(To be continued.)*

## INDO-CHINESE COINS IN THE BRITISH COLLECTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., PH D. (TÜBINGEN).

**There are altogether seventy-two of these coins in the Collection: nine large and sixty-three small ones.** They all come from Khotan and its neighbourhood; and they formed part of the consignments M. 2, M. 3, M. 6, G. 5, G. 7, G. 10, and T. 1.

Two coins of this description, one large and one small, were first published by Mr. Garder in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XIX (1879), pp. 275, 276. These likewise were procured from Khotan by Sir T. D. Forsyth. They have been republished by Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie in the *British Museum Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. 394. The large one is also republished in the *British Museum Catalogue of Indian (Greek and Scythic) Coins*, p. 172. Both coins, especially the small one, were in too imperfect condition to admit of being fully read. In the present collection there are some much better preserved specimens. The best of them are shown in the Plates illustrating my Official Report, which will shortly be published as an Extra-Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1899.

**All these coins are of copper.** They are not of iron, as was at first erroneously supposed.

**Of the large coins, there are three varieties,** distinguished by the arrangement of the obverse legend. Of these varieties there are one, three and one specimen respectively. Four specimens cannot be determined. **Of the smaller coins there are five varieties,** distinguished by differences in the reverse design, and in the arrangement of the legends. Of these five varieties there are 17, 13, 3, 3 and 3 specimens respectively. Twenty-three specimens are too worn or corroded to admit of being determined.

The following is a **detailed list of all the coins,** large and small, with their weights and measures. Their exact find-place has also been noted, when known: in the other cases it must be understood that the coin came either from Khotan itself or from one of the buried sites near it:—

**(a) Large Coins.**

| Ser. No. | Variety. | Weight in grains. | Size in inches. | Consignment. | Find-place. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | I | 246·5 | 1·0 | M. 2. | |
| 2 | II | 228·0 | 1·0 | T. 1. | |
| 3 | II | 200·5 | 1·0 | G. 10. | |
| 4 | II | 154·0 | 0·875 | M. 9. | |
| 5 | III | 234·0 | 1·0 | G. 10. | |
| 6 | Undeterm. | 223·0 | 1·0 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 7 | Do. | 213·0 | 1·0 | M. 2. | |
| 8 | Do. | 211·5 | 1·0 | G. 10. | |
| 9 | Do. | 202·0 | 1·0 | M. 2. | |

Total weight: 1921·5 Average weight: 213·44 grs.

(b) Small Coins.

| Ser. No. | Variety. | No. | Weight. | Size. | Consignment. | Find-place. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | I | 1 | 76·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 2 | I | 2 | 66·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 3 | I | 3 | 59·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 4 | I | 4 | 56·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 5 | I | 5 | 53·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 6 | I | 6 | 52·0 | 0·75 | M. 3. | |
| 7 | I | 7 | 52·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 8 | I | 8 | 50·5 | 0·75 | M. 6. | |
| 9 | I | 9 | 50·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 10 | I | 10 | 48·5 | 0·75 | G. 5. | |
| 11 | I | 11 | 48·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 12 | I | 12 | 46·5 | 0·75 | G. 7. | |
| 13 | I | 13 | 45·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 14 | I | 14 | 41·5 | 0·75 | G. 5. | |
| 15 | I | 15 | 39·5 | 0·625 | M. 2. | |
| 16 | I | 16 | 32·0 | 0·625 | M. 2. | |
| 17 | I | 17 | 21·0 | 0·625 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 18 | II | 1 | 78·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Do. |
| 19 | II | 2 | 62·5 | 0·75 | M. 3. | |
| 20 | II | 3 | 61·5 | 0·75 | M. 6. | |
| 21 | II | 4 | 59·5 | 0·75 | T. 1. | |
| 22 | II | 5 | 57·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 23 | II | 6 | 53·0 | 0·75 | T. 1. | |
| 24 | II | 7 | 51·5 | 0·75 | T. 1. | |
| 25 | II | 8 | 50·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 26 | II | 9 | 49·0 | 0·75 | G. 7. | |
| 27 | II | 10 | 48·0 | 0·75 | M. 6. | |
| 28 | II | 11 | 46·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 29 | II | 12 | 44·0 | 0·75 | M. 9. | |
| 30 | II | 13 | 44·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 31 | III | 1 | 61·5 | 0·75 | M. 6. | |
| 32 | III | 2 | 48·5 | 0·75 | T. 1. | |
| 33 | III | 3 | 47·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 34 | IV | 1 | 40·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 35 | IV | 2 | 30·0 | 0·625 | M. 2. | |
| 36 | IV | 3 | 22·5 | 0·70 | G. 10. | |
| 37 | IV | 4 | 13·0 | 0·5 | M. 2. | (Mutilated.) |
| 38 | V | 1 | 63·5 | 0·83 | G. 10. | |
| 39 | V | 2 | 60·5 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 40 | V | 3 | 59·0 | 0·80 | G. 10. | |
| 41 | Undeterm. | 1 | 60·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 42 | Do. | 2 | 59·0 | 0·75 | M. 9. | |
| 43 | Do. | 3 | 58·5 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 44 | Do. | 4 | 57·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 45 | Do. | 5 | 55·0 | 0·75 | M. 3. | |
| 46 | Do. | 6 | 54·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | |
| 47 | Do. | 7 | 54·0 | 0·70 | G. 10. | |
| 48 | Do. | 8 | 50·5 | 0·75 | G. 7. | |
| 49 | Do. | 9 | 49·5 | 0·75 | M. 3. | |
| 50 | Do. | 10 | 48·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |

| Ser. No. | Variety. | No. | Weight. | Size. | Consignment. | Find-place. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51 | Undeterm. | 11 | 48·5 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 52 | Do. | 12 | 47·5 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 53 | Do. | 13 | 47·0 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 54 | Do. | 14 | 40·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Do. |
| 55 | Do. | 15 | 40·5 | 0·625 | G. 10. | |
| 56 | Do. | 16 | 39·5 | 0·75 | G. 7. | |
| 57 | Do. | 17 | 39·5 | 0·69 | M. 2. | |
| 58 | Do. | 18 | 35·5 | 0·69 | M. 2. | |
| 59 | Do. | 19 | 34·0 | 0·75 | G. 10. | |
| 60 | Do. | 20 | 33·5 | 0·75 | M. 2. | Aq Safil. |
| 61 | Do. | 21 | 26·0 | 0·583 | G. 10. | |
| 62 | Do. | 22 | 25·0 | 0·625 | M. 2. | |
| 63 | Do. | 23 | 24·0 | 0·625 | M. 9. | |

Total weight: 3015·0 Average weight: 47·857 grs.

The following is a description of the coins:—

(a) Large Coins.

*Obverse:* Two concentric circles, of which the outer one consists of an ornamental band. In the small area within the inner circle is placed an old form (*a*) of the Chinese symbol (*b*) for 'money.' See Woodcut No. 1. Between the area and the ornamental band runs a Chinese legend, consisting of six symbols. This legend is arranged in three different ways, making three varieties, see below.

No. 1.



*Reverse:* Two concentric linear circles; in central area, bare horse with stiff, upstanding mane, trotting to right. Between the circles, an inscription in Kharoṣṭhî characters.

No. 1 of the list is nearly identical with that figured in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 394, but the Chinese legend, partially read by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, is far more legible.

(b) Small Coins.

*Obverse:* Chinese legend of three symbols, in old forms; the same on all five varieties.

*Reverse:* In first and second varieties, bare horse, standing or walking to right; round it a circular marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhî characters, showing in the first variety the letter *ma* (of *mahârâja*), in the second variety, the letter *ti* (of *utha-birâja*) over neck of horse.

The third variety has a Bactrian two-humped camel standing to right, and the same Kharoṣṭhî legend as on the large coins, with *ma* over head of camel.

The fourth variety has the bare horse, walking to right, within a circular linear area, outside which is the Kharoṣṭhî legend, with *mahâ* opposite the tail of the horse, but very incomplete.

The fifth variety has a camel walking to right, led by a man, surrounded by a marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhî, with *ma* over the head of the camel. Unfortunately both figure and legend in all three specimens are too badly preserved to admit of being fully deciphered.

### (c) The Kharoṣṭhī Legend.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend occurs in two different versions: a longer and a shorter one. The former which consisted probably of 20 letters is found on the large coins and on the small coins of the third (or camel) variety. The shorter legend, comprising probably 13 letters, is found on the small coins of the first, second and fourth (or horse) varieties. The length of the two legends can easily be calculated from the space distributable to the preserved and lost portions respectively. What the legend on the small coins of the fifth variety may have been, it is, at present, impossible to say.

The shorter legend is arranged in three different ways: in the coins of the first variety it commences over the neck of the horse, and in those of the fourth, behind its tail, while in those of the second variety, it probably commenced below its feet. It is fullest preserved on the coins Nos. 1 and 4 of the first and No. 7 of the second variety.

The best readings on coins of the first variety are the following :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 1, | *maharajutha(bi)* × *ja* | *Gugrama(d)asa.* |
| No. 2, | *maharayu* × × × × | *Gugratidasa.* |
| No. 3, | *maharayu* × × × × | *Gugra(mad)asa.* |
| No. 4, | *maharayutha* × *ra* × | *Gugramodasa.* |
| No. 7, | *mahara(ja)* × × × × | *(Gu)gramo(da)sa.* |
| No. 10, | *maha* × × × × × × | *Gugradamasa.* |
| No. 14, | *maha(ra)* × × × × × | *Gugra(dama)sa.* |

The best readings on coins of the second variety are the following :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 4, | × × *rajuthubi*× × | × × × × × |
| No. 5, | × × *rajo*×*bi*× × | *(Gugra)* × × × |
| No. 6, | × × *rajuthabira*× | × × × × × |
| No. 7, | × × × *juthabiraja* | *Gu(gra)* × × × |
| No. 8, | × × × *juthubi*× × | × × × × × |
| No. 11, | × × × *juthabi*× × | × × × × × |
| No. 12, | × × × *juthabi*× × | × × × × × |
| No. 13, | × × × × × × *raja* | *Gugra* × × × |

Of the coins of the fourth variety, any thing of the legend is only visible on No. 2, where the following fragment can be read :

*maharaja* × × × × × × × × ×

The longer legend is found on the coins of the third variety. On these the letters are written in long, narrow shapes, closely crowded together; and calculating from what of the legend is preserved, it may be seen that the face of the coin affords room for 20 letters. On the coins of the second variety. the letters are formed large and square, taking up much more space, so that the surface of the coin, to judge from what remains of the legend, cannot have admitted more than 13 letters. The same is the case with the coins of the first variety, where the letters are formed small and square, but are set wider apart from one another than on the coins of the third variety. On the two coins of the latter variety, the legend reads as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1, | × × × × × | × × × × × × | × ×*ta* *(sa)* *Gugra(da)ma*× |
| No. 2, | *maharajasa* | *ra(jati)*×*(jasa)* | *(ma)*× ×*(sa)* *Gugramadasa.* |

The same long legend, as already observed, occurs on the large coins, with a slightly different form of the name, *viz.*, *Gugramayasa*. It reads as follows :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1, | *(ma)harajasa* | *(ra)*× × × × × | × × × × | *(Gugramayasa)* |
| No. 3, | *(mahara)*× × | × × × × × × | × × × × | *(Gu)gra*× ×*sa.* |

The bracketed letters are more or less distinguishable; the others are perfectly clear. The whole of the visible letters (eleven) occupy slightly more than one-half of the circle; hence the total inscription must have comprised about 20 letters.

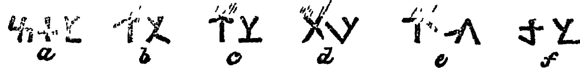
Accordingly the complete legends, probably, stood as follows:

(1) longer legend: *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Gugramayasa* (or *Gugramadasa* or *Gugradamasa*).

(2) shorter legend: *Maharaj-uthabiroja-Gugramadasa* (or *Gugradamasa* or *Gugramodasa* or *Gugratidasa*), with variants *yuthabi* or *juthubi*.

The letters which I read *juthabi* or *yuthabi* (or *juthubi*) are puzzling. The forms in which the first letter *bha* appears on different coins are shown in the subjoined Woodcut, No. 2.

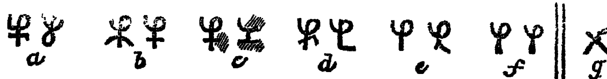
No. 2.




Thus (*a*) is seen on Var. II, No. 11, (*b*) on Var. II, No. 12, (*c*) on Var. II, No. 4, (*d*) on Var. I, No. 1, (*e*) on Var. I, No. 4, and (*f*) on Var. II, No. 8. Of these (*a*) signifies *juthabi*, (*b*, *c*, *d*) signify *jutha*, (*e*) signifies *yutha*, and (*f*) signifies *juthu*. The form of the syllable *bi* never varies. In (*a*) and (*f*) the vowel *u* is formed in an unusual way, but similar to its formation in (*d*) of Woodcut No. 3, below. I would venture to offer the following explanation, which must be understood to be altogether tentative only. I would suggest that the legend might be the equivalent of the not uncommon title Sanskrit *Pṛthvî-râja* or Pâli-Prâkrit *Puthavî râja* or *Puthuvîrâja*, *i. e.*, 'King of the earth.'[1] The complete title on the coins, accordingly, would run Sanskrit *mahârâja-pṛthvîrâja*, or Pâli-Prâkrit *mahârâja-puthavîrâja* or *mahârâya-puthavîrâja*. In Prâkrit as is well-known, the initial consonant of a conjunct word may be elided, and the resultant hiatus-vowels may be contracted: in the present case °*apu*° may be changed to °*aü*°, and contracted to °*o*° or even to °*u*°. We thus obtain the form of the title *maharâj-uthabîrâja* or *mahârây-uthabîrâja*, with the provincialism of hardening *v*. This explanation postulates a somewhat advanced stage of Prâkrit phonetic change; but the existence of such a stage in Khotan at the period of these coins is rendered probable by the change of *j* to *y* in the form *mahârâya*.

The two first letters *gugra* of the name appear in the following forms:—

No. 3.




Perhaps the group might also be read *gurga*. The form (*a*) is the commonest; it occurs in Nos. 2, 3, 4 of the first variety, and can be seen very distinctly in No. 3; it is also seen in the large coin No. 1. The form (*b*) occurs in No. 1, (*c*) in No. 8, and (*e*) in No. 11, all of the first variety. The form (*f*) occurs in the third variety, and the absence of the conjunct marks at the foot of the two letters is accounted for by the crowded state of the legend.

The final letters *dasa* appear in a curiously conjunct form in the coins Nos. 2 and 4 of the first variety. They are shown as (*g*) in the above Woodcut No. 3. The conjunction is probably merely due to the negligence of the engraver.

[1] I was disposed at one time to find some confirmation of my suggestion in the Chinese *Pi-çi-pi-lien*, which, according to Abel Remusat's *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 80, was the royal title of Khotan, and which I thought might represent the Sanskrit *Viçva-râya* (for *Viçva-râja*) or 'king of the world,' a synonym of *Pṛthvîrâja*. The context in Remusat seemed to imply that *Pi-çi-pi-lien* was the title of the Khotanese kings from ancient times up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D., when the *'Weï-si* family (*ibidem*, p. 85) succeeded the *Wang* family. But from what Prof. Sylvain Levi kindly writes me (15th February, 1899) it appears that *Pi-çi-pi-lien* was only the proper name of a particular king of the Wang family which reigned in the 6th and 7th centuries, A.D. *Pi-çi-pi-lien*, accordingly, is more likely to be the Chinese transliteration of some Turkî name, similiar to *Mekelien*.

There are altogether five varieties of royal names, all commencing with *Gugra; viz.*, **Gugramada, Gugradama, Gugramaya, Gugramoda,** and **Gugratida.** Perhaps *n* should be read for *d* (*Gugramana*, etc.) in every case, or in some of them, seeing that the Kharoṣṭhî *d* and *n* are hardly distinguishable. Seeing also that sometimes *y* occurs for *j* in the title *mahârâja* (*mahârâya*) it may be that *Gugramaya* is only another form of *Gugramada*. It is also possible that *Gugramoda* is really intended for *Gugramada*, as what looks like the vowel *o* may be a mere slip of the engraver. In any case there still remain three names which cannot be identified with one another: **Gugramada, Gugradama** and **Gugratida.** Accordingly these coins must be ascribed to three, if not five different kings. As all their names begin with *Gugra* (perhaps *Gurga*), they would all seem to have belonged to the same family.

### (d) The Chinese Legend.

The Chinese legend, also, occurs in two different versions; a longer and a shorter one. The longer, consisting of six symbols, is found on the large coins, while the shorter, consisting only of three symbols, is seen on the smaller coins.

The longer legend is arranged in four different ways, three of which occur in our collection. In the first variety, the legend commences opposite the apex of the central symbol and then runs round from right to left. In the second variety it also commences opposite the apex, but runs in the opposite direction, from the left to the right. In the third variety it commences on the left of the central symbol and runs round from the left to the right. The British Museum Catalogue, No. 1799*a*, presents a fourth variety, in which the legend runs from right to left, but commences on the right side of the central symbol.

In all four varieties the legend is identical, as shown in the subjoined woodcut:—

No. 4.




A portion of this legend was read by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 394. I read the whole as follows:—

*tchung* (1) *liang* (2) *sze* (3) *tchu* (4) *t'ung* (5) *tsien* (6), *i. e.*, "Weight (one) Liang (and) four Tchu (of) copper money."

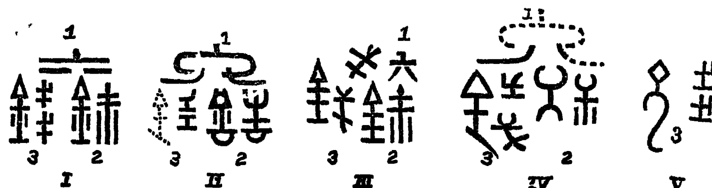
The symbol which Dr. T. de Lacouperie reads *yh* 'one' does not occur in any of the coins of our collection, nor can I find it on the coin figured by him in the Catalogue, No. 1799*a*. The 5th and 6th symbols were too indistinct on his coin to be read by him. They are clear enough on some of our coins, and are those shown in the above Woodcut. No. 6 is the well-known sign for *tsien* or 'money' (*British Museum Catalogue*, p. xviii). No. 5 is a sign which I have not been able to find in Morrison's dictionary,[2] the only one available to me; nor is it known to any of the Chinese Literati whom I could consult. I take it to be an old form of the symbol 銅 *t'ung* 'copper' (see *ibid.*, p. lxiv), made by omitting the long side-strokes of the upper quadrangle of its right-hand portion. A similar modification occurs in the old form of the symbol 關 *kuan* (see *ibid.*, p. 191), and in the old form of the symbol 兩 *liang* (see *ibid.*, p. 300).

The shorter legend is also identical on all the small coins, though the symbols are drawn in rather varying forms. This is not at all an uncommon practice, as an inspection of the *British Museum Catalogue* will at once show. The legend, with the varying forms of its symbols

[2] *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in three Parts.* By R. Morrison, D.D., 1820.

is shown in the subjoined Woodcut No. 5, which also shows the relative position of the three symbols in the legend.

No. 5.




No. I is the usual form. No. V shows a form of the 3rd symbol which I have noticed on coins of the 3rd and 4th varieties.

I read the symbols as follows :—

*luh* (1) *tchu* (2) *tsien* (3), *i.e.*, "six Tchu (of) money."

The second and third symbols of this legend are the same as the fourth and sixth of the longer one. The first symbol, as shown in Figure III, is that given by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, on page xl of his Introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue*, for *luh* 'six.' The corresponding forms in fig. I, II and IV are merely ornamental modifications. A form of *luh*, much like that in fig. II and IV, occurs in coin No. 453, of the Br. Mus. Cat., p. 423. Compare also the forms of *luh* in coins No. 753, 816, 159-161.

The Chinese legends state the weight of the coins. According to them the large coins should normally weigh one liang and four tchu, while the small coins should weigh six tchu. As we shall see presently, these Indo-Chinese coins must be referred to the first and second centuries A. D. That is the time of the Han dynasty in China. That dynasty followed the monetary system of the preceding Tsin dynasty which had doubled the ancient standard. According to this doubled standard the *liang* weighed about 195 grains, and the *tchu*, about 8·12 grains.[3] Accordingly the normal weight of the large coins should be approximately 227·48 grains, and of the small coins, 48·72 grains. A reference to the preceding list will show that the actual weights of the coins vary widely from this normal, even fully allowing for much wear and tear. This, however, was the usual condition of the currency in China. Dr. T. de Lacouperie in his Introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue* (p. xxiii, xxiv) shows how numerous the variants in weight were, and how "far they were from being approximate to the current standard." The variations of the actual from the normal weight appear to have been particularly great under the Han dynasty, for the intermediate usurper Sin Wang Mang (6-25 A. D.) "began by annulling the decrees enacted by the Han dynasty, as he wanted to return to the money of the Tchou dynasty, where 'the mother and the child' (*i. e.*, divisionary piece) weighed in proportion to each other, similarly to those issued by king Wang in 523 B. C."[4] In order to see how far the Indo-Chinese coins conform to the normal weight, we must test them by their average weight. Judged by this test they, curiously enough, very nearly agree with what should be their normal weight. For the average weight of the nine large coins is 213·44 grains (normal 227·48),[5] and of the 63 small coins, 47·857 (normal 48·72). The agreement in the case of the large coins would probably be still greater, if we had a larger number of them to make up the average.

The date of these Indo-Chinese coins can be approximately determined by the following considerations. The fact of their superscriptions being in Indian and Chinese characters and

[3] See Introduction to the *Br. Mus. Cat.*, pp. xlii-xliv.

[4] See p. 365 of the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue.*

[5] The weight of the Brit. Mus. specimen, figured on p. 394 of the *Catalogue*, would seem to be 220 grains, for on p. xliii of the Introduction it is said "the Bactro-Chinese coin of 2 *liang* 4 *tchu* = 220 grs." There is here some confusion; the coin only weighs 1 *liang* 4 *tchu* of the Han standard, which is equal to 2 *liang* and 8 *tchu* of the old standard; and both alike are equal to 227·48 grains (normal).

language shows that both those languages must have occupied a recognised position in Khotan at the time when the coins passed current. In the case of the bilingual Indo-Greek coins, Indian was the language of the population of the country, while Greek was the language of the administration or the ruling power. Khotan, so far as known to us, never had a Chinese population; but it fell under the power of China at a very early date. In the sixth year of the Emperor Ming-ti of the Later Han dynasty, in 73 A. D., Kuang-te, the king of Khotan, submitted to the Chinese General Pantchao. Thenceforward the kingdom of Khotan became a regular dependency of China, which formed that kingdom, together with Kashghar and other Central Asian principalities, into an administrative unit under the name of the "Western Countries" and under a Chinese Governor-General,[6] and placed Chinese Governors in Khotan and the other chief towns. Shortly afterwards, King Kanishka of India (about 78-106 A. D.) is said to have held hostages from the Chinese "tributary Princes to the west of the Yellow River," that is, from the princes included in the Chinese "Governor-Generalship" of the Western Countries."[7] It is true that there had been some political intercourse between China and Khotan since the days of the Emperor Wuti (140-87 B. C.) of the Earlier Han dynasty, but Khotan only lost its independence in 73 A. D., when it was included in the Chinese " Governor-Generalship" of the Western Countries. The Chinese currency of Khotan cannot be placed earlier than that year. The native kings continued to reign, under the Chinese supremacy, and this fact explains, why the coins bear bilingual legends. It is distinctly a Chinese currency, because the standard of the coins is Chinese, inscribed in Chinese language and characters, and this fact clearly indicates Chinese supremacy. On the other hand, the reverse of the coins bears the symbols and names of the native kings, in native (Indian) characters, — a fact which indicates both that native kings still continued to reign, and that the language and characters, used by the native administration, were Indian.

The first connection of India with Khotan dates back to the time of King Aśoka (264-233 B. C.). Ancient Khotanese Chronicles, quoted by Chinese writers, relate that the eldest son of that king, when dwelling in Takṣaśilâ in the Panjâb, having had his eyes put out, the tribal chief who had been guilty of the outrage was banished, together with his tribe, across the Himâlayas. There the tribe settled and later on chose a king from among themselves. Soon afterwards they came into collision with another tribe settled to the east of them, whose king had been expelled from his own country. In the result, the western or Indian tribe was conquered, and the eastern king, now uniting both tribes under his rule, established his capital in the middle of the country, at Khotan.[8] This must have been about 240 B. C. The eastern tribe would seem to have been the Uighurs, of the Turkî race. They gradually occupied the whole of Eastern Turkestan before 200 B. C., being pushed forward from the north-east by the Hiungnu or Huns, another Turkî tribe. The latter, in their westward movement, displaced two Turkî tribes, the Yuechi (or Yueti) and the Uighur; the former migrated to the north, the latter to the south of the Tian Shan mountains, displacing in their turn the Saka tribe which had formerly dwelt there. The Yuechi were gradually driven across the Ili, and the Yaxartes. From 163 to 126 B. C., they occupied the country between the latter river and the Oxus, and by 26 B. C. they had extended their settlements beyond the Hindukush into Afghanistan. Here they formed a great kingdom under the two Kadphises and under Kanerkes and Hverkes from about 25 B. C. to 180 A. D. Their rule gradually comprised the whole of North-Western India in addition to Eastern Afghanistan. On their coins they used both the Greek and Indian-Kharoṣṭhî characters : the former they retained from their Greek predecessors whose official script it had been; the latter was the script of secular commerce of their

[6] See Abel Remusat's *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 3 and *passim*.

[7] See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 57 and 173; also *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IX (1889), p. 272.

[8] See Abel Remusat's *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, pp. 37, 38, and Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 310.

Indian subjects. Co-existing with these scripts there were in use also the Indian-Brâhmî characters, favoured by the religious and learned, especially the Buddhists.

Concurrent with the great Yuechi kingdom there was in North-Western India a smaller one of another Turkî race under the kings Maues, Azes, and their successors, from about 50 B. C. to 80 A. D. It did not extend beyond the Panjâb, and the Turkî invaders, who founded it, must have entered India through Kashmir and over the Karakorum passes from the direction of Khotan. Here we have seen, the Uighur race, which still continues to form the main stock of the population of the whole of Eastern Turkestan,[9] had gradually established itself in the second century B. C., in constant warfare with the Hiungnus and Sakas. It was no doubt the Uighurs who, similarly to the Yuechis further west, pressed forward and extended their rule into India in the first century B. C. Here they became the neighbours and rivals of the Yuechis, and here also they became acquainted with Greek and Indian culture; for, like the Yuechi Indian kings, the Uighur Indian kings Maues, Azes and their successors have both Greek and Indian-Kharosṭhî legends on their coins. The Uighur kingdom which in the South (in India) had to contend with the Yuechi, and in the North (in Eastern Turkestan) with the Hiungnu, at last declined in power. In order to secure the assistance of the Chinese empire, its northern portion submitted to China and consented to pass under its administration. This happened, as we have seen, in 73 A. D.[10] About the same time its southern portion was annexed by the Yuechi king Kanishka, who extended his rule over Kashmir up to the Karakorum (Tsung-ling) range, and took hostages from the remainder of the Uighur kingdom.[11] Under these altered conditions, the Uighur coinage in Khotan was conformed to the Chinese standard, and its obverse legend, which had hitherto been Greek, was replaced by a Chinese inscription. The reverse legend, on the other hand, continued, as hitherto, to be expressed in the official Indian language and Indian-Kharosṭhî characters. This explains the use of the latter amongst a Turkî population, such as that of Khotan must have been. They were the language and script of the Uighur Government, having originally been adopted in India, and surviving in Khotan after the Indian portion of the kingdom had been lost. Similarly the use of the Indian-Uighur types of the bare horse and the Bactrian camel were continued. These types are found on the coins of Maues, Azes, and their successors;[12] and indeed, they rather point to Turkestan as their home-land.

That a species of Indian script was current in Khotan is well known from Chinese writers The case is not quite so clear with respect to the language of the country. Hiuen Tsiang (about 645 A. D.) relates that "the written characters and the mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries."[13] Another account says that "they have chronicles, and their characters, as well as their laws and their literature, are imitated from those of the Hindûs, with some slight alterations. This imitation has diminished their barbarism, and modified their manners and their language which (latter) differs from that of other people."[14] These statements clearly indicate that the Uighur population of Khotan, originally totally unlettered and uncultured, derived the whole of their ancient culture from India; and this fact well agrees with, and is well explained by, the ancient extension of Uighur rule over North-Western India. At the same time, it

[9] See N. Elias' *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 92.

[10] See Abel Remusat's *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, pp. 3 ff.

[11] See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 56, 57.

[12] See *British Mus. Cat.*, pp. 72, 89, 96, 112. On their coins, as well as on the Indo-Chinese coins, the horse is standing or walking, and is turned to the right. The horse occurs also on the coins of other kings (Euthydemus, Heliocles, Menander, etc.), but it is turned to the left, or is prancing. So also the camel is found on Menander's coins, but it is turned to the left, while on the Indo-Chinese coins it stands to the right.

[13] See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 309.

[14] See Abel Remusat's *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 37.

is not probable that the Chinese statements about the written characters refer to the Indian-Kharoṣṭhî script. They rather indicate a modified form of Indian-Brâhmî. The Kharoṣṭhî, as seen on the Indo-Chinese coins, does not merely "resemble the Indian model," but is identical with that once current in North-Western India and Eastern Afghanistan. Hiuen Tsiang was a Buddhist monk, and on his travels he resided in Buddhist monasteries, and came in contact almost exclusively with Buddhist culture. The Indian-Brâhmî was the home-script and the peculiar script of Buddhism, and was carried by them wherever they went. It went with them, as we know from the Bower and Weber Manuscripts to Kuchar, and it is equally probable that it went with them to Khotan. The introduction of Buddhism into both these places may be traced back to as early a time as the first or second centuries B. C. In both places, as the Chinese note, the Indian Brâhmî developed "slight alterations,"[15] known to us in Kuchar as the peculiar Central-Asian Brâhmî[16] Hiuen Tsiang, in the passage above quoted seems to distinguish between the spoken and the written language of Khotan. By the latter, which he calls "the mode of forming their sentences," and which he says "resembles the Indian model," I presume he means Sanskrit or Pâli, such as was used in Buddhist literature, and which can have been known only to a very limited class of people, the Religious and Learned. The "spoken language," which I take to have been that of the general population, must have been the Uighur Turkî, and this, as Hiuen Tsiang says, differed "from that of other countries," *i. e.*, China and India. This view is confirmed by a remark of Sung-yun (518 A. D.) respecting Yarkand. Of this town he says, "their customs and spoken language are like those of the people of Khotan, but the written character in use is that of the Brâhmans,'"[17] *i. e.*, the Indian Brâhmî. Moreover, Fahian (400 A. D.) reports expressly with regard to the whole of Eastern Turkestan, that though the people speak different Turkî (*Hu*) dialects, "the professed disciples of Buddha among them all use Indian books and the Indian (Sanskrit) language"[18] None of these Chinese Buddhist pilgrims appear to have noticed the existence of the Kharoṣṭhî script, whether in Khotan or in its Indian home-land. The only script of the Semitic class which Hiuen Tsiang noticed, he does in connection with the kingdom of Kesh,[19] and this script cannot have been the Kharoṣṭhî, though it may have been allied to it. Possibly in their time, Kharoṣṭhî had practically ceased to exist. In Khotan, at the time of the Indo-Chinese coins, it was evidently the secular official script of the native Government, though not quite exclusively so, as is shown by the Kharoṣṭhî manuscript found near that town by M. Dutreil de Rhins and containing a portion of the Buddhist Dhammapada.[20] It does not seem probable that, after the severance of the Indian connection of the Uighur kingdom of Khotan, the use of the official Kharoṣṭhî script survived for any great length of time. Its forms, as seen in the Dutreil de Rhins Manuscript and on the Indo-Chinese coins, are much alike, and both are identical with that form of it which prevailed under the Kushana (Yuechi) kings in India, that is in the first and second centuries A. D. Though its form remained practically unchanged for a century or two longer in its home-land, it is very improbable, to judge from the parallel case of the Indian-Brâhmî, that this would have been the case in a foreign country like Khotan. It is not probable, therefore, that the Indo-Chinese coins can be placed later than the end of the second century A. D. They show, as already remarked, four, if not five, different regal names. Four or five reigns, at an average of 20 or 25 years, occupy a period of about 100 years. This brings us to, at least, the year 173 A. D., as none of the coins can have been struck before 73 A. D. The initial date is certain; the terminal date must be near the end of the second century. **The period 73-200 A. D., therefore, is a safe date to give to the Indo-Chinese coins of Khotan.**

15 With regard to Kuchar, see Hiuen Tsiang's remark, in Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 19.

16 See a description of it in my Report, in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXVI (1897), p. 242, LXII, p. 4.

17 See Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. lxxxix.

18 See *ibidem*, Vol. I, p. xxiv.

19 See *ibidem*, Vol. I, p. 38.

20 See *Comptes Rendus de L'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXV (1897), pp. 251 ff.

Within that period, the Chinese records mention the names of four or five kings — (1) *Kuang-te* in 73 A. D., who first submitted his country to the over-lordship of the Chinese; (2) *Tang-t'sian* in 129-131 A. D.; (3) *Kian*; and (4) *'An-kue*, son of *Kian*, who succeeded his father in 152 A D.; (5) *Shanse* in 220-226 A. D.[21] None of these names agrees with any on the coins; but they rather look like true Chinese names, so that it would seem that the kings bore duplicate names, native Turkî and Chinese. At that early period, as the Chinese relate, the kings of Khotan were devoted Buddhists, and as such, it may be surmised that they bore names which were the Uighur equivalents of Indian Buddhistic terms. Dharma being a common prefix of various Buddhistic names, *Gugra* might be its Uighur equivalent. A long list of ancient Khotan royal names, all beginning with *Vijaya*, is given by Rai Sarat Chandra Das from Tibetan sources.[22] If this list can be trusted, **Gugra might represent Vijaya.**

---

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PANJAB BIRTH CUSTOMS, SHAVING MUSALMAN BOYS.

THE hair on boys is shaved off after the 7th or 3rd day — sometimes, however, immediately after birth, according to the peculiar superstition of the parents. The richer people give alms of silver coins, equal in weight to the hair removed from the child. Nearly all families invite their near relatives on the 7th day to a feast, the actual ceremony varying with different parts of the Panjab. During this feast not only the guests, but the family hangers-on and the nurse are fed *gratis*, and the servants presented with money.[1]

GULAB SINGH *in P. N. and Q.* 1883.

---

### SPIRIT-SCARING IN THE PANJAB — BRAHMAN EATING FROM THE HAND OF A DEAD RAJA.

THE following curious custom was brought to my notice while visiting a village near **Raipûr. Ambâlâ District. A Brâhman,** by name Nathû, a resident of the village, stated that he had eaten food out of the hand of the **Râjâ of Bilâspûr** after his death, and that in consequence he had for the space of one year been placed on the *gadî* (throne) at Bilâspûr. At the end of the year he had been given presents, including a village and then turned out of Bilâspûr territory, and forbidden apparently to return Now he is an outcaste among his co-religionists, as he has eaten food out of a dead man's hand. Is there really any such custom as the above? and if so, where else does it occur?

The idea seems to be that the spirit of the Râjâ enters into the Brâhman who eats the *khîr* (rice and milk) out of his hand when he is dead, as the Brâhman is apparently carefully watched during the whole year, and not allowed to go away.[2]

R. RICHARDSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

---

### KÛRSÎ, AN INITIATORY RITE AMONGST SWEEPERS'.

THE **Lâlbegî sweepers** have peculiar initiatory rites called **Kursi.** At such times they repeat verses called also *Kursîs* (properly genealogies). Here are specimens: —

**Sat Jug ki Kursi.**

*Sônê kâ ghat : sônê kâ maṭ :*
*Sônê kâ ghorâ : sônê kâ jôṛâ :*
*Sônê kî kuñjî : sônê kâ tâlâ :*
*Sônê kâ kîwâr : lâô kuñjî ! khôlô kîwâr !*
*Dêkhô Dâdâ Pîr kâ dîdâr !*

**The Rite of the Golden Age.**

Golden pitcher : golden pot :
Golden horse : golden dress :
Golden key : golden lock :
Golden door : put in the key ! open the door !
See the figure of the Holy Saint !

Similar verses are used for the Dwapar Jug, Tretâ Jug, and Kal Jug, but the words silver, copper and earthen are used for each age respectively in the place of golden.

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

---

[21] See *ibidem*, pp. 3, 6, 8, 15, 17.

[22] See *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI (1886), pp. 197, 198.

[1] [These notes may be read with advantage with the customs described in Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islâm*, p. 3 ff. — ED.]

[2] [I believe the same or a similar custom obtains among the Hill States about Kângrâ, and has given rise to a caste of "out-caste" Brâhmans. In the *Pioneer*, for March 7, 1884, in an account of the funeral ceremonies of a Rânî of Chambâ, it is said that rice and *ghî* were placed in the hands of the corpse, which a Brâhman consumed on payment of a fee. — ED.]

# ON SOME MEDIÆVAL KINGS OF MITHILA.

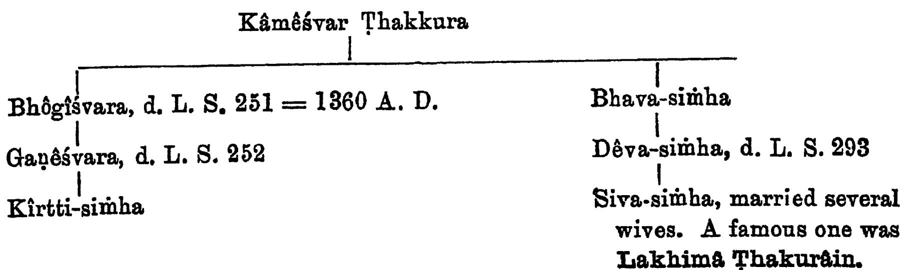
BY G. A. GRIERSON, PH.D., C.I.E.

IN Vol. XIV. of the *Indian Antiquary*, pp. 182 and ff., there appeared an article from my pen on **Vidyâpati and his Contemporaries.** There were some doubtful points as to the date of the poet, which were further discussed by Dr. Eggeling, when dealing with MS. No. 2864, in Part IV. of his *Catalogue* of the MSS. in the India Office Library. In connexion with his remarks, I published in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a facsimile of the grant by which King **Śiva-siṁha of Mithilâ** gave the poet the village of Bisapî, which is dated L. S. 292, *i. e.*, **A. D. 1400-01.**

I have lately been studying the *Purusha-parîkshâ* of Vidyâpati in an edition published at Darbhaṅgâ in Śâka 1810 by Paṇḍit Chandra (or Chanda) Jhâ, whom I know to be one of the most learned men in that part of India. It was printed under the auspices of the late Mahârâja of Darbhaṅgâ at the Râj Press. In an Appendix Chandra Jhâ gives extracts from the *Kîrtti-latâ* and from the *Lêkhanâvalî* of Vidyâpati which contain a great deal of important historical information, written by a contemporary of the facts which he narrates. I believe that Mr. Bendall has lately discovered a complete copy of the former work in the Nepal Library, and that it will be eventually examined and described by Paṇḍit Hara-Prasâd-Śâstrî. The following notes, taken from Chandra-Jhâ's Appendix, will show the importance of both the works dealt with by him, and encourage others more fortunately situated than myself to investigate the history of mediæval Mithilâ.

**To get dates A. D. add 1109 to the L. S. dates.**

In L. S. 217 = **1326 A. D. Hara-siṁha-dêva** abandoned the kingdom of Tirhut and went into the Nêpâl jungles. The Emperor of Delhi then conferred the kingdom on **Kâmêśvara Ṭhakkura,** who was the founder of the famous **Sugaunâ** family. He lived in a village called **Oïnî.** His brother Harṣaṇa Ṭhakkura lived at Sugaunâ. He had three sons. I give the genealogies of the principal descendants of two of them. The whole tree is in my article in the *Indian Antiquary* already mentioned.




The kings of Bhava Siṁha's line all took the additional title of **Rûpa-nârâyaṇa.** This is important. Śiva-siṁha is often called only Rûpa-nârâyaṇa. He was Vidyâpati's patron.

**Fîrôz Shâh Tughlaq** (1351-1387) deposed Kâmêśvara, and gave the throne to his younger son, Bhôgiśvara. The date of the latter's accession is not given. He was a friend of Fîrôz. The *Kîrtti-latâ* says: —

> '*Piasahi bhaṇia phirôjaśâha sulatâna samânala tasu nandana Bhôgîśvarâ.*'
> Friend calling Fîrôz Shâh Sultân honoured his son Bhogîśvara.

Gaṇêśvara had two sons. Kîrtti was the younger, but went to Delhi, and was given the kingdom by the emperor.

Bhogîśvara when he came to the throne divided the kingdom with his brother Bhava-siṁha. Kîrtti-siṁha died childless, and so did his brother, and the half of the kingdom which they inherited from Bhôgîśvara went over to Bhava-siṁha's family, the representative of which then was Śiva-siṁha, who was a youth of fifteen years of age, and was then reigning as *yuva-râja* during the lifetime of his father Dêva-siṁha, and who from that time governed the whole of Tirhut.

Dêva-siṁha left the family residence of Ôïnî, and founded the town of **Dêva-kulî.** When his father died, Śiva-siṁha successfully performed his last obsequies on the banks of the Ganges, and then, after fighting the Musalmâns, became independent king of Tirhut. This was Śâkê 1324, L. S. 293. He founded the city of **Śiva-siṁha-pura,** which was also known as **Gaja-ratha-pura.** When he had been three years and nine months on the throne after his father's death, he was conquered by the Musalmâns and carried to Delhi. His wife, Lakhimâ, with Vidyâpati, took refuge in Banaulî, which is close to Janaka-pura in Nêpâl. When no news or Śiva-siṁha had been received from Delhi for twelve years, Lakhimâ became *sati*, and **Padma-siṁha,** Śiva-siṁha's younger brother, came to the throne, but only reigned for a year. He was succeeded by his widow, **Viśvâsa-dêvî,** who reigned for twelve years, and in whose honou- Vidyâpati wrote the *Śaiva-sarvasva-sâra.*

**She was succeeded by**: —

(1) Dhîra-siṁha Hṛidaya-nârâyaṇa
(2) Bhairava-siṁha Hari-nârâyaṇa
(3) Râma-bhadra Rûpa-nârâyaṇa
(4) Lakshmî-nâtha Kaṁsa-nârâyaṇa, with whom the dynasty ended.

These last four names are taken from the genealogical records kept by the Mithilâ Pañjyârs, and Vidyâpati is not responsible for them.

The *Kîrtti-latâ* was written in honour of the Kîrtti-siṁha mentioned above. The prose portion appears to have been written in Sanskrit, but the verses, partly in a very old form of the language which is now the modern Maithilî, and partly in Sanskrit.

---

## DELAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.

BY M. A. STEIN, PH. D.

(Continued from p. 46.)

**Mahāvana Vihāra.** — The task thus set to us might be looked upon as partially solved or at least greatly facilitated, if the suggestion thrown out by General Cunningham of Mount Mahāban having taken its name from the *Mahāvana* monastery of Hiuen Tsiang could be accepted as probable.[23] This, however, is not the case. However tempting the similarity of the two names is upon which General Cunningham's conjecture was solely based, yet it is easy to show that this location meets with fatal objections both in the bearing and the distance indicated for the site in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative. The latter speaks of the *Mahāvana* Sanghārāma as situated 200 *li* to the south of *Mung-kie-li*. In reality Mount Mahāban lies to the *south-east* of Manglaur, as can easily be ascertained from the relative position shown on the accessible maps for the trigonometrically fixed peaks of Dosirri and Mahāban.[24] In the same way it can be shown that the measurement of 200 *li* does by no means agree with the actual distance by road between the two places.

**Hiuen Tsiang's road measurements.** — In judging of this point it must be remembered that the distances between two places as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims can have been

[23] See *Archæological Survey Reports*, II, p. 98; *Ancient Geography*, p. 92.
[24] See Map "*District of Peshawar,*" published by the Survey of India Office, 1884, 4 miles to 1 inch.

derived only from approximate estimates of the length of road traversed by them or their informants. They must hence in a mountainous country be invariably much in excess of the direct distances as measured on a modern survey map. The examination of numerous cases, in which distances between well-known localities have thus been recorded in road-measure shows that these measurements exceed the direct distances calculated on the maps by at least one-fourth, and in difficult country more nearly by one-third.[25]

Keeping this in view it will be easy to recognise that Hiuen Tsiang's Mahāvana monastery cannot be looked for so far away as Mount Mahāban. The direct distance between the trigonometrically fixed peak of Mount Mahāban and the position which the field survey carried into Upper Swāt during the operations of last August ascertained for Manglaur, is exactly 40 miles measured on the map "as the crow flies." If we make to this distance the above explained addition of one-fourth, which in view of the natural obstacles of the route — the high range between Swāt and Bunēr and the second hill range between the latter and the Chamla Valley — must appear very moderate, we obtain a total distance by road of not less than 50 miles. This minimum estimate of the real road distance, when converted into Hiuen Tsiang's *li* at the value of one-sixth of a mile for the *li*, as deducted by General Cunningham from a series of careful computations,[26] gives us *three* hundred *li* against the *two* hundred *li* actually recorded in the pilgrim's narrative.

The difficulties in which the suggested identification of Hiuen Tsiang's monastery with Mount Mahāban would involve us become still more prominent if we compare this location with another of Hiuen Tsiang's topographical data bearing on Udyāna and one more easy to verify. I mean the statement made at the close of Book ii. of the *Si-yu ki*. There we are told that the pilgrim proceeding to the north from *U-to-kia-han-cha*, passed over some mountains, crossed a river, and after travelling 600 *li* or so arrived at the kingdom of *U-chang-na* or Udyāna.[27] U-to-kia-han-chà is undoubtedly the present *Und* on the Indus, the ancient capital of Gandhāra.[28]

From the analogy of numerous passages in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative, where the distances to capitals of neighbouring territories are indicated in a similar fashion, it is clear that the distance here given to 'the kingdom of U-chang-na' must be understood as referring to the capital of this territory, *i. e.*, *Mung-kie-li* or Manglaur. Referring now to the relative position of Und and Manglaur as fixed by modern surveys, we find that the capital of ancient Udyāna lies almost exactly due north of Und and at a direct distance of 57 miles as measured on the map.

We do not receive any distinct information as to the route which Hiuen Tsiang actually followed. But from the correct indication of the direction to the north, and on general grounds may safely be assumed that he proceeded by one of the direct routes leading through Bunēr. The increased length of Hiuen Tsiang's road measurement, 600 *li*, against the direct distance on the map, is in the light of the explanations given above easily accounted for by the natural difficulties of the track. These could not have been appreciably smaller on the journey from Manglaur to Mahāban, which leads practically through the same mountain region. How then, if the proposed identification of the Mahāvana Sanghārāma with Mount Mahāban is maintained, are we to understand the great disproportion in the recorded distances, — 200 *li* of one journey against the 600 *li* of the other, where the direct distances from point to point are 40 and 57 miles respectively?

**Mahāvana : Pinjkōṭai.** — It is evident from these considerations that the location of the Mahāvana monastery on Mount Mahāban, based solely on a coincidence of names, cannot be

[25] See V. de St. Martin, *Mémoire Analytique*, p. 259. Compare also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 48.

[26] Compare *Ancient Geography*, p. 571.

[27] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 118. By the river here mentioned the *Barandu* must be meant. But it should be noted that in Stan. Julien's translation the word corresponding to 'river' is rendered by 'des vallées.'

[28] Compare Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l' Inde*, p. 159, and my *Notes on the history of the Sāhis of Kābul*, p. 7.

maintained. There remain thus for our guidance only the facts of the actual topography of Bunēr and that knowledge of its extant ruins which the tour described in this report has furnished. Reviewing then the most prominent of the ancient sites surveyed we can scarcely fail to note the remarkable agreement which the ruins of *Pinjkōṭai* (Sunigrām), *Gumbatai* (Tursak) and *Girārai* present with the three sacred spots specified in the Chinese accounts, both as regards their character and their relative position.

We start from Manglaur as our fixed point. Referring to the latest survey we find that Sunigrām lies almost due south of it, exactly in the position indicated for the Mahāvana monastery. The nearest route between the two places lies over the Khalīl Pass (west of Dosirri) and then *viâ* Gōkand down to Pādshāh and Elai. It measures on the map about 26 miles, which distance converted according to the value previously indicated corresponds to about 156 *li*. If on the basis of the explanations already given, we add to this distance on the map one-fourth in order to obtain the approximate road measurement, we arrive at the result of 192 *li*. This agrees as closely as we can reasonably expect with the 200 *li* of Hiuen Tsiang's estimate.

The pilgrim's description of the Mahāvana monastery as situated "by the side of a great mountain" is fully applicable to the Pinjkōṭai ruins. Even the absence of any reference to a Stūpa in connection with this monastery acquires significance in view of the fact that among the ruins, as described above, we fail to trace the remains of a Stūpa of any size.

**Mo-su : Gumbatai.** — The next stage of Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary to the *Mo-su* monastery takes us down the mountain to the north-west of the Mahāvana Saṅghārāma for a distance of 30 or 40 *li*. Here the correspondence is again most striking. It is exactly to the north-west of the Pinjkōṭai ruins, and after descending from the steep hill side on which they are situated, that we reach the *Gumbatai* site near Tursak. Its actual distance by road is about 6 miles, which corresponds to 36 *li*, or the mean of the approximate figures given by the pilgrim. Here we have no difficulty in recognizing the high Stūpa mentioned both by Hiuen Tsiang and Sung-Yun in the still extant mound, which even in its ruined condition forms a striking feature of the site. It can scarcely surprise us that the rapid survey of the ruins failed to bring to light here the stone at the foot of the Stūpa which according to the pious tradition marked the spot where Buddha had broken a bone of his body to write sacred texts with his marrow. The description of the site given above shows to what depth the base of the Stūpa is now hidden under débris.

**Girārai : Stūpa of 'Dove-ransoming.'** — Going 60 or 70 *li* to the west of the Mo-su Vihāra, Hiuen Tsiang had visited the Stūpa reared over the spot where Buddha, according to the pious legend noticed also by Fa-Hien, had sacrificed his body to ransom the dove. The bearing and distance here indicated agree so accurately with those of the ruined mounds near Girārai relative to Gumbatai that I do not hesitate to propose the identification of the former with the sacred site referred to by the two pilgrims. The ruined Stūpas of 'Alī Khān Kōṭē lie as above indicated, about 1½ miles to the west of Girārai village. The distance from the latter place to Tursak on the direct track I marched by, was estimated by me at the time at about 7 miles. The Gumbatai site again is, as already stated (p. 25) 1½ miles distant from Tursak. The total of these measurements is 10 miles, which represents exactly the 60 *li* of Hiuen Tsiang's estimate. There is the same accurate agreement as regards the direction, the map and my own notes showing Girārai to be situated almost exactly due west of Tursak.

**Route to Gandhāra.** — There are two observations contained in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims which enable us to test at this point our chain of identifications. Fa-Hien's narrative (see above, p. 46) tells us that the travellers going downwards from the spot where Buddha ransomed the dove, towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhāra. From the remarks which follow, it can be concluded with great probability that the road distance here given by Fa-Hien was measured to the spot "where Buddha in a former birth had

given his eyes in charity for the sake of a man," and where a great Stūpa had been erected in honour of this legendary event. It is to be regretted that the sacred site here meant cannot yet be identified. Sung-Yun also mentions it; but from his somewhat confused account it can only be gathered that it lay somewhere in the central part of the Yuzufzai plain.[29] A similar conclusion can be drawn also from Fa-Hien's own statement, who speaks of having reached *Chu-cha-shi-lo*, or the place of 'the head-offering,' the well-known site of Taxila, after a seven days' march to the east of Gandhāra, *i. e.*, of the spot already specified.[30]

On the first look it might appear strange that Fa-Hien in order to go from the Girārai site to the central part of Gandhāra or Yusufzai should proceed in an easterly direction, and should take five days to accomplish the journey. A reference to the map and a consideration of the ordinary routes still followed to the present day will, however, easily explain this.

Leaving the sacred site of the 'Dove-ransoming' Fa-Hien may naturally be supposed to have taken the most convenient and frequented route. In view of the topographical features of the country this would have been in his days just as now the route which leads first to the east down the Barandu Valley and then crosses the range of hills by the Ambēla Pass down to Rustam, an important site already in ancient times.[31] It is practically this route which was followed by the late expedition. On it five daily marches of the customary length would still be counted for the journey from Girārai to Mardān, which latter place in view of its central position may here be taken as an approximate substitute for the site of 'the eye-offering.'[32]

**Route to Shan-ni-lo-shi.** — A second test for the correctness of our proposed identifications is supplied by a statement of Hiuen Tsiang. He informs us that "going north-west from the place where Buddha redeemed the dove, 200 *li* or so, we enter the valley of *Shan-ni-lo-shi* and there reach the convent of Sa-pao-sha-ti.'[33] Major DEANE in his very instructive "Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra" has proposed to identify the *Shan-ni-lo-shi* of the Records with the large Adīnzai Valley, which opens to the north of the Swāt River near the present Fort Chakdarra.[34] The careful examination I was able to make during my two tours in the Swāt Valley of the several topographical and archæological facts bearing on this question has convinced me that Major Deane has in this, as in other instances, been guided by the right antiquarian instinct. I hope to discuss this point in a separate report on the remains of the lower Swāt Valley. Here it may suffice to state that the *Sa-pao-sha-ti* convent with its high Stūpa must in all probability, as already recognized by Major Deane, be looked for among the several great ruined mounds which are found in the very centre of the valley close to the point where the present military road turns sharply to the west towards the Katgala Pass.

The general direction of the Adīnzai Valley from Girārai is north-west, exactly as stated by Hiuen Tsiang. The nearest and apparently easiest route between the two places leads over the Banjīr Pass down to the Swāt River. Thence the road lies along the left bank of the latter to Chakdarra, which owing to its natural position must have at all times been the favourite point for crossing. Measured along this route the total distance on the map from Girārai to the central point of the Adīnzai Valley above indicated amounts to 25 miles. This is almost exactly the distance which we have found above as the equivalent on the map of Hiuen Tsiang's 200 *li* between Manglaur-Mangali and Pinjkōṭai-Mahāvana. It is thus evident that given the identical base of conversion, the 200 *li* of the pilgrim represent here with equal closeness the actual road distance between Girārai and Adīnzai.

---

29 See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by Beal, p. ciii.

30 *Si-yu-ki*, p. xxxii. Taxila, marked by the ruins of the present Shāh-kē Dherī, is placed by all Chinese accounts three marches to the east of the Indus; see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 104.

31 *Ancient Geography*, p. 65.

32 The probable stages would be Karapa or Sunigrām; Ambēla; Rustam; Bakhshāli — all places which either by their remains or position can lay claim to importance from early times.

33 See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i., p. 125; *Mémoires de H. Th.*, i., p. 137.

34 Compare *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, 1896, p. 657.

It is clear that we gain important evidence in favour of our chain of identifications in Bunēr by being able to link also its western end with an ancient site of certain identity. The positions we have been led to assign to the Mahāvana convent and the Stūpa of the 'Dove-ransoming' can thus each be independently tested by the bearings and distances recorded to known outside points. The positions hence mutually support each other.

We have made here the attempt to interpret the extant notices of ancient Bunēr by means of the now available materials. It might be urged against it that these materials are still too canty to permit of safe conclusions, and that in particular the rapidity with which the survey of antiquarian remains had to be effected on this occasion, was not likely to bring to notice all important sites deserving consideration. In order to allay such doubts it may be useful in conclusion to refer to an earlier record. It shows that however hurried to my regret the examination of the territory has been, yet no important remains above ground which were within reach, are likely to have wholly escaped observation.

**General Court's notes on Bunēr.** — I refer to the curious information collected regarding Bunēr and the neighbouring regions by General A. Court, one of the French Officers in Mahārāja Raṇjīt Singh's service. It is contained in a paper which was published by him in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1839.[35] I did not see it until after my return from Bunēr. It contains, apart from purely geographical notices regarding the mountain territories to the north of the Peshawar District, a series of conjectures as to the sites connected with Alexander's campaign in these regions, and what is far more useful and interesting, a list of the ruins and in particular Stūpas found in them. From the fulness of the latter notes and a statement of General Court himself it is evident that they were the result of careful and prolonged enquiries carried on through native agents during the time that he was in the charge of the Sikh Forces in Peshawar. General Court had already before that time testified his interest in antiquarian research by the systematic excavation of the Manikyāla Stūpa and the valuable numismatic materials he collected for Mr. Prinsep and other scholars. We can, therefore, scarcely be surprised at the thoroughness with which he had endeavoured in this instance to collect all information obtainable from native sources regarding the extant monuments of those territories.

If we compare the entries in his lists of 'ruined cities' and 'of cupolas'[36] as far as they relate to Swāt, with the ancient sites and buildings which have attracted pre-eminently our attention since that valley has been rendered accessible, we find almost all important remains still above ground duly noticed. The temple of Talāsh with its elaborate relievos, the Stūpas of Adīnzai, the ruins of Barīkōṭ, the great Stūpa of Shankardār, the mounds around Manglaur, — these and other striking remains find all due mention, though their names appear more than once strangely disguised in the General's spelling.

Having observed this laudable accuracy of the information recorded regarding Swāt, I naturally turned with a good deal of curiosity to General Court's notices regarding Bunēr. Might they not tell of ancient remains of evident importance which I had failed to notice ? I was soon reassured on this score. I found that of the old sites named by General Court's informants in Bunēr proper, all, with one doubtful exception, had actually been visited by me.

**Notices of Stūpas.** — Among the cupolas,[37] *i. e.* Stūpas, which are specially singled out for notice, we find "those of *Heniapoor*, one of which is near the village of *Fooraseuk*, and the other under Mount Jaffer." It requires no great amount of philological acumen to recognize here in the General's (or his English translator's) '*Fooraseuk*' our Tursak, and in his

[35] See *Collection of Facts which may be useful for the comprehension of Alexander the Great's exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus*, by M. A. Court, Ancient Élève de l'École Militaire de Saint-Cyr, *J. A. S. B.*, 1839, pp. 306 *sqq.*

[36] See pp. 307 *sq.* and 311, *loc. cit.*

[37] The word 'cupola' is evidently intended as a rendering of the term '*Gumbaz*' (dome) which is uniformly applied in these regions to all ruined Stupas and dome-shaped buildings; see p. 19.

'*Heniapoor*' the name of the village Anrapūr, which we have noticed above as situated just opposite to the Gumbatai Stūpa. For the mistake in the first name the quasi-palæographical explanation (F misread for T) easily suggests itself. In the case of the second the peculiar Pushtu sound *nr* is evidently responsible for the deficient spelling.[38] It is clear that this notice refers in reality to one Stūpa, that of Gumbatai, which, as we have seen, lies near Tursak at the foot of Mount Jaffer and opposite Anrapūr. Whether the kind of 'diplography' noticeable in General Court's description is due to his having recorded two separate accounts without noticing that they referred to the same structure, or to some other misunderstanding, cannot be decided now.

The cupola near '*Sonigheran*,' which is next mentioned, can be no other than the great ruined Stūpa south of *Sunigrām*. By another "in the village of *Fakttahind*" is clearly meant the Stūpa of Takhtaband. The same clerical error or misprint as in *Fooraseuk*-Tursak accounts for the change of the initial consonant in the local name. The reference to a Stūpa in 'Caboolgheram,' *i. e.*, Kābulgrām on the Indus, agrees with information supplied to me. But this locality, which can scarcely be included in Bunēr, was, of course, beyond the limit of my explorations.

General Court's list mentions after the cupola near 'Sonigheran' the two found among the ruins situated at the foot of Mount *Sukker* near the village of *Riga*. The name 'Riga' stands here evidently for *Rēga*, the home of the 'Mad Fakīr' and our camp from the 15th to the 16th January. But as, notwithstanding repeated enquiries and comparatively close inspection, I failed to trace any conspicuous remains in the immediate vicinity of that village, I feel induced to suspect that General Court's informant in reality intended a reference to the ruins of Pinjkōṭai above Sunigrām. *Rēga*, a large village, is a far better known place than the small hamlet of Sunigrām, and as the direct distance between the two is scarcely more than 1½ miles, the above-named ruins could equally well be described as situated near *Rēga*. I cannot identify "Mount Sukker." The name may possibly be that of the hill, on a spur of which the Pinjkōṭai Vihāra is built. That the high vaulted halls of the latter should be included under the head of "cupolas" could not surprise us. In the same way we find the ruined monastery of *Chārkōṭli*, situated in the gorge south of Batkhēla, Swāt, which I visited in December, 1897, without tracing near it any Stūpa remains, referred to under that designation in General Court's list (No. 6, '*Charkotlia*').

If we add that besides the above notices General Court's paper contains also a correct account of the Hindu Tīrthas on Mount Ilm, it will be acknowledged that his agents had taken evident care to ascertain and to report all ancient sites in Bunēr which were likely to attract attention.

This observation can only help to assure us as to the results of our own survey. We have seen that the latter, however hurried, has not failed to take us to every one of the sites which were known to General Court's informants, and this though at the time I was wholly unaware of this earlier record. We may hence conclude that the ruins described in this report include most, if not all, of the more important sites of Bunēr. We are thus justified in looking among them for the remains of those sacred buildings which in the records of the Chinese pilgrims receive special mention.

* * * *

**Conclusion.** — In concluding the account of my tour in Bunēr it is my pleasant duty to record my sense of gratitude for the manifold help enjoyed by me. In the first place my sincere thanks are due to the Punjab Government and its present head, the Hon'ble Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., who readily sanctioned the proposal of my deputation and

[38] For the same reason the name appears in the maps metamorphosed into '*Angapur*.'

agreed to meet its cost. By thus rendering my tour possible the Punjab Government have given once more a proof of their desire to further the objects of Indian antiquarian research. This, I trust, will be appreciated all the more as the field to be explored lay on this occasion beyond the limits of the Province.

The above pages have shown how much assistance I derived from the kind interest which **Major H. A. Deane**, C.S.I., has taken in my tour. Students of the antiquities of the North-West Frontier region know the valuable discoveries due to Major Deane's zeal for archæological exploration and his readiness to facilitate all researches bearing on those territories.

It is an equal pleasure to me to record publicly my sense of the great obligations I owe to the Military and Political authorities of the Bunēr Field Force. Major-General **Sir Bindon Blood**, K.C.B., Commanding the Division, not only agreed in the kindest manner to allow me to accompany the expedition, but also showed on many occasions his interest in my work and his desire to facilitate it by all means at his disposal. His staff as well as the Political Officers attached to the Force, Mr. Bunbury, C. S., and Lieutenant Down of the Punjab Commission, were ever willing to give me all needful assistance.

I feel particularly grateful to Brigadier-General **Sir W. Meiklejohn**, K.C.B., Commanding the 1st Brigade, and his staff for the free scope they allowed for my movements. Personally I doubt whether a civilian on a similar mission could ever have met with a kindlier reception than that which was accorded to me among the officers of the Bunēr Field Force.

*M. Fazl Ilāhī*, Draftsman, Public Works Department, who was deputed to accompany me, rendered valuable services by making accurate surveys and plans of all the more important sites and ruins. I must especially commend him for the readiness with which he volunteered for the duty, and the careful and intelligent way in which he carried out his work, often under somewhat trying conditions. Nor ought I to omit a grateful reference to the excellent marching of the Afrīdī escorts furnished to me by the XXth Regiment Punjab Infantry which enabled me to make full use of the limited time available for my excursions.

---

## A POPULAR MOPLA SONG.

BY F. FAWCETT.

THE Moplas (Mâpillas) of Malabar, ardent and fanatical Muhammadans as they are, are much devoted to songs, mostly religious, about the Prophet's battles and also their own for the most part. But their songs are not confined to descriptions of sanguinary conflicts, and the one which is given here is not in this style. The songs are written in the Arabic character, and their language is a curious polyglot patois of Malayâḷam, the local vernacular, Tamiḷ, Telugu, Hindustani, Arabic, and of many another tongue, a word of which is here and there brought in for some special use. The song here given is exactly as it exists, so far as it can be translated into English.[1] Its author was one **Alungal Kandi Môyankutti Vâidiâr.** His grandfather was a Hindu, a Vêlan or medicine-man, converted to Îslam (became a Mopla) and called Uni Mammad Vâidiâr after his conversion. The profession of the family was medicine; hence Vâidiâr, a term which is synonymous with Vêlan. The poet died six years ago, aged 45. His songs were very popular. Not at all a cultivated man, he was circumstanced just as the ordinary poor and ignorant people of his class around him; and, let it be said, in matters educational there is no more backward class in India than the Moplas.

He was distinctly imaginative, and he had studied the art of poesy, such as it was amongst the uncultivated Moplas, — but whence did he get his ideas? The poem seems to offer but an instance of how older stories are used, adapted and passed on, just as Boccaccio and Shake-

[1] In the difficult matter of translation from Malyâḷam into English I owe everything to Mr. T. Kannan, B. A., Head-Quarters Inspector of Police, Calicut.

speare, to go no further, handled older material and moulded it into what they have left us. It seems there was in one village, Kondotti, a man by name Puthan Maliyakal Nilamudin Miah, reputed as a Persian scholar who translated several Persian works into the vernacular. Through him he was able to have some slight acquaintance with Persian literature. His story seems to be an adaptation from "The **Nasr-i-Be-Nazîr** (a story of Prince Be-Nazîr), an eastern Fairy-Tale," known generally through its English translation (by "C. W. Bowdler Bell, Lieut., 5th Royal Irish Lancers, 1871)."

As the transmission of tales is always a subject of interest, an outline of this one will be given, as there are doubtless many to whom it is not readily available.

It is **the story of Be-Nazîr and Badar-i-Munîr.** According to a prefatory note by the Urdu writer the story he relates is a prose version "of the poetry by the late Mir Hasan, with the poetical name Hasan," of Delhi, written about 1802, "in an easy style, in conformity with the language of the high and low, for newly taught gentlemen." In fact it is a "Text-book for the High Proficiency Examination in Urdu." It is not said at first where the scene is laid, but it transpires (page 101) that the city of the king is called "Ceylon." The hero is the king's son, — in the Mopla poem it is the heroine whose father is king; and the heroine's name is the same as that of the prince in the story as told by our Mopla poet.

Mâh Rukh, a Fairy (Peri) Queen, finds the prince asleep and carries him off. She gives him a mechanical horse to ride for a period daily. In one of his excursions he sees Badar-i-Munîr, then aged 14 or 15. "Her face was so beautiful the moon would become spotted on seeing it." "Her glance was destruction and her look a calamity without remedy." "Her eye-lashes would overturn a row of lovers." "If an angel saw her jewelled bodice he would rub his hand with sorrow." Mâh Rukh is told by a devil of the prince's amour and puts him down a well. The heroine is disconsolate and wanders as a *jogin*. *À propos* of her playing the author says :— "Music has wonderful effect, as it makes the liver of hard stones water." Ferozshah, son of the king of the jinns, meets her, and says :— "It is true that love is as grass and beauty as fire. There is always a connection between love and beauty. And music is like the wind; it applies this fire to that grass." As she played, "pieces of his liver fell from his eyes." He carries her off, and eventually she tells him the cause of her sorrow; he sends to Mâh Rukh and demons release the hero. Through the instrumentality of Ferozshah they are married, and *then* they go to the prince's father's kingdom.

Such is the story which our Mopla poet in all probability knew more or less correctly. We will now see how he has used it.[2]

**The story of Hasanu'l-Jamal and Badaru'l-Munîr.**

I sing the praise of God before I begin this poem; I also invoke the blessings of the Prophets whom God in His mercy has from time to time sent to the world of men, and I pray to the ministers and to the relations of the Prophet. Oh God! help me to complete this song without errors. Oh Lord! give force and fluency to my tongue, so that my song may be excellent! Oh God! May the Prophet's mercy be upon me! I pray to the Prophet's chief minister who saved the Prophet by allowing a serpent to swallow the toe of his foot; and who kept pebbles in his mouth so that his tongue might be free from useless talk. I pray to the second minister (of the Prophet) who adhered closely to the precepts of the Qurân, who put to death his own son in accordance with the ordinances of the Qurân, and whom God Himself called Fârûḳ — one who separates truth and falsehood. I pray to the third minister, who arranged the Qurân, whom the Prophet acknowledged from Heaven to be his friend, and whom the Prophet met in all the seven Paradises. I pray to the fourth minister, who killed in battle the most powerful monarchs, who married the most beloved of the Prophet's daughters,

[2] Whence Mir Hasan "with the poetical name Hasan" received ideas for his tale cannot be pursued here, but it is safe to say it is likely he had read the Arabian Nights. [According to Beale, *Oriental Biog. Dic.*, s.v. Hasan, Mir; Mir Hasan wrote the story of Badar-i-Munîr and Be-Nazîr in 1785 and died in 1790. It appeared in the *Masnavi-Mir-Hasan* otherwise the *Saliru'l-Bayân*.—ED.]

and whom the Prophet pronounced to be 'the Gate of the Hall of knowledge.' I pray also to the other six ministers, and to the two grandsons of the Prophet who are Princes of the Watchmen in Heaven. May I obtain the blessing of the Prophet's daughter, of all the Prophets, of all the Shahîds, of all the illustrious Shêkhs in Baghdâd and Ajmêr. and of all the true followers of the Prophet. May the everlasting and changeless God direct towards me the blessings of all these illustrious men. Oh God! Who existed before all created things. whose existence knows no end, I possess none of the educational qualifications proper to a poet: mayst Thou enlarge my narrow intellectual vision!

The author of this poem is the celebrated **Nizâmu'ddîn**, learned in "Hanur."

In the country of **Ajmêr**, in the north-west of India, there lived a great king, **Mahâsîl**,[2] by name. He was very powerful, many kings were tributary to him, and he had countless subjects; his fortresses and strongholds were innumerable. But mention of all particulars of the kind would make my story too long, so they are omitted.

Now the king had a faithful minister of wide-world fame, called **Mâs Amîr**, who was in great sorrow because that he was childless. One day an astrologer came before him, and he addressed him thus:—"Oh astrologer! tell me my fortune. I suffer terribly because of my childlessness. My wife and I have had no issue. Death may overtake us at any time, and if we have no child, who will inherit our property? Thought of this makes my heart burn. Tell me now whether we are destined to have a child or not."

The astrologer asked the name of the star (planet?) under which the minister was born and, having examined his horoscope, said:—"Oh most gracious minister! There is not any doubt that before long God will bless you with a beautiful son; put away your anxiety and rejoice, for the son to be born to you will become a happy king over many countries. You must call him **Badaru'l-Munîr**, which means "the full moon." He will be victim to many misfortunes and fall into great dangers, but he will get free from them all, and obtain as his wives the most beautiful women."

The minister was much pleased to hear what the astrologer said, and gave him large presents.

In course of time the minister's wife gave birth to a handsome and intelligent boy. King Mahâsîl came to see the child, and was struck with wonder at its loveliness. As advised by the astrologer the child was called Badaru'l-Munîr. Then the king and his retinue departed. The child grew up the delight of all. When he was three years old a daughter was born to the king. She grew up so beautiful and so lovely, that she was a wonder to all beholders. and she was called **Hasanu'l-Jamâl**, which means "The most beautiful." The minister's son and the king's daughter grew up together; they played together, and they were taught by the same teachers. They advanced in years and in knowledge, and at length began to feel love for each other. By day and by night they were in each other's company. The beauty of the girl when she was ten years old cannot be described. Her hair was darker than the black clouds and more shining than the wings of the beetle, and when untied reached the sole of her foot; when tied up it was of wonderful beauty. Her forehead was arched and narrow; her eyebrows were like the rainbow or the half moon;[4] her eyes were black — as if blackened by eye-salve; her teeth were small, and white like the seeds of the pomegranate; her tongue was like the petals of the red water-lilly; her lips were of the colour of the red coral: her face was like the lotus. She was the first fruit of the tree of gold. Her neck was more graceful than the deer's; her breasts, round at their base, were like blossoms of the jasmine. They were like two golden cups, as the knobs on the head of a caparisoned elephant; they were of full size, without flaw, of never-fading beauty; and yet, only a handful. Her waist was very slender, about her thighs she was fleshy, and her legs were like the plantain tree.[5] Her feet were like gold. She had every grace, every,

[3] [Mahâsîl = Mahâśîla, a pure *Hindu* name. Observe also the subversion of the sexes throughout in the names Badaru'l-Munîr and Hasanu'l-Jamâl. — ED.]

[4] Perhaps "the waning moon," a favourite simile, is meant.

[5] A favourite simile.

accomplishment, and everyone called her Hasanu'l-Jamâl. Her morals and disposition were exact counterparts of her physical beauty. This beloved daughter of king Mahâsîl had beautiful jewels in abundance. She wore golden ornaments set with the most precious stones. She slept in the fairest of beds. She dressed in the most beautiful silk. She walked like an elephant, with wavy side to side motion, her head slightly bent. She looked with quivering eye which resembled the bee that has seen honey. Any one, man or angel, who saw her smile with her coral like lips, would be smitten instantly with love; nay, more, he would lose his wits and go mad. This fine coloured parrot[6] of a princess loved Badaru'l-Munîr with all her heart: her feelings towards him never changed. There did not live in that age one who was in any way comparable to Badaru'l-Munîr. His face would have put the lotus flower to shame; his talk would have stopped the course of the river of honey: even the *ḥûrîs* of Paradise would have been enraptured with the music of his voice, with the sweetness of his words. Not a day passed without this beautiful princess and this fairest of youths meeting each other; day by day their love increased, till at last the people began to whisper tales of sin. Rumours reached even the ear of the king, who issued stringent orders forbidding the minister's son to come to the palace. Badaru'l-Munîr, fearing the king's displeasure, did not go to the palace. Day and night, without food or sleep and with aching hearts they thought of each other. Their dreams were their only means of sympathetic communication; waking, they were undeceived, and wept bitterly.

The princess called a faithful slave, and told him to bring to her presence unknown, to any one, the full moon of her affections. True to his mission the servant conveyed secretly the joyful message to the minister's son. He was elated, and arranged to meet her the same night. Delighted beyond measure by the way in which the slave had carried out her orders, the princess immediately gave him his liberty and a present of four hundred silver coins. With eagle eyes the princess looked out for her beloved Badaru'l-Munîr who, like the beetle seeking the lotus flower, kept his tryst faithfully.

The princess of resplendent beauty thus addressed him abruptly:—"My father lies between our meeting; the full moon of our happiness is gone: do you propose any remedy?"

Badaru'l-Munîr replied:—"Oh my dear one! Oh most beautiful *maṇikam*[7]! Oh rising moon! Your father's cruel order is a death-blow to us. Oh fairest flower of humanity! Whatever you wish to be done I will do it at all risks."

The princess said:—"Oh my beloved! So long as my father is king we cannot live together in this country; if we cannot meet at least once a day the ocean of our love will be tossed with violent waves, and we shall go mad; I see no way for our remaining here. I am ready to quit my father's realm and go elsewhere: I have golden ornaments set with precious stones of great value: one of my bracelets would suffice to maintain us for a life-time."

As these words came out of her coral-like lips he blushed with joy, and said:—"Oh sweetest flower! I am ready to do your wish and bidding at all hazard. I accept entirely what you say." The princess then said to him with bated breath:—"I will get ready the fleetest of horses that will gallop through the forest with the speed of the wind; I will have everything ready by midnight: you must be here then. By daybreak we will be beyond the dominions of my father."

Having so resolved, they embraced and parted.

Now this conversation took place at the foot of the staircase of the palace in which the princess lived. A fisherman by name **Abû Sayyid** who used to bring fish to the palace was sleeping near the foot of the staircase. Hearing a voice[8] above his head he awoke and listened

[6] A Tamil simile of loveliness.

[7] A precious stone. *Lit.*, the precious stone which is within the head of the serpent Mahâsêśa, but applied generally to any precious stone.

[8] In the original — "*human* voice."

attentively and understood what the lovers had said. He was astounded, and, hastily leaving the palace, went home; at daybreak he went to the minister and said as follows:— "Oh my lord, take good care of your beloved son this day; if you doubt me and let your son go out to-day the king will surely have your head, and not only yours but the heads of many innocent persons." Minister:— "What is your reason for saying this?" Fisherman:— "Your slave will explain fully when the day is done."

The minister was perplexed, and, calling his son, said to him:— "Oh my son, go to my room, open my box, and bring to me my ring." No sooner had the son entered the room but his father shut the door. Badaru'l-Munîr was surprised by what his father had done; he was stricken with grief.

Hassanu'l-Jamâl made all arrangements for departure, taking with her all her jewels and beautiful clothes, also a laced coat and silken garments for Badaru'l-Munîr, and a beautiful horse finely caparisoned. Thus she awaited her beloved at midnight, — she, unfortunate lady, not having the slighest suspicion of the misfortune which had overtaken him. The wicked fisherman appeared in disguise at the spot at the appointed hour. The princess said:— "Let us go." In a low voice the fisherman said:— "Yes." They mounted the horse and were soon out of the town with the speed of the wind. Before daybreak they had crossed hills, forests, plains, and left many miles of country behind them, and during all this time they neither looked at each other nor exchanged a single word. At last they halted on an open plain, and turning back to see her lover seated behind her, she was astounded to see instead of him — the fisherman! "Oh! where is my most beloved Badaru'l-Munîr?" she cried and fell senseless from the horse. The fisherman trembled with fear, and, folding his hands, stood at a respectful distance. Soon she recovered her senses, and began to beat her breast with her hands and to roll in the dust as she wailed:— "Oh God! what misery has befallen me! How have I been deceived! I have left my home and all its pleasures pursuing a shadow. When shall I forget this separation from my beloved? What shall I do to get out of this pit of misfortune? Oh God! what further dangers are in store for me? So long as I live I will not return to my father's palace. What misfortune has overtaken my beloved Badaru'l-Munîr, and prevented him meeting me as we arranged? He would never have failed me but that some great danger has come over him." So saying she wept bitterly. Suddenly her features changed, her eyes became bloodshot; drawing her sword she leapt like a lioness towards the fisherman. "Miserable fisherman! answer me truly or I will cut off your head this instant. Have you killed my beloved friend?" "Oh princess!" said the fisherman, "do not be angry. Protect me! I will tell you the whole truth and nothing else. Last night I went out to fish, but caught none. As I was going home I saw a big horse and a woman stand by. As I came near, the woman said:— 'Let us go.' I said:— 'Yes.' Then you mounted the horse and told me also to get up. This is all. I knew nothing beforehand. The sword in your hand terrifies me. Do what you please; I will not prevent you. It is in your power to protect or destroy." Having said this the fisherman began to weep. The princess believed and was pacified. Again she mounted the horse and told the fisherman to mount also. So they travelled for a month, and passed out of the dominions of her father.

As soon as they had crossed the boundary, she pitched her tent under a tree, and, looking round saw a palace and a fort and a town in which were upstair buildings. She understood at once that it was the residence of a king; so giving two gold coins to the fisherman she told him to go and buy provisions. The fisherman obeyed. She told him, if people asked who she was, to say she was his wife. The fisherman asked respectfully what was the good — to him — of so saying? The princess changed colour and with the fury of a tigress addressed him thus:— "Senseless fisherman! Do you love your life?" The fisherman trembled, and, falling at her feet, cried for mercy. Then she opened the box in which she had brought clothes for Badaru'l-Munîr, and took out of it a cloth, a coat and a pair of sandals. She examined carefully all the jewels she had brought. She took up the sandals, placed them on her head, and kissed them.

She was overpowered with grief, and called aloud the name of Badaru'l-Munîr, and said:— "When shall I see your face again? I am unable to suppress my love and control my feelings;" and beat her breast with her hands. After some time she threw the clothes and sandals to the fisherman and told him to put them on. He did so, and, taking leave from the princess, strutted along the street, seeing many curious things. He saw a large crowd, and went to mingle in it. There were several foreign merchants, and the king's minister, dressed in beautiful silken garments, seated on a chair. When they saw the fisherman coming they were struck with amazement at the costliness of his dress, and questioned each other as to who he was. He answered that he came from **Muskan-Teresa**, his name was Abû Sayyid, and he was a celebrated trader in precious stones; in the course of his travel he came to this place. The king's minister was much pleased, and with much respect offered him a seat. The following conversation then took place between the minister and the fisherman. The latter said:—"What is the reason for this large crowd?" The minister said:— "By order of the king. The king of Shâm has sent a pearl to our king, saying it is worth 64 lakhs of gold, and challenging any one to find a flaw in it. If found to be flawless 40 important seaports are to be given to him; but if any flaw is found in it then he will give 40 of his chief seaports to whomsoever discovers the flaw. When he received the letter our king ordered me to write letters to all interested. These merchants and myself are examining the pearl, and we are in a dilemma, for in our opinion there is no flaw in it. Just as we came to this opinion you appeared. Now, if you will give your opinion about this pearl, our king will reward you with immense wealth and honours and horses and titles. Have no doubt about this." Abû Sayyid said:— "I came to the bazaar to buy provisions; my wife waits for me; to-morrow I will come and give you my opinion." The minister agreed. Abû Sayyid returned to his wife,[9] and related to her his adventure. She told him to be of good cheer; he should tell the minister that his wife is a better judge of pearls than himself, and as she cannot leave her house the pearl should be sent to her, and she would give a correct opinion on it. So the next day Abû Sayyid brought the minister with the pearl to his house. The woman[10] examined the pearl, and said it was nothing but chunam, ashes and water; if it were broken it would be seen at once that what she said was true. The minister reported all this to the king, who asked whether Abû Sayyid would give security for the loss of the pèarl if it were broken and his opinion was found to bewrong. Abû Sayyid offered to give any security that was demanded. Then the pearl was broken in the presence of witnesses, and it was found to be just what the princess had said. The king's joy and admiration were boundless; he would give Abû Sayyid anything he chose to ask. But Abû Sayyid would do nothing without his wife's permission, so promised to return the next day. The next day he came, and the king asked him what presents would satisfy him. He said:— "My wife would accept no presents. All we want is a house in a suitable locality, and for this we will pay the price." The king was astonished, and, to test him, ordered the costliest mansion to be selected, and double price to be charged. With a single pearl from one of her rings the princess paid the price of the mansion, thus confounding the king and his minister with surprise. The fisherman and the princess moved quietly into the mansion. When she saw the grandeur of the mansion and the splendour of its furniture she was drowned in grief, for they recalled to her mind the loss of her lover, and she wept bitterly.

Abû Sayyid tried to console her with sweet words. He said:—"Oh my benefactress! why weep over the inevitable? Will the sun rise in the west by thinking over it?" Hearing this she struck him in the face with her shoes, kicked him, and spat in his face. He besought her pardon, and promised never more to speak to her in that fashion.

Now the king was so pleased with Abû Sayyid that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and asked him to divorce his first wife — the princess. Abû Sayyid said he would not, for his life as all his happiness was due to her. Then the king said he would hand over to him

[9] The princess is meant: not his wife.

[10] The princess.

his kingdom and all his wealth if he would divorce her. This temptation was too strong for the poor fisherman, and he agreed to the king's proposal. Accordingly the king appointed Abû Sayyid to be his successor, and made him king.

The king who had heard from his minister of the great beauty of the princess, sent an old woman to tempt her. When the old woman reached her house the princess was lying as in a trance, lost in dreams of her lost lover. "What is it?" she said to the old woman. "I am an old woman, named **Kunsath**, oh beautiful parrot! Prosperity and greatness are yours, for the king wishes to see you, and has sent me to take you to him. Daughter! if he sees you, all his wealth is at your feet." Hasanu'l-Jamâl said:—"What you say is true, but how can I come without my husband's permission? He is in the palace; if he comes back and gives me permission, I will come." The old woman said:—"Daughter! He has divorced you; he has married the king's daughter, and is happy there. Listen to me, a danger will befall you." Then Hasanu'l-Jamâl thought perhaps the king and the fisherman had conspired to ruin her. "Oh God! what shall I do!" Thus she mused in deep sorrow, and while so absorbed the old woman spoke again:—"Beloved daughter! Follow me quickly. Do not hesitate. You are helpless here. You are like an elephant[11] in a pit. If you refuse to follow me your mansion and all you possess will be lost to you. You will be in endless sorrow. Obey me." Thus insulted Hasanu'l-Jamâl rose angrily and kicked the old woman out of the house. She went to the king, trembling from head to foot, and said:—"Oh king, I have obeyed you and come to grief. The woman kicked me hard and told me to say to the king—'So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west nobody need think of me. Nobody shall touch me. Combat, I do not fear.' I escaped with my life." The king was angry and ordered four soldiers to seize Hasanu'l-Jamâl and bring her before him. The soldiers entered the house. Hassanu'l-Jamâl asked:—"Who are you to come to my house without permission? Go away." The soldiers were startled by her beauty, but approached to seize her. She drew her sword and killed two of them. The other two fled to the king and told him what had happened. He was angry and sent his soldiers to besiege her house, bind her hand and foot, and bring her before him. The soldiers surrounded the house, and called upon her to surrender. She prayed to God, resolving to die rather than fall into the hands of the king. She fought desperately until late in the night,[12] killed several of the soldiers, and drove the rest back to the king's palace: to evade her pursuit they fled into the jungle. After all this she rested under a tree. The king of the Jinns saw her, and carried off to a deep forest, raised a beautiful mansion on the top of a hill and placed her therein.

We must now return to the story of Badaru'l-Munîr. For three days he shut himself up without food or rest. News of the affair spread all over the country, and huge crowds gathered Unable to bear his pain and shame, Badaru'l-Munîr left the town stealthily, and fled to unknown lands. For six months he roamed the forests. In the course of his wanderings he met the **Fairy Queen Kamarba.** She took him off to the land of the peris and shut him up in her beautiful crystal palace; and there he lived for two years and ten months. One day the Peri Queen and Badaru'l-Munîr went for an aërial drive. They passed over seas and mountains and visited many countries, until at last, resting under a tree, they fell asleep. Just then **Sufayirath, daughter of Shihâh, king of the Jinns,** with her forty maids, was roving the skies in her beautiful chariot. When she came near the tree she asked her maids what they saw under it,— was it the moon or a star dropped from the skies? "Whatever it be, let us alight here and see what it is." They came near and found a lovely youth and a beautiful girl sleeping in a warm embrace, a shâwl over them. Quietly she removed the shawl. The sight dazzled her eyes and stupefied her senses. Quickly she took the youth, placed him in her chariot, and with the speed of lighting left the place. Thus she took him to the top of a hill on an island in the fourteenth

11 Catching elephants in pits is very common in Malabar. When in the pit the elephant is, of course, entirely at the mercy of its captors.

12 *Lit.*, until 10 o'clock.

sea, and there she ordered a palace of gold and precious stones to be constructed for him; her genii attendants obeyed her in the twinkling of an eye.

When Badaru'l-Munîr awoke he found himself in a strange place and was very uneasy. His wonder was greater when he saw the woman. But the woman consoled him; said she was the daughter of the king of Jinns; the celebrated **Mustak**, her brother, was a terrible giant, whom she feared, so Badaru'l-Munîr should remain quiet in the house by day, and she would visit him at night. Thus passed seven years, until one day when he said he could no longer endure his imprisonment; so she gave him a chariot that would in one night carry him as far as one could travel in forty years; and she told him he might go where he liked during the day but he must return at night.

In one of his flights he travelled far and came to the garden of a king whose daughter. **Jumailath**, met him, and, falling in love with him, detained him seven days. But the Fairy Queen came to the king's palace in disguise and carried him off. The king's daughter was filled with anxiety, and, unknown to any one, fled from the palace and wandered here and there, until she came to the palace of Mustak, who had carried off Hasanu'l-Jamâl. **The Jinn, Mustak,** led her to an apartment of his palace in which he had confined Hassanu-l-Jamâl, and asked her why she had wandered so far away from all human habitations, and had trespassed into the land of the Jinns. Then she related her adventures, and said she had come in search of her lover. The genii at once summoned all his maids, and ordered them to find out which of them had concealed a man.

One of the maids told him his own sister, Sufayirat, had a man in her custody, and she visited him every night. So he sent for his sister, and commanded her to produce the man. She did so. The king's daughter at once recognized Badaru-l-Munîr, and was glad indeed to see him. Mustak asked Badaru-l-Munîr how he had fallen into the hands of the genii, and Badaru'l-Munîr related all his misfortunes and the story of his wanderings. The Jinns then bethought him of the story of Hasanu'l-Jamâl, and suspecting that she might be the sad cause for all these, ordered that she be dressed in the finest robes and adorned with the most precious jewels. Badaru'l-Munîr was dressed and decorated in like manner, as if for his wedding. At night, when both were fast asleep, the Jinns and the king's daughter placed the cot of Badaru'l-Munîr beside that of Hasanu'l-Jamâl, and they concealed themselves behind the door. When Badaru'l-Munîr and Hasanu'l-Jamâl awoke, each wondered who was their bed-companion. At last they recognized each other, embraced, wept, and related their adventures from the very beginning. The Jinns and the king's daughter clapped their hands and entered the room.

Then all four entered a car and ascended to the skies. First they dropped the king's daughter in her father's palace; then the others went on and reached the palace of the father of Hasan'ul-Jamâl. The Jinns caused a golden palace to be created in front of the king's palace in the dead of night. The king was surprised, when he awoke, to find a shining palace in front of his own. All the people flocked to see this wonderful sight, but what was their wonder when they saw Hasanu'l-Jamâl and Badaru'l-Munîr the mistress and master of it! The king and his minister were much pleased to see their children after ten years' absence, and all the people rejoiced. Their wedding was duly celebrated, and all the Jinns attended the ceremony. After this the king vacated his throne in favour of Badaru'l-Munîr, and went on a long pilgrimage; and Badaru'l-Munîr and Hasanu'l-Jamâl lived happily as king and queen.

## WITCHCRAFT IN ANCIENT INDIA.[1]

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

THERE is more than one reason why the uncanny and often repulsive practices of witchcraft deserve to be studied. First of all, these practices form an important phase in the

[1] From the *New World* for September, 1898.

history of religion, and have their roots in the primitive history of mankind; and whenever we feel inclined to smile at or to be disgusted with some of these customs and beliefs, we ought to remember what M. Lazarus (one of the pioneers of the scientific study of ethnology) said, that, in all our investigations as to the origin of customs, we are standing "on holy ground — we are standing at the gate of the Primitive History of Mankind — at the psychological source of all that is highest and noblest in man."

A study of these customs, too, allows us an insight into the working of the human mind in its early stages of evolution, and is therefore an important contribution to the study of psychology. For these customs are merely the outward expression of what we are pleased to call superstitions, but what are really beliefs as justifiable on psychological grounds as those of any creed or science — for even in science there is much that is belief to-day, and may be superstition to-morrow. **It is the aim of ethno-psychological research (Völkerpsychologie) to find out the reasons of these so-called superstitions,** and hence the psychological basis of the practices and ceremonies which go by the name of witchcraft.

Moreover, in many of these rites we may discover the rudiments of science, the first gropings of man for an understanding of Nature, and especially (as witchcraft is greatly concerned with the human body) the rudiments of medical science. In studying the very ignorance of primitive people with regard to Nature, we are able to discern glimpses of real knowledge — we are, though not yet in the precincts, at any rate at the threshold of Science.

In India, witchcraft practices have always formed an essential element in the religious life of the people. Witchcraft formed an important factor in the popular religion of ancient Vedic times, it survives (as it does in Europe) during centuries of advanced civilization, and it crops up again as a kind of atavism in the magic rituals and formulas of Tantric sects and Mahâyâna Buddhists, as in the hocus-pocus of modern spiritualists in Europe and America. In ancient India witchcraft practices enter largely into the sacred ritual, and many of the ceremonies performed by the priests at the great sacrifices are in no way distinguished from the practices of magicians. The sacrificial ceremonies are mixed up with numerous rites which are intended to secure a special boon for the worshipper or to injure his enemy — rites which have nothing to do with the worship of the gods, but are witchcraft practices pure and simple. Especially in all the rites connected with childbirth, marriage and the funeral service it is almost impossible to distinguish between witchcraft and religion. To secure the welfare of a child or of a bride, solemn sacrifices and prayers to the gods are prescribed side by side with amulets and talismans and imprecations against the evil demons.

In a highly interesting essay on "Witchcraft and Non-Christian Religions"[2] Sir Alfred Lyall has most ingeniously tried to define witchcraft and to prove that it is not a low phase of religion, but that from the very outset there was a radical separation between the two. "Witchcraft," he says, "appears to have been, from the beginning, the aboriginal and inveterate antagonist of religion or theology, and hardly less so in the most primeval age of barbarous superstition than it was in the days of our King James I." The witch is, according to Sir Alfred Lyall, in one sense the *savant* of his time, in another sense "a crazy charlatan" who professes to work miracles, either through some trifling knowledge which he actually possesses, or by certain faculties and devices which he pretends to possess. He relies upon his own powers, while the priest tries to influence Nature by worship and expects all help from supernatural beings.

But fascinating as this theory is, since it would help us to bring light and order into what seems inextricably involved, I do not believe that the facts, as we find them among primitive people, justify us in drawing such a distinct line of demarcation between witchcraft and religion. First of all, witchcraft is essentially connected with the belief in demons or evil spirits. And this belief is certainly as much a religious belief, as beliefs in the great gods to

[2] *Asiatic Studies*, 2d ed, 1884, pp. 75-98.

whom the higher forms of worship are directed. We shall see below that even the great gods of the Hindu pantheon, *e. g.*, Varuṇa and Rudra, are connected with diseases and hence with medical witchcraft. Besides, witchcraft practices are invariably accompanied by charms and imprecations addressed to supernatural beings, and in no way distinguished from the prayers addressed to the higher gods. The witch, too, relies on worship. As we shall see, in the ancient Hindu charms the demons who cause diseases or other evils are constantly invoked, worshipped and propitiated.

It is true, there are traces, even in ancient India, of an antagonism between priest and witch. At an early period, the Atharva-Vêda, whose essential teaching is sorcery, was looked upon as of doubtful orthodoxy. For there are naturally two aspects of sorcery. It is useful to one's self, and harmful to others. The sufferer would always look upon magic as contemptible and abominable. But the same law-book of Manu, which mentions sorcery and "magic by means of roots" among the minor offences causing loss of caste, and which prescribes fines and penances for hostile sorcery, tells us that *speech* (*i. e.*, charms and incantations), is the weapon of the Brâhmaṇa, the priest — with that he may slay his enemies.

I gladly admit that witchcraft is more independent of the belief in the supernatural, that it is more materialistic, and that it "pretends to be in some sort an exact science" — but at the same time, I believe that witchcraft is one of the numerous phases of primitive religious thought, and inseparable from other low forms of religion.

In studying the witchcraft folk-lore of ancient India, we shall have to abandon the idea of a strict separation between witchcraft and religion. All we can say is that **witchcraft is more concerned with the extraordinary phenomena of Nature and unusual events in human life, and with the abnormal conditions of the human body, while the higher worship of the gods is inspired more by the regular course of events in Nature and human life.** Moreover, the great gods are supposed to have a claim to certain sacrifices, the regular performance of which, with the recital of prayers, forms one of the principal duties of every respectable Hindu; while the ceremonies which we comprise under the general name of witchcraft are performed at odd times with some worldly object in view, either **to secure health, prosperity, for one's self (holy and auspicious rites), or to cause injury to others (hostile sorcery).**

Among the auspicious rites, the medical charms and the witchcraft practices intended to cure diseases or to counteract the evil influence of the demons of disease are most prominent, and there is much truth in what Sir Alfred Lyall says, that "the most primitive witchcraft looks very like medicine in the embryonic state."

In India, as elsewhere, the general doctrine of disease prevails that all abnormal and morbid states of body and mind are caused by demons, who are conceived either as attacking the body from without or as temporarily entering the body of man. The consequence is that primitive medicine consists chiefly in chasing away or exorcising these hostile spirits. This is done, in the first instance, by charms. The spirit of disease is addressed with coaxing words and implored to leave the body of the patient, or fierce imprecations are pronounced against him, to frighten him away. But these charms, powerful as they are (in fact, there is nothing more powerful to the primitive mind than **the human word, the solemn blessing or curse),** are yet not the only resource of the ancient physicians or magicians.

From the earliest times men had become aware of the curative power of certain substances in Nature, especially of herbs. This knowledge was first gained by experience, and after it had once been obtained, men began to ascribe similar curative power to plants, as well as to animal and mineral substances, for various other reasons. Analogy or association of ideas not only serves to explain many of the practices of primitive medicine or magic (which is the same), but also accounts in many cases for the belief in the curative power of certain substances. The principle that *similia similibus curantur* prevails throughout the whole range of folk-medicine. Thus dropsy is cured by water. A spear-amulet is used to cure colic, which

is supposed to be caused by the spear of the god Rudra. The colour of a substance is of no small importance in determining its use as a medicine. Thus turmeric is used to cure jaundice. Red, the colour of life-blood and health, is the natural colour of many amulets used to secure long life and health. A black plant is recommended for the cure of white leprosy. But even the name of a substance was frequently a reason for ascribing to it healing power. One of the most powerful medicinal or magic plants is called in Sanskrit *apâmârga* (*achyranthes aspera*), and it owes its supposed power essentially to its etymological connection with the verb "apamarj," meaning "to wipe away," and in Hindu charms the plant is constantly implored to wipe away disease, to wipe out the demons and wizards, to wipe off sins and evils of all kinds To wipe a disease away is a very common and a very natural means of getting rid of it.

This seems to be the meaning also of that ancient method of curing disease by **the laying on of hands**, which is already mentioned in the Rig-Vêda, though it is also possible that it was intended to press the disease down by means of the hands. For we read in one charm of the Rig-Vêda: —

"Down bloweth the wind, down burneth the sun, the cloud (or cow) is milked downwards — down shall go thy ailment.

"Beneficent is this one hand, more beneficent is this other hand — this one contains all medicines; the other one is wholesome by its touch."

From another charm, however, it would seem as if the laying on of hands had only been intended as a means of establishing a connection between the patient and the magician, whose imprecations could have effect only on the person with whom he was actually in touch. In the same way the priest had to touch the person for whom he was offering prayers and sacrifices to the gods. The following charm of the Rig-Vêda seems to suggest such an interpretation: —

"With these two hands, which have ten branches (the fingers), and which cure from disease, — the tongue being at the same time the leader of speech, — do I touch thee."

There is a striking similarity between this ancient Hindu custom and the modern practices of **faith-healing** in which, after all, prayer has merely been substituted for the ancient charms.

The two chief resources of medical witchcraft, then, are charms (spells, imprecations) and magic rites, the chief object of which is to bring the body into contact with some supposed curative substance. These substances are frequently applied in the shape of amulets or talismans. There is, in India, no trace of a belief in spirits dwelling in the amulets. Their power is merely based on the power to destroy evil influences and demons, possessed by the herb or tree or mineral from which the amulet is derived.

The most ancient collection of charms in India is that found in the Atharva-Vêda, and we possess very ancient ritual books which contain detailed accounts of magic rites used in connection with the charms of the Atharva-Vêda.[3] These charms have very much in common with those of other nations. More especially, numerous coincidences have been pointed out between Teutonic charms and those of the Atharva-Vêda. In the medical charms of the Hindus, the diseases are always personified. It is only our way of speaking when we say that diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. As a matter of fact, the diseases themselves are addressed as personal and demoniacal beings. Thus Fever — "the king of diseases," as it is called in the Suśruta, the great work on Hindu medicine — is addressed with such words as: "Thou that makest all men sallow, inflaming them like a searing fire, even now, O Fever, thou shalt become void of strength: do thou now go away down, aye, into the depths! The Fever that is spotted, covered with spots, like reddish sediment, him thou, O plant of unremitting potency, drive away down below!" Here the plant Kushṭha (*costus speciosus*) is addressed, which was

[3] See *Hymns of the Atharva-Vêda, together with Extracts from the Ritual Books and the Commentaries*, translated by M. Bloomfield. (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 42, 1897.) I am indebted to Professor Bloomfield's translation for most of the extracts given below.

always considered by the Hindus as one of the most powerful remedies against fever, leprosy and other diseases. That a demon of disease is at the same time worshipped and threatened with destruction, is a very common feature of these charms. This is not at all surprising. A Red Indian will in the same way worship a rattlesnake and offer it some tobacco before he proceeds to kill it. Thus our charm continues: "Having made obeisance to the Fever, I cast him down below."

The symptoms of malarial fever — the change between heat and chill, and the intermittency — are most vividly expressed in these charms. Thus we read: "When thou, being cold, and then again deliriously hot, accompanied by cough, didst cause the sufferer to shake, then, O Fever, thy missiles were terrible: from these surely exempt us! . . . O Fever, along with thy brother Swelling, along with thy sister Cough, along with thy cousin Eruption, go to yonder foreign folk!" Diseases are frequently thus told to depart and go to foreigners or enemies. Headache, cough, eruptions and abdominal swellings are frequently associated with malarial fever. Summer, autumn, and especially the rainy season, are most favourable to the spread of this dangerous disease. Hence the Kushṭha plant is addressed with the words: "Destroy the Fever that returns on each third day, the one that intermits each third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the autumnal one; destroy the cold Fever, the hot, him that comes in summer, and him that arrives in the rainy season!"

The frequency of fever during the rainy season probably accounts for the belief that lightning is the cause of fever as well as of headache and cough. A very symbolical cure of fever consists in making the patient drink gruel made of roasted grain, the dregs of gruel being afterwards poured from a copper vessel over the head of the patient into fire which must be taken from a forest-fire. A forest-fire is supposed to have originated from lightning, and that the cure of a disease is effected by that which causes it, is one of the most general ideas among primitive people. Both the roasted grain and the copper vessel are symbolical of the heat of fever. Here we have the rudiments of homœopathy. A similar homœopathic remedy against hot fever consists in heating an axe, quenching the axe in water, and pouring the water thus heated upon the patient.

Another magic rite is intended as a remedy against cold fever. By means of a blue and a red thread — blue and red are magic colours both in German and in Hindu sorcery — a frog is tied to the couch on which the patient reclines, and a charm is recited in which the Fever is invoked to enter into the frog. The frog represents the cold element, and the cold fever is expected to pass into the cold frog. It is highly interesting that we meet with a very similar frog-charm in Bohemia, where people, in order to cure chills of fever, catch a green frog, sew it into a bag, and hang it around the neck of the patient, who is not allowed to know of the contents of the bag. Then the patient must pronounce the Lord's prayer nine times on nine successive days before sunrise, and on the ninth day he must go to the river, throw the bag into the water, and return home without looking backward. This, too, is a kind of homœopathy.

The cure of disease by making it enter into some animal, is one of the most general devices of medical witchcraft both in India and elsewhere. According to Jewish law a living bird is "let loose into the open field" with the contagion of leprosy (Lev. xiv. 7, 53). To cure headache, people in Germany wind a thread round the patient's head, and then hang the thread as a noose on a tree; any bird flying through the noose takes the headache away with it. Jaundice is cured, in parts of Germany, by making it pass into a lizard. In ancient India jaundice was cured by seating the patient on a couch beneath which yellow birds were tied. The yellow disease was supposed to settle on the yellow birds.

The same principle of curing a disease by something similar to its cause or symptoms is also apparent in the cure of excessive discharges by means of water, although there must have been many other reasons which pointed to water as a great healing power. To the present

day the Hindus look upon rivers as divine beings or as the abode of spirits. And we may credit even the ancient Hindus with a certain knowledge of medicinal springs. Nor is it surprising that in a tropical climate the rain waters were hailed as "divine physicians." Hence we read in a charm of the Atharva-Vêda: "The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all disease: may they prepare a remedy for thee!" But spring-water is considered as a particularly effective remedy against diarrhœa or other excessive discharges. It is a curious belief that the ants — which are also mentioned as instrumental in the cure of poison — bring healing-water from the sea. Thus it is said: "The ants bring the remedy from the sea: that is the cure for discharges, and that hath quieted disease."

Dropsy or "water-disease" (*Wassersucht* in German) — the disease sent by Varuṇa, the god of the sea and water — is naturally cured best by the use of water. A very simple cure of dropsy consists in sprinkling water over the patient's head by means of twenty-one (three times seven) tufts of Darbha or sacred grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), together with reeds taken from the thatch of a house. The water sprinkled on the body is supposed to cure the water in the body. It is against dropsy, with which disease of the heart is frequently associated, that the following charm is pronounced: "From the Himalaya mountains they flow forth, in the Indus, forsooth, is their assembling-place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache! The pain that hurts me in the eyes, and that which hurts in the heels and the fore-feet, the waters, the most skilled of physicians, shall put all that to rights! Ye rivers all, whose mistress is the Indus, whose queen is the Indus, grant us the remedy for that: through this remedy may we derive benefit from you!"

Varuṇa is not only the god of water, but also the god of justice and truth. Hence dropsy is more particularly considered as a punishment of falsehood and sin. Varuṇa ensnares with his fetters, *i. e.*, his disease, every liar and traitor. Thus we read in a charm against treacherous designs: "With a hundred snares, O Varuṇa, surround him, let the liar not go free from thee, O thou that observest men! The rogue shall sit, his belly hanging loose, like a cask without hoops, bursting all about!"

Another great god of the ancient Hindu pantheon who is frequently connected with disease and witchcraft is Rudra, the father of the storm-gods. He is at the same time worshipped as a divine physician and feared as a causer of disease. He is the lord of cattle, but his missiles cause danger to cattle as well as to men. Especially all sharp internal pain, such as colic, is caused by the arrow of the god Rudra. It may be that lightning was conceived as a weapon of Rudra, and we have seen above that diseases were supposed to be caused by lightning.

As a rule, however, diseases are supposed to be caused by godlings rather than by gods. More especially, all such diseases as mania, fits, epilepsy and convulsions are ascribed to possession by Rakshas (devils) and Piśâchas (goblins). There is a special class of charms, the so-called "driving-out charms," which are considered as most effective remedies against possession. But the most powerful enemy and destroyer of all devils is Agni, the Fire. "Slayer of fiends" is one of the most common epithets of this god. In a delightful story by "Frank Pope Humphrey" (Pseudonym Library), a young lady who is frightened by a ghost is made to say: "I sprang out of bed and piled the branches of pine upon the coals until they roared in a vast flame up the chimney and lighted every corner of the room like noonday. *For I have ever found that light scatters quickly the phantoms that people the darkness.*" This is exactly the same sentiment which made the South American Indians carry brands or torches for fear of evil demons when they ventured into the dark. And for the very same reason the ancient Norse colonists in Iceland used to carry fire round the lands they intended to occupy to expel the evil spirits. (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 194.) At the great animal sacrifices in ancient India, the priest had to carry a firebrand round the victim. "Why he carries the fire round," says an ancient treatise on sacrifices, "is that he encircles the victim by means of the fire with an unbroken fence, lest the evil spirits should seize upon it; for Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas (devils)." No wonder, therefore, that Agni or Fire is invoked in a charm

against mania to free from madness him who has "been robbed of sense by the Rakshas:" "Release for me, O Agni, this person here, who, bound and well-secured, loudly jabbers! Then shall he have due regard for thy share of the offering, when he shall be freed from madness! Agni shall quiet down thy mind, if it has been disturbed! Cunningly do I prepare a remedy, that thou shalt be freed from madness."

Sacrifices to the god of fire, burning of fragrant substances and fumigation are among the principal rites against possession by demons. The following is a very complicated ceremony against mania: "Pulverized fragrant substances, mixed with *ghî*, are sacrificed, and the patient is anointed with what remains. The patient is next placed upon a cross-roads, a wicker-work of *darbha* grass, containing a coal-pan, upon his head; and upon the coal the previously mentioned fragrant substances are again offered. The patient going into a river against the current throws the same substances into a sieve, while another person from behind washes him off. Pouring more of the fragrant substances into an unburned vessel, moistening the substances with ghee, placing the vessel in a three-footed wicker basket made of munja-grass (*Sacharum munja*), he ties it to a tree in which there are birds' nests" (Bloomfield, p. 519). Here we have the idea of driving out demons with the help of fire, combined with the well-known devices of making a disease run away with flowing water, and of transmitting it to trees and animals. The ceremony is performed on a cross-roads, this being the favourite haunt of all demons, and therefore the most fitting place for all kinds of witchcraft practices.

As fire was considered to be the best of demon-scarers, it was naturally supposed to be most powerful in driving away the demons of disease also; that is, in curing all kinds of diseases. Hence the custom of passing a sick child through fire, which was witnessed in Scotland only a few years ago. The ancient Teutonic custom of kindling a need-fire for the cure of cattle diseases was still practiced in Scotland in 1788. A fire was "kindled from this need-fire . . . and *the cattle brought to feel the smoke* of this new and sacred fire, which preserved them from the murrain." In ancient Rome a sacrifice was offered on the twenty-first of April, and the flocks were driven through the burning fire.[4] In ancient India, also, there was an annual festival when a bull was sacrificed to Rudra (the god of cattle) and *the flocks were placed around the fire so that the smoke should reach them.* At other times also, when cows and horses were attacked by a disease, the ancient Hindus sacrificed gruel with ghee to Rudra, and the animals were expected to be cured by smelling the smoke. Professor Max Müller suggests that these customs had "a purely utilitarian foundation," that purification by fire is in fact "the forerunner of our modern quarantine, which many medical authorities now look upon as equally superstitious." But I doubt whether it can be proved that the ancient Hindus or other ancient nations had any actual knowledge of, or belief in, fumigation as a means for removing infection. What we know is that they believed that diseases both of men and cattle were caused by demons or gods, — such as Rudra, — and that they also believed that fire was a repeller of all demons. These two ideas seem to account sufficiently for the origin of such customs as those mentioned above. Customs and beliefs must be founded on reason, but what is perfectly reasonable from the point of view of ancient people, need not be "utilitarian" according to modern ideas.

Besides the Rakshas and Piśâchas, the devils and goblins, whose special province it is to cause all kinds of mischief, we find in ancient India also the world-wide belief in *incubi* and *succubi* who pay nocturnal visits to mortal men and women. These are the Apsaras and Gandharvas of Hindu mythology, who correspond in every respect to the elves and nightmares of Teutonic belief. They are really godlings of Nature. Rivers and trees are their natural abodes, which they only leave in order to allure mortals and injure them by unnatural intercourse. To drive these spirits away the fragrant plant ajaśṛiṅgî, "goat's horn" (*odina pinnata*), is used, and the following charm pronounced: "With thee do we scatter the Apsaras

[4] See F. Max Müller, *Physical Religion*, pp. 284 f., 288 f., 389 f.

and Gandharvas. O goat's horn (*ajaśṛiṅgî*), goad (*aja*) the Rakshas, drive them all away with thy smell! The Apsaras (nymphs) . . . shall go to the river, to the ford of the waters, as if blown away! Thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have been recognized! Where grow the aśvattha (*ficus religiosa*) and the banyan-trees, the great trees with crowns, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have been recognized! Where your gold and silver swings are, where cymbals and lutes chime together, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have been recognized. The Apsaras, you know, are your wives; ye, the Gandharvas, are their husbands. Speed away, ye immortals, do not go after mortals!"

According to Teutonic belief, also, fragrant herbs (*e. g.*, *origanum*, *antirrhinum*, *hypericum perforatum*, and especially thyme) are excellent means for frightening away devils and witches as well as nymphs and elves. In Teutonic charms, also, the "maer," *i. e.*, the nightmare, is told to leave the houses of mortals, and to repair to the waters and trees, which proves the character of these spirits to be the same as that of the ancient Hindu Apsaras and Gandharvas. Like the latter, the nymphs and elves of Teutonic mythology are particularly fond of music and dancing, by means of which they allure mortal men and women.

That the godlings of Nature, especially the spirits of trees and waters, are occasionally identified with the spirits of disease, may to some extent account for the healing power ascribed to water and trees. In fact, the far-spread custom of transferring diseases to trees seems to have originated from a desire of infecting the spirit of a tree with a disease which may have been caused by the same or an allied spirit. Amulets as a protection against diseases, hostile sorcery, evil eye and other calamities are frequently taken from trees. Thus, an amulet consisting of splinters from ten kinds of holy trees is considered as a potent remedy against hereditary disease, and also against possession by demons. Nine kinds of wood are used for a similar purpose in German witchcraft. A very powerful amulet is derived from the *Varaṇa* tree, *i. e*, *cratœva roxburghii.* But its great power seems to rest solely on the supposed etymology of *Varaṇa* from a root *var*, meaning to ward off. The following powerful charm is recited on the occasion of tying this Varaṇa-amulet: "Here is my Varaṇa-amulet, a bull that destroys the rivals: with it do thou close in upon thy enemies, crush them that desire to injure thee! Break them, crush them, close in upon them: the amulet shall be thy van guard in front! With the Varaṇa did the gods ward off the onslaught of the demons day after day. This thousand-eyed, yellow, golden Varaṇa-amulet is a universal cure; it shall lay low thy enemies: be thou the first to injure those that hate thee! This Varaṇa will ward off the spell that has been spread against thee; this will protect thee from human danger, this will protect thee from all evil. This divine tree, the Varaṇa shall ward off! The gods, too, did ward off the disease that has entered into this man. If, when asleep, thou shalt behold an evil dream; as often as a wild beast shall run an inauspicious course; ominous sneezing, and the evil shriek of a bird — all this shall the Varaṇa-amulet ward off! The Varaṇa will ward off the demons Grudge and Misfortune, sorcery, and danger, death, and over-strong weapons. This divine tree shall ward off the sin that my mother, that my father, that my brothers and my sister have committed; the sin that we ourselves have committed. . . . This Varaṇa upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree, shall smite asunder my enemies, as Indra the demons! Long-lived, a hundred autumns old, do I wear this Varaṇa: kingdom and rule, cattle and strength, this amulet shall bestow upon me!"

I have quoted this lengthy charm because it shows unmistakably how the ancient Hindus looked upon disease, danger from mortal enemies and from the gods, evil omens and hostile sorcery, as well as upon hereditary and other sin as caused by the same agency, and therefore to be removed by the same remedy. One and the same amulet is to be used as a protection against all evils, and even as a means for securing long life and happiness. The underlying idea can only be that all evils which beset mankind are caused by malevolent superhuman beings who have to be propitiated or warded off, to secure health and happiness.

As these demons are the sworn enemies of mankind, it is only natural that they should be most anxious to injure the new-born infant, and even the embryo. Numerous, therefore, are

the charms and rites concerned with the protection of mother and child against the attacks of evil spirits. Fire, as already mentioned, is the most powerful weapon against the demons. Hence it is that tribes of the Malay Peninsula light fires near a mother at childbirth, to scare away the evil spirits; and the people of the Hebrides, to protect the mother and child from evil spirits, carry fire round them. The law of the Parsis ("Sad Dar," ch. 16) requires "that, when a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days — if they burn a fire it would be better — so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm. . . . During forty days it is not proper that they should leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant should put her foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast her eyes upon a hill." The threshold is, like the cross-roads, a favourite haunt of the evil spirits. Hence a bride, also, is forbidden — in India as well as in ancient Rome — to tread upon a threshold. The demons are naturally as opposed to marriage as they are to childbirth, and at all marriage ceremonies great care has to be taken to protect the bridal pair, especially the bride, from attacks of the demons. Hence the burning of lamps at Chinese weddings, and perhaps the carrying of fire behind the bridal procession in ancient India. The law of the Parsis has its exact counterpart in Scandinavia, where, until a child is baptized, the fire must never be let out, lest the trolls should be able to steal the infant, and a live coal must be cast after the mother as she goes to be churched (Tylor, Vol. II. p. 195). The custom of keeping a light burning in the lying-in room is still practiced in Germany, as it was in ancient Rome. In ancient India the rule was to keep a fire burning near the door of the lying-in room in which mustard seeds and rice-chaff were sacrificed every morning and evening for ten days. Visitors, too, were requested to throw mustard seeds and rice-chaff into the fire, before entering the room.

Among the rites performed for the welfare of the new-born infant is the first feeding. The child is made to taste honey and milk from a golden spoon. Gold was frequently used at auspicious rites by the ancient Hindus, and was also worn as an amulet for long life. "The gold which is born from fire, the immortal, they bestowed upon the mortals. He who knows this deserves it; of old age dies he who wears it." It seems to me highly probable that the auspiciousness of gold is due to its supposed origin from fire. "The seed of Agni" (Fire) is a frequent designation of gold. As fire could not be worn as an amulet, gold was used instead.

The first *name* given to a child is to be kept secret. Only the parents may know it. For according to Hindu notions, demons and wizards have no power over a person unless they know his name. This custom of concealing the baptismal name is also found among other peoples, *e. g.*, the Abyssinians.

The chapter of children's diseases is as large in medical witchcraft as in modern medical science, and in the Hindu charms we find numerous names of demons to whom the various diseases of children are ascribed. One of these demons is called the "Dog-demon," and is said to represent epilepsy (though the barking dog would remind us rather of whooping cough). When a boy was attacked by the dog-demon, he was first covered with a net, and a gong was beaten or a bell rung. Then the boy was brought into a gambling-hall, — not, however, by the door, but by an opening made in the roof, — the hall was sprinkled with water, the dice cast, the boy laid on his back on the dice, and a mixture of curds and salt poured over him, while again a gong was beaten. The curds and salt were poured on the boy, while a charm was recited which is only partly intelligible: "Kûrkura, Sukûrkura, Kûrkura who binds the boys. . . . O fine-haired doggy, let him loose, let him loose, chat! . . . go away, dog . . . let the dog eat a dog, not a human being, chat! . . ." To drive evil demons away by means of loud noises, such as the beating of a gong, was a device frequently resorted to in ancient Hindu rites; and as Mr. Crooke ("Folklore of Northern India," i. 168) tells us, bells and drums are still used in India as scarers of demons. "So, the Patâri priest in Mirzapur and many classes

of ascetics throughout the country carry bells and rattles made of iron, which they move as they walk to scare demons. . . . This also accounts for the music played at weddings, when the young pair are in special danger from the attacks of evil spirits. At many rites it is the rule to clap the hands at a special part of the ritual with the same purpose." Why the ceremony should take place in the gambling-hall is not quite clear, unless it be that the dice were considered as demons. In the epic literature we meet with two of the dice, who are represented as evil demons. But the casting of dice occurs also as a kind of oracle in the ancient sacrificial ritual of the Hindus, and this may account for the demoniacal or religious character of the dice. Interesting is the practice of bringing the child into the hall through an opening in the roof, that is, *not by the door*. To enter a house by any other opening but the door seems to be a means of escaping the demons who are haunting the threshold. Thus, according to a German superstition, it is conducive to the health of a child to lift it out of the window when it is taken to church to be baptized.

Demons are not only expelled by fire, strong smells and loud noises, but also by the use of more material weapons. Thus, at an ancient Hindu wedding pointed chips of wood or arrow-heads were shot into the air with the following imprecation against the demons: "I pierce the eyes of the Rakshas (devils) who roam about the bride as she approaches the wedding fire; may the Lord of the Demons bestow welfare on the bride!" A staff also is frequently used for driving away the evil spirits. It has been shown by Professor H. Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, pp. 492 ff.) that the staff which ascetics and other holy persons are required to carry was originally intended as a weapon against the demons. In order to insure good luck everywhere, an ancient Hindu manual of sorcery advises a man always to carry an oleander staff which has been consecrated by sacrifices and sacred hymns. If he wishes that a certain town or village or house or stable should not be entered by hostile persons, he should draw a circle with his staff, thinking of the place he wishes to protect, and no such person will be able to enter the place.

Of course, the ancient Hindus knew that some maladies and derangements of the human body were not caused by any mysterious power; they knew that wounds were inflicted by weapons, they knew something about the effects of poison, and had an idea that certain diseases were caused by animals, such as worms. But in ancient India, as well as in German popular superstition, the term "worms" includes all kinds of reptiles, and snakes and worms are not kept very distinct. Moreover, all kinds of diseases were ascribed to worms. And both worms and snakes are actually considered as a kind of demoniacal beings. The imprecations against worms are therefore not very different from the charms against the demons. Thus we read in a charm against worms: "The worm which is in the entrails, and he that is in the head, likewise the one that is in the ribs: . . . the worms do we crush with this charm. The worms that are within the mountains, forests, plants, cattle, and the waters, those that have settled in our bodies, all that brood of the worms do I smite."

In a charm against worms in children it is said: "Slay the worms in this boy, O Indra, lord of treasures! Slain are all the evil powers by my fierce imprecation! Him that moves about in the eyes, that moves about in the nose, that gets to the middle of the teeth, that worm do we crush. Slain is the king of the worms, and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother is slain, his brother slain, his sister slain. . . . Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone, I burn their faces with fire."

This fierce imprecation is accompanied by a rite symbolical of the destruction of worms in the patient. An oblation of black lentils, mixed with roasted worms and with ghee, is offered in the fire. Then the sick child is placed upon the lap of its mother, and with the bottom of a pestle heated in the fire and greased with butter, the palate of the child is warmed by thrice pressing upon it. Then a mixture of the leaves of a horse-raddish tree and butter is applied, and *three times seven* dried roots of *andropogon muricatus* are given to the child, upon whom

water is poured. The words of the charm leave no doubt that not only intestinal diseases but also pains of the head and the eyes, etc., are ascribed to worms. Thus, German popular medicine knows of a "finger-worm" as the causer of whitlow (*panaricium*), and even spasm in the stomach is ascribed to a worm, the so-called "heart-worm" (*Herzwurm*). As the Hindu charm mentions a worm "that gets to the middle of the teeth," so worms are believed to be the cause of toothache in almost every part of the world. "If a worm eat the teeth," says one of the prescriptions in an English *Leech Book*, "take holly rind over a year old and root of carline thistle, boil in hot water, hold in the mouth as hot as thou hottest may." In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be "poorly through the worm" (W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 32 f.). In a French charm against toothache it is said: "*Si c'est une goutte de sang, elle tombera; si c'est un ver, il mourra.*" In Germany a sufferer from toothache will go to a pear-tree, walk three times round it, and say: "Pear tree, I complain to thee, three worms sting me, the one is gray, the other is blue, the third is red — I wish they were all three dead." The circumambulation of the tree here alluded to has its parallel in the circumambulation of the fire and other sacred objects, which forms an essential part in the magic rites and religious ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

An important chapter in ancient Hindu witchcraft is that of the so-called "women's rites," or the charms and rites connected with sexual love. This chapter may well be treated as an appendix to medical witchcraft. "*Liebeswahnsinn — Pleonasmus, Liebe ist ja selbst ein Wahnsinn,*" says Heine, and to the primitive mind sexual love is indeed only a kind of mania, or mental derangement. Hence the love charms are only one class of medical charms. As herbs are used to allay disease, so are various kinds of plants used to arouse love in men or women. Thus a man who wishes to secure the love of a woman is told to tie to his little finger an amulet of licorice-wood and recite the charm: "This plant is born of honey, with honey do we dig for thee. Of honey thou art begotten, do thou make us full of honey! At the tip of my tongue may I have honey, at my tongue's root the sweetness of honey! In my power alone shalt thou then be, thou shalt come up to my wish! . . . I am sweeter than honey, fuller of sweetness than licorice. Mayest thou, without fail, long for me alone, as a bee for a branch full of honey! I have surrounded thee with a clinging sugar-cane, to remove aversion, so that thou shalt not be averse to me!"

Most of the love charms, however, are not so "sweet," but have more in common with the fierce imprecations used for hostile sorcery. The following words are addressed to a plant (*andropogon aciculatus*, according to one authority), to arouse the passionate love of a woman: "Clinging to the ground thou didst grow, O plant, that producest bliss for me; a hundred branches extend from thee, three and thirty grow down from thee: with this plant of a thousand leaves thy heart do I parch. Thy heart shall parch with love for me, and thy mouth shall parch with love for me! Languish, moreover, with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days! Thou that causest affection, kindlest love, brown, lovely plant, draw us together; draw together yonder woman and myself, our hearts make the same!"

To secure the love of her husband, and to become victorious over a rival or co-wife, a woman had to perform the following rite. In the morning of an auspicious day, she goes to a spot where a *Clypea hernandifolia* grows, scatters three times seven barley corns around it, and says, "If thou belongest to Varuṇa, I redeem thee from Varuṇa; if thou belongest to Soma, I redeem thee from Soma." Next morning she digs the plant up, saying the following charm: "I dig up this plant, the most potent of herbs, by which a rival woman may be overcome, by which a husband may be entirely won. O thou plant with erect leaves, who art auspicious, victorious, and powerful! Blow away my rival, make my husband mine alone! Superior am I, O superior plant, superior to the highest. Now shall my rival be inferior to the lowest! I do not even mention her name, nor does she care for me. To the very farthest distance let us banish the rival!" Then she cuts the root of the plant in two, and ties the two pieces to

her hands, saying: "I am overpowering, and thou, O plant, art overpowering. Having both grown full of power, let us overpower my rival!" With the parts of the root tied to her hands, she embraces her husband, pronouncing the charm: "About thee I have placed the overpowering plant, upon thee placed the very overpowering one. May thy mind run after me as a calf after the cow, as water along its course!"

Not only to secure love, but generally to obtain mastery over a man or a woman, the ancient Hindus also availed themselves of a device to which we find interesting parallels among many other nations. He who wanted to get a person into his power had only to make an image of the person (either of clay or of metal), place his foot on the breast of the image, and mutter certain charms. Or he might make such an image of dough (using flour of black rice), rub it with mustard oil, cut off the limbs, and sacrifice the image in fire. But the heart he must eat himself, else the person would die. A woman who wishes to arouse the love of a man performs the following rite: She throws beans upon the head of the person whose love is desired. Then the points of arrows are kindled and cast in every direction about the effigy of the desired person, its face fronting towards the performer. At the same time she recites the charm: "This yearning love comes from the Apsaras, the victorious, imbued with victory. Ye gods, send forth the yearning love; may yonder man burn after me!" etc. A man also, who wishes to secure the affections of a woman, uses for this purpose an effigy of the desired person. And by means of a bow which has a bowstring of hemp, with an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived from an owl, whose shaft is made of black wood, he pierces the heart of the effigy, reciting a fierce imprecation.

Similar magic rites are performed by a king in order to get rid of an enemy, when not only the image of the enemy, but even images of elephants, horses, carriages and soldiers are made of dough and sacrificed in the fire. In Bengal "a person sometimes takes a bamboo which has been used to keep down a corpse during cremation, and, making a bow and arrow with it, repeats incantations over them. He then makes an image of his enemy in clay, and lets fly an arrow into this image. The person whose image is thus pierced is said to be immediately seized with a pain in his breast" (W. Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, ii. 279). In the Pitt-Rivers collection in the University Museum at Oxford, there is an interesting specimen of a wax image which has been used for witchcraft purposes in Singapore, and a clay image which was used with no friendly purpose only a few years ago — in England. To injure persons by making images of wax, melting them over a slow fire, or piercing them with needles, was a common practice both in ancient Rome and in Germany. In England, too, as Sir George Mackenzie wrote in 1678, "Witches do likewise torment mankind, by making images of clay or wax, and when the witches prick or punce these images, the persons whom these images represent do find extreme torment, which doth not proceed from any influence these images have upon the body tormented, but the devil doth by natural means raise these torments in the person tormented, at the same very time that the witches do prick or punce, or hold to the fire these images of clay or wax" (Black, *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 19 f.).

Another kind of hostile sorcery which the ancient Hindus share with other peoples is that by means of nail-parings, hair, or even the dust taken from the footprint of the person one wishes to injure. Nail-parings are described in the sacred books of the Parsis as the weapons of sorcerers. Among the Southern Slavs (according to Dr. Krauss) nail-parings are sometimes used to drive a person mad, while girls use nail-parings to gain the love of a youth. To prevent mischief done by demons and sorcerers, Hindus are very careful about the disposal of hair-cuttings and nail-pairings. That a person may be injured by meddling with his footprints, is a belief found in Germany, in Australia, and is met with in Northern India at the present day (Crooke, ii. 280). In ancient India, a man who wished to secure the love of a woman was recommended to take some dust from her footprints and sacrifice it in the fire, chanting a certain charm.

In all these customs, where persons are believed to be influenced by some act performed either with the image of the person, or with some part of his body, we see the working of the association of ideas. However unreasonable it may seem to us that a person should feel the effect of an injury done to his effigy or to his nail-parings, it is perfectly in accordance with the reasoning of primitive people. If a savage were told to swallow a pill to be cured of a headache, he would probably consider it as exactly parallel to wearing an amulet on one part of the body against an ailment in another part. Even the belief in demons as the cause of disease has nothing surprising even in our days — only we have to think not of those diseases the causes of which have been cleared up by medical science, but of nervous diseases which are almost as mysterious to the modern physician as they were to the ancient medicine-man. As the sphere of knowledge extends, that of superstition becomes more and more limited. But "superstition" is only a relative term. What we call superstition to-day was actual belief — based on reasoning as much as our own beliefs — in the days of our forefathers.

The psychological process by which people arrived at these so-called superstitions is much the same everywhere. Our investigation has proved that all the features of witchcraft folk-lore which we find in other parts of the world recur again in ancient India. This is one more proof of what all ethnological and ethno-psychological studies tend to teach, — that mankind is the same all over the globe and that one law rules the human mind, just as, despite all differences of colour and skulls, the human body shows the same characteristics, and is subject to the same trials and dangers in all parts of the world. I began by saying that we may find the beginnings of religion and rudiments of science in the crude notions of primitive people about man and Nature; I conclude by saying that the religious beliefs and superstitious customs of primitive people are, after all, the foundation on which our own morality, our laws and social institutions are based. In fact, there is no safer foundation, no grander hope for the future development of morality and the higher civilization which is to come, than the knowledge and the consciousness of the unity of mankind — the precious lesson taught by anthropology and ethnology.

## MISCELLANEA.

### MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MÂNAVA OR MAITRÂYAṆÎYA SÛTRAS.

#### AN APPEAL.

DR FRIEDRICH KNAUER, Professor in the University of Kiew, Russia, who has lately published an excellent edition of the Mânavagṛihyasûtra, has in preparation a critical edition of the Srautasûtra of the same school. He has copied and collated all MSS. of the text and commentaries which were accessible to him, but unfortunately the materials for his task are still insufficient. More good manuscripts of the Mânava (Maitrâyaṇîya) Srautasûtra and its commentaries are wanted. Such manuscripts are likely to be found in the neighbourhood of Gujarât, and to the north as far as Benares, especially in Benares itself, probably also in Khândês. They are likely to be found especially among the Moḍha-Brâhmaṇas. It is well known that the ritual works of the Mânava school are among the oldest and most important works for the study of the ancient Hindu ritual, as well as for that of the history of the Vedic schools.

Paṇḍits and English scholars and officials in India will, therefore, earn the gratitude of all Sanskrit scholars, if they will take the trouble to search for manuscripts of the *Mânava* or *Maitrâyaṇîya Sûtras* (both *Srautasûtra* and *Gṛihyasûtra*, commentaries thereon, and *Prayôgas* or *Paddhatis*) and communicate with Professor Knauer about anything found. Professor Knauer is prepared to buy any original manuscripts of the above description or to pay for trustworthy copies. All communications should be addressed to Professor F. Knauer, Universitetskij Spensk 13, in Kiew, Russia.

THE EDITOR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### TELUGU SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT SPITTLE.

I. IF, when rinsing the teeth with charcoal in the mornings, any one spits on a road, the Telugus say, he is sure to be laid up with a sharp attack of fever for two or three days if the spittle is trodden upon. So every one is advised, if he wants to

avoid the ailment, to have the marks of his spittle at once removed by sprinkling water on them.

II. When a person is liberal in giving or spends money as fast as it comes, or, as the Telugu expression[1] runs, if money does not stay in his hand, he is advised by his relatives to spit on the palm of his hand when he gets up early in the morning. They believe that money will stick to him in the same manner as does the spittle.

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

---

PRAYER OF THE DRINKERS OF HEMP-JUICE.

*Bijiyâ*[2] *Mâtâ, gun kî dâtâ,*
*Jûṅ rakke putr kô mâtâ!*
*Chaṛhdê gyân: utardê dhyân!*
*Sukkhâ pîyô, miharbân!*
*Wahîṅ jhandê: wahîn nishân!*
*Jô karê sukkhê kî badî,*
*Us kâ bâp billâ; us kî mâṅ gadhî,*
*Phirê sukkhê kî ladî ladî!*
*Bhang kahê, so bâwarâ!*
*Bijiyâ kahê, so kûrâ!*
*Têrâ nâm Kamlâpati,*
*Rahê nain bharpûr!*
*Sâdhôṅ pî, santôṅ pî, pî kaṅwâr Ganhâî!*
*Jô kôî Bijiyâ kî nindiyâ karê, usê khâê Mâlkâ mâî!*

O Mother Bijiyâ, giver of (all) good qualities,
Cherish thou us as (doth) a mother her son!
With thy attack (cometh) wisdom: with thy retreat (cometh) meditation!
Drink the hemp-juice, my friend!
There is honour; there is glory!
Who doth evil to the hemp-juice,
May his father become a cat and his mother a she-ass,
To wander laden with the hemp-juice!
Who calleth thee *bhang* is a fool!
Who calleth thee Bijiyâ is a liar!
Thy name is Kamlâpati (Nârâyaṇa),
That dwelleth with thy eyes filled (with delight)!
Saints drink thee, sages drink thee, [Kanhayya (Kṛishṇa) drink thee!
Who speaketh evil of Bijiyâ, him wil Mother Kâlkâ (Durgâ) destroy.

CHAINA MALL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

WORSHIP OF NARSINGH IN KANGRA.

WHILE the patient to be cured, or the *chêlâ*, keeps shivering and shaking with the force of the spirit in him, the *baitrî* sings the following incantations, accompanying himself on the *dôpatrâ*:—

Refrain.

*Mêrê Narsiṅghâ, Narañjaniyâ bîrâ!*
*Bîrêṅ môhî bôliyâṅ; bîrêṅ môhî bôliyâṅ:*
*Bîrêṅ môhî bôliyâ jag sârâ;*
*Mêrê Narsiṅghâ hê! Narañjaniyâ jî!*

I.

*Bhâî Gaṛh Mathrâ bîch janmêṅ, Gôkal lîâ sî atârâ.*

II.

*Bhâî Basudêv dîâ bâlakyâ, Jôsôdhân dîâ jâyâ!*

III.

*Jithâ kawâriâṅ kaniyâṅ, tithû bâsâ têrâ!*

IV.

*Ambêṅ ambôtêṅ, khôêṅ, pêhnandêṅ dê bâsâ têrâ!*

V.

*Pâplêṅ, palôṭêṅ, maltiyâ bâsâ têrâ!*

VI.

*Sûhî sûhî pagṛî kunjân dî kaglî gul bîch narmêṅ dâ jâmâ!*

Refrain.

O my Narsiṅgh, O great Narañjan!
O thou that hast captivated me: O thou that has captivated me: O thou that hast captivated the whole world: O my Narsiṅgh! O my Lord Narañjan!

I.

O friend, born in the fort of Mathurâ, thou didst become incarnate in Gôkula.

II.

O friend, and son of Vasudêva, the child of Yasôdhâ.

III.

Where the maids and virgins are, there is thy home.

IV.

Thy home is in the mangoes, young mangoes, in wells, and in tanks.

V.

Thy home is in the *pîpals*, young *pîpals* and jasmines.

VI.

Red and red is thy turban flowered and crested, fine the robes on thy body.[3]

SARDARU BALHARI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

---

[1] *Chaitulo dabbu niluvadu.*

[2] [In the word Bijiyâ is an evident play on the name Vijayâ for Durgâ and for the hemp-plant, from which the intoxicant *bhang* is made. — ED.]

[3] [The above is evidently a song to Krishṇa, and as such is in some of its verses commonly sung all over the Panjâb at the *Râs Lîlâ*, which commemorates the dance of Kṛishṇa with the Gôpîs. This mixing up of the *Nrisiṅha* and *Kṛishṇa avatâras* of Vishṇu is very curious. — ED.]

# ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.*

(*Continued from p.* 13.)

## B. — ADJECTIVES.

### 1. Gender.

**217.** In the formation of the feminine we find the same changes which we have already noticed in the case of substantives (*vide* §§ 184 and ff.). The following are examples :—

#### (*a*) Vowel Changes.

| From | To | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|---|
| ـُـ *u*[15] | ـَـ *ạ* | لکٹ *lokuṭ*, little ... ... | لکٹ *lokạṭ* |
| | | نو *nuv*, new ... ... ... | نو *nạv* |
| | | أر *ur*, healthy ... ... ... | *ạr* |
| | | وهر *wuhur*, of so many years (= the Persian سالہ *sâla; e. g.*, دووهر *dô-wuhur*, of two years = Pers. دوسالہ *dû-sâla*). | *wuhạr* |
| | | کاتسر *kâtsur*, brown ... ... | کاتسر *kâtsạr* |
| | | اپتر *aputur*, childless ... ... | اپتر *aputạr* |
| | | کهوور *khôwur*, left (not right)... | کهوور *khôwạr* |
| | | کڈر *kuḍur*, coarse, gross ... | کڈر *kuḍạr* |
| | | مدر *madur*, proud ... ... | مدر *madạr* |
| | | مدر *mudur*, sweet ... ... | مدر *mudạr* |
| | | ستر *satur*, flat ... ... ... | ستر *satạr* |
| | | آلچ *âluts* ... ... ... | آلچ *âlạts* |
| ـُـ *o* | ـَـ *ạ* | Compounds of رست *rost*, deprived of, and سست *sost*, endowed with, *e. g.* :— | |
| | | زوورست *zuvarost*, lifeless ... | زوورست *zuvarạst* |
| | | روگسست *rûgasost*, afflicted with sickness. | روگسست *rûgasạst* |

[15] In the last syllable.

| From | To | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|---|
| ـٚ o | ـٕ a̤ | اَپوز *apoz*, untrue, false ... ... | اَپَز *apa̤z* |
| | | بوڈ *boḍ*, great ... ... ... | بَڈ *ba̤ḍ* (obl. بَجِہ *baji*) |
| | | دور *dor*, hard ... ... ... | دَر *da̤r* |
| | | کھونڈ *khonḍ*, broken (of crockery) | کھَنڈ *kha̤nḍ* |
| | | اوڈ *oḍ*, half ... ... ... | اَڈ *a̤ḍ* |
| | | پوپ *pop*, ripe ... ... ... | پَپ *pa̤p* |
| | | چور *tsor*, much ... ... ... | چَر *tsa̤r* |
| | | زور *zor*, deaf ... ... ... | زَر *za̤r* |
| | | اڈور *a̤ḍor*, wet ... ... ... | اڈَر *a̤ḍa̤r* |
| ـٟ *io, yo* | ـٟ, *ya̤* (or ـٖ *e*) (see below). | ویوٹھ *vyoṭh*, fat ... ... ... | ویَٹھ *vya̤ṭh* or *veṭh* |
| ـٟ *iu, yu* | ـِ *i* | پَتیُم *patyum*, last ... ... | پَتِم *patim* |
| | | پیٹھیُم *peṭhyum*, upper ... ... | پیٹھِم *peṭhim* |
| | | تَلیُم *talyum*, lower ... ... | تَلِم *talim* |
| | | نبریُم *nebryum*, outer ... ... | نبرِم *nebrim* |
| | | So also all ordinal numerals as | |
| | | دوئیُم *doyum*, second ... ... | دوئِم *doyim* |
| | | ٹیُٹھ *ṭyuṭh*, bitter ... ... | *ṭiṭh* |
| و ـٚ *ô* | آ *â* | سوٚو *sôv*, wealthy .. ... | ساو *sôv* |
| | | اوم *ôm*, raw ... ... ... | آم *ôm* |
| | | دوٚلوم *dôlôm*, round ... ... | دولآم *dôlôm* |
| | | ٹوٹھ *ṭôṭh*, beloved ... ... | ٹآٹھ *ṭôṭh* |
| یوٗ *yû, iû* | ـِ *i* | میوٗٹھ *myûṭh*, sweet ... ... | میٹھ *mîṭh* |

| From | To | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | زیوٗٹھ *zyûṭh*, long ... ... | زیٹھ *zīṭh* |
| | | پھریوٗچ *phryûts*, auspicious ... | پھریٕچ *phrīts* |
| یٕو *iô, yô* | یآ *yô* | دیور *dyôr*, rich ... ... ... | دیآر *dyôr* |
| | | اپزیور *apąziyôr*, false ... ... | اپزیآر *apąziyôr* |
| | | پزیور *pąziyôr*, true ... ... | پزیآر *pąziyôr* |

We find a double change in the following:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| و *ô*, ـُـ *u* | آ *ô*, ـِـ *i* | سوٗرُی *sôruy*, all ... ... ... | ساری *sôriy* |

Perfect participles in ـُمُت *ômut* form their feminine as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| یومُت *yômut* | ییمٕچ *yêmąts* | وٗلیومُت *wôlyômut*, drunken ... | وٗلییمٕچ *wôlyêmąts* |

(b) Consonantal Changes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| د *d* | ز *z* | See below. | |
| گ *g* | ج *j* | See below. | |
| ل *l* | ج *j* | See below. | |
| ک *k* | چ *ch* | لوٗک *lûk*, small, young ... ... | لوٗچ *lûch* |
| کھ *kh* | چھ *chh* | ھکھ *hokh*, dry ... ... ... | ھچھ *hochh* (not ھٕچھ *hąchh*) |
| ت *t* | چ *ts* | رُت *rut* (رٕت *rąt*)[16] ... ... | رٕچ *rąts* |
| تھ *th* | چھ *tsh* | See below. | |
| ن *n* | ن *ñ* | See below. | |

Changes of both Consonants and Vowels.

| Vowel Change. | | Consonantal Change. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ا *á* | آ *ô* | ن *n* | ن *ñ* | آسان *ásán*, easy ... ... | آسان *ásôñ* |
| ـُـ *u* | ـٕـ *ą* | ل *l* | ج *j* | ھُل *hul*, oblique ... ... | ھٕج *hąj* |
| | | | | کُمُل *kumul*, tender (of meat) | کُمٕج *kumąj* |

[16] See § 213, 2, (*a*).

| Vowel Change. | | Consonantal Change. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ـُ *u* | ـَ *a* | ک *k* | چ *ch* | All genitival adjectives in ـُک *uk; e. g.*, | |
| | | | | آسمانک *ásmánuk*, heavenly, of the heaven, § 198. | آسمانچ *ásmánach* |
| | | د *d* | ز *z* | ورد *worud*, second husband of one woman. | ورز *woraz*, a woman who has married twice. |
| | | ن *n* | ن *ñ* | نتھن *nethanun*, naked ... | نتھن *nethanañ* |
| | | | | ترن *turun*, cold ... ... | ترن *turañ* |
| | | ل *l* | ج *j* | پشل *pishul*, soft, tender ... | پشج *pishaj* |
| | | | | شھل *shuhul*, cold ... ... | شھج *shuhaj* |
| | | | | وزل *wozul*, red ... ... | وزج *wozaj* |
| | | ن *n* | ن *ñ* | کرھن *kruhun*, black ... | کرھن *kruhañ* |

So future participles active in ـَون *awun* (§ 24). Thus :—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | زلون *zalawun* burning ... | زلون *zalawañ* |
| | | | | سوزون *sôzawun*, about to send. | سوزون *sôzawañ*[17] |
| ِیو *yo* | *ya* or *e* | د *d* | ز *z* | سید *syod*, straight ... ... | سیز *syaz* or *sez* |
| | | ک *k* | چ *ch* | أدلیک *adalyok*, incomplete | أدلیچ *adalech* |
| ِیُ *iu, yu* | ـِ *i* | ل *l* | ج *j* | آویل *ávyul*, thin ... ... | آوج *ávij* |
| | | | | زاویل *závyul*, soft (of cotton goods). | زاوج *závij* |

17 [This, I am now satisfied, is the correct spelling of the feminine. See note 39, § 83. The plural is (masc.) سوزون *sozawani*, (fem. سوزون *sôzawañe*. It is a noun of the second and third declensions.]

| Vowel Change. | | Consonantal Change. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ک *k* | چ *ch* | All nouns in یُک *yuk*, such as | |
| | | | | گۄڈنیُک *godanyuk*, first ... | گۄڈنِچ *godanich* |
| | | | | نیُک *nyuk*, lean ... ... | نِچ *nich* |
| | | تھ *th* | چھ *tsh* | کیُتھ *kyuth*, like what? ... | کِچھ *kitsh* |
| | | | | یُتھ *yuth*, like this ... ... | یِچھ *yitsh* |
| ـُو *û* | ـِو *ü* | ت *t* | چ *ts* | یُوت *yût*, this much ... | یِوچ *yüts* |
| | | | | کُوت *kût*, how much? ... | کِوچ *küts* |

And so other pronominal adjectives of quantity.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ـۄ *o* | ـَ *a* | د *d* | ز *z* | تھۄد *thod*, high ... ... | تھَز *thaz* |
| | | | | ماَرِمۄنْد *mŏrimond*, beautiful | ماَرِمَنْز *mŏrimanz* |
| | | | | سۄنْد *sond*, sign of genitive | سَنْز *sanz* |
| | | گ *g* | ج *j* | لۄنگ *long*, lame ... ... | لَنْج *lanj*[18] |
| | | | | سۄرگ *srog*, cheap ... ... | سرَج *sraj* |
| | | ل *l* | ج *j* | کھۄل *khol*, wide ... ... | کھَج *khaj* |
| | | | | سۄکھہ بۄل *sokha-bol*, lukewarm | سۄکھہ بَج *sokha-baj* |
| | | ت *t* | چ *ts* | بۄچھہ ہۄت *bochhi-hot*, hungry | بۄچھہ ہَچ *bochhi-hats* |
| | | | | تۄت *tot*, warm ... ... | تَچ *tats* |
| | | | | سۄت *sot*, slow ... ... | سَچ *sats* |
| | | | | مۄت *mot*, mad ... ... | مَچ *mats* |
| | | | | چھۄت *chhot*, white ... | چھَچ *chhats* |
| | | | | لۄت *lot*, light ... ... | لَچ *lats* |
| | | ن *n* | ں *ñ* | نۄن *non*, apparent ... ... | نَں *nañ* |

[18] Wade, *land*.

| Vowel Change. | | Consonantal Change. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | اۆن *on*, blind ... ... | اَن *aṇ̃* |
| | | | | رۆن *ron*,[19] footless ... .. | رَن *raṇ̃* |
| | | | | تۆن *ton*, thin ... ... | تَن *taṇ̃* |
| *ô* ـٔ و | آ *ô̂* | *l* ل | *j* ج | هکنوٚول *hekanwôl*, able ... | هکنوآجن *hekanwô̂jaṇ̃* |
| | | | | نهکنوٚول *nahekanwôl*, unable | نهکنوآجن *nahekanwô̂jaṇ̃* |
| | | ن *n* | ن *ñ* | نندبۆن *nundbôn*, pretty ... | نندبآن *nundbô̂ñ* |
| | | | | میۆن *myôn*, my ... ... | میآن *miô̂ñ* |
| | | | | پرۆن *prôn*, old ... ... | پرآن *prô̂ñ* |
| *iû, yû* | ...... | ل *l* | ج *j* | نیۆل *nyûl*, blue .. ... | نیج *nīj* |

**218.** Many adjectives remain unchanged in the feminine: amongst these may be noticed:—

(1) Loan-words, *e. g.*, Persian adjectives in دار *dár*, کار *kár*, and گر *gar*.

(2) Words ending in لد *lad*, endowed with; *e. g.*, دآدلد *dô̂di-lad*, from دۆد *dôd* pain.

(3) Words ending in ہ ـَ *a*; *e. g.*, بُڈہ *buḍa*, old; مُڈہ *muḍa*, negligent; بالہ *bála*, young.

(4) Others, such as: بۆچھ *bochh*, hungry; گۆب *gob*, heavy; گۆٹ *goṭ*, turbid; جان *ján*, good; یَچھ *yachh*, bad; کنگال *kangál*, poor; کنجوس *kanjús*, stingy; کتال *katál*, vile; کۆب *kob*, hump-backed; بیُن *byun*, separate; بیوای *bêwáí*, careless; بیھوال *behvál*, home-heeping; نلدراو *niladráv*, gadding about; مۆٹ *moṭ*, fat; مۆنڈ *monḍ*, blunt; سُم *sum*, smooth; سُندر *sundar*, beautiful.

## 2. Declension.

**219.** Adjectives are declined, in the masculine, according to the 2nd declension, and in the feminine according to the 3rd[20]; the sound-changes already described, taking effect as usual; *e. g.*, اۆر *ur*, healthy, pl. m. اَر *aṛi*; اۆن *on*, blind, اَن *aṇi*. Compounds ending in لد *lad*, endowed

[19] Elmslie, *raun*.

[20] [The author says the 4th declension, but this is not correct. Wade rightly gives an example, وۆزُل *wozul*, red, in which the feminine is declined according to the 3rd declension.]

with (see § 218), and loan-words, are the only ones which are declined according to the first declension. Loan-words are more often not declined; *e. g.*, وِیران جایہِ اَندر *wairān jāyi andar*, in a desert place (on the other hand, with the same word used as a substantive, we have اَکِس ویرآنِس اَندر *akis vairônis andar*, in a desert); یِمہِ مُسکِین مَنڈہ ترُوو سارنی ہَنڈہ کھُتہ چُر *yimi muskīn mondi* (*mond*, a widow) *trôv sārenay handi khota tsor*, by this poor widow more has been cast in than by all.

**220.** As the Locative has merely the Dative forms to which a postposition is attached, and as the postposition is given only once (after the noun) and is not repeated, it may be said that an adjective agreeing as an attribute with a noun in the Locative is put in the Dative; *e. g.*, رَتِس زَمِینِس اَندر *ratis* (dat. masc. of رُت *rut*, good) *zamīnis andar*, in the good land. But if we ask ' in what land does this plant grow ?' and reply ' in the good,' we must, of course, say, رَتِس اَندر *ratis andar*.

*Examples.*

رُت *rut* (رَت *rat*), good; Dat. رَتِس *ratis*, abl. رَتہِ *rati*, voc. رَتہِ, *rati*; fem. رَچ *rats*, pl. رَچہ *ratsa*.[21]

گاٹُل *gāṭul*, clever; fem. nom. pl. گاٹِجہِ *gāṭiji*.

نیُول *nyūl*, blue; Dat. sg. (§ 213, 2 (*e*)) نیلِس *nīlis*; fem. نیج *nīj*; pl. نیجہِ *nīji*.

[سوز *sūz* (aorist 3rd. sg. of سوزُن *sôzun*), (he was) sent; pl. سوز *sūzi* (they were) sent; fem. sg., سوز *sûz*; pl. سوزہ *sôza* (cf. §§ 90 and 214, 5).]

سوزمُت *sûz-mut*, sent; pl. سوزمَت *sûzi-mati*, or (contracted) سوزمَت *sûz-mati*; Instr. pl. سوزمتیو *sûz-matyau*; [fem. sg. سوزمَچ *sûz-mats*; pl. سوزہمَچہ *sôza-matsa* (مَچ *mats* is treated as a monosyllable, hence pl. مَچہ *matsa*, not *matsa*).

کور *kor* (کَرُن *karun*, to make), (he was) made; pl. کَر *kari*; fem. sg. کَر *kar*; pl. کَرہ *kare* (3rd declension) (cf. § 90).

کورمُت *kor-mut*, made; pl. کَرمَت *kari-mati*; fem. sg. کَرمَچ *kar-mats*; pl. کَرہمَچہ *kare-matsa*.

آو *ôs*, (he) was; pl. آس *ôsi*; fem. sg. آس *ôs*; pl. آسہ *āsa* (cf. § 90).

آوسمُت *ôs-mut*, been; pl. آسمَت *ôsi-mati*; fem. sg. آسمَچ *ös-mats*; pl. آسہمَچہ *āsa-matsa*].

دِلکہِ رَتہِ خزانہ اَندرہ *dilaki rati khazāna andara* out of the good treasure of the heart.

[21] [The vowel in this adjective is a very obscure one, and it is also written *rat* throughout (see § 213, 2 (*a*)).]

ترِیِمہ دُہہ *trêyami doha*, on the third day.

رَتِس مُختَکِس تَلاشس اَندَر *r. tis mukhtakis talâshas andar*, in the search of a good pearl; or رَتِس مُختہ سَندِس تَلاشس اَندَر *ratis mukhta-sandis talâshas andar*.

ای یرُوسلمچیو کوریو *ai Yarûsalamachyô kôryô*, O Daughters of Jerusalem (Luke, xxiii. 28).

### 3. Comparison.

**221.** There are no special forms in Kâśmîrî for the Comparative and Superlative.

**222.** The **Comparative** is expressed by means of the Positive, or by means of the Persian Comparative words بِہتر *bihtar*, better; بُزُرگتر *buzurgtar*, greater, etc. The adjective receives a comparative force by means of the particle کھۄتہ *khota*, compared with. *E. g.*, میانہ کھۄتہ زوراور *myâni khota zôrâvar*, stronger than I.

This particle is properly a substantive in the ablative, and therefore governs the noun with which comparison is made, in [oblique form of] the genitive in ہ = *i*. For the same reason the possessive pronouns must be used instead of the personal ones. [Sometimes the sign of the genitive is omitted, leaving only the oblique form.]

*Examples.*

(*a*) Substantives: اُستادہ سَندہ کھۄتہ *ustâdi sandi khota*, than the master; چرِن ہندہ کھۄتہ *tsaren handi khota*, than sparrows. حالہ کھۄتہ *hâla khota*, *lit.*, as compared with the condition (of), is also used; *e. g.*, تُہندہ حالہ کھۄتہ *tuhandi hâla khota*, than you. With infinitive کھینہ کھۄتہ *khena khota*, than the eating, than food.

(*b*) Adjectives: گۄڈنِکہ کھۄتہ *godaniki khota*, than the first (sc. فریب *farêb*, deception).

(*c*) Pronouns; میانہ کھۄتہ *miâni khota*, than me; تِہندہ کھۄتہ *tihandi khota*, than them; پننہ کھۄتہ *panani khota*, than self; تمہ کھۄتہ *tami khota*, than her.

(*d*) Phrases: تمہ کھۄتہ *tami khota*, by so much more; زہ کھۄتہ {تمہ *tami* / یِمہ *yimi*} *khota zi*, than that, this.

**223.** In interrogative sentences, the interrogative particle کِنہ *kina* (= the Latin *an*) is used; *e. g.*, کُس چھہ بڈ سۄن کِنہ ہیکل *kus chhu bod, son kina haikal*, which is great, the gold or the temple?

**224.** The Superlative is expressed by strengthening the positive with some word signifying 'very'; or by کھۄتہ *khota* with ساری *sôriy* (more than all); or by means of the word ہیُہ *hyuh*; or is to be gathered from the meaning of the passage; *e. g.*, گۄڈنیُک تہ بڈ حکم چھہ یہی

*goḍanyuk tạ boḍ hukm chhu yuhay*, this indeed is the first and great commandment; کُس چھُہ سارِنی هنده خته بڈه *kus chhu sârenạy-handi k͟hotạ boḍạ*, who is a greater than all; *i. e.*, the greatest? رُت هیُه *rut hyuh*, the best (Luke, xv. 22).

**225.** The idea 'much' with a comparative is expressed by زیادٔه *ziyâda; e. g.*, خته زیادٔه رُت *k͟hotạ ziyâdạ rut*, much better than; 'how much?' is expressed by کُوت *kût*; *e. g.*, کُوت بِهتر *kût bihtar*, how much better?

**226.** If an adjective in a case other than the nominative is put in the comparative degree this is done by repeating it; *e. g.*, پننی کچهه لورک تہ بجه بجه کرک *panani kochhi lûrak tạ baji baji karak*, I will pull down my barns and build greater?

This doubling is also used for strengthening the positive; *e. g.*, بڈ بڈ نشان *baḍi baḍi nishân*,

(*To be continued.*)

---

## ON THE GUREZI DIALECT OF SHINA.

BY J. WILSON, I. C. S.

### Preface by G. A. Grierson.

I TRUST that the following account of a **very little-known language**, which has come into my possession during the progress of the **Linguistic Survey of India**, will be of interest to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

Owing to the great variety of shades of vowel sounds which we meet with in dialects in and near the Hindū Kush, it has been found **necessary to depart somewhat from the system of transcription used in this publication** for representing the Dêvanâgarî alphabet in the Roman character. This has been found unavoidable, but it is hoped that Mr. Wilson's remarks on pronunciation will prevent any difficulty being experienced.

The valley known in English as **Gurais** and in Persian as **Gurēz**, is called by its inhabitants **Gorāī**. It is about five miles long by half a mile broad, and contains some six villages with a total population of perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 souls. The people call themselves **Dārds**,[1] the principal inhabitants being **Lun** by tribe.[2] Their language is **a dialect of Shīnā**, and is said to be most closely connected with those spoken in Chilās, Kanē, and Dras. Although Gorāī is within thirty miles of the Kashmir Valley, with which it communicates by the Rāzdiangan Pass, 11,800 feet above the sea, the dialect is quite different from Kāśmīrī, — so different that an inhabitant of Gorāī and a Kāśmīrī, each speaking only his own mother tongue, would be quite unintelligible to each other.[3] It is very much simpler than Kāśmīrī, having far fewer inflections, and is even simpler than Panjābī or Urdū, which it resembles in structure and syntax, though the vocabulary and inflections are almost entirely different.

The dialect frequently employs the sound of the sibilant in the word 'pleasure,' *i. e.*, the French *j*, which is transcribed *zh* in the system of transliteration adopted for this article. We also meet the half-pronounced *u* and *i* at the end of a word which are so common in Kāshmīrī, and which are also

---

1 So spelt by Drew. Mr. Wilson spells the word Dărd.

2 This tribe is not mentioned by Drew. I am indebted to Mr. Wilson for the information.

3 The relationship between Shīnā and Kāśmīrī is a question which has not yet been definitely settled. Suffice it to say that there is a stock of vocables which are common to the two languages, and which are not met in any Indian languages, or in any of the other so-called Dārd languages. On the other hand, the grammatical structures of the two languages are widely different.

found in some of the languages of Eastern Hindustan. These are represented by small letters above the line; thus *āl*$^{u}$, came; *dōn*$^{u}$, a bullock; *āship*$^{i}$, horses.

The only work which gives any account at all of the dialect of Gurēz is Dr. Leitner's *Language and Races of Dardistan,* Lahore, 1877, which contains a few dialogues in Gurēzī (p. 41). These have been reprinted in the same author's *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook,* Calcutta, 1889.

The information hitherto available regarding this interesting dialect being so scanty, I have the greater pleasure in being able to give here the following notes on the Grammar of the language, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Wilson, I. C. S. I am also indebted to the same gentleman for much of the information contained in the preceding remarks, and for the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal son, which is annexed. He wishes it to be understood that the notes are rough ones, and do not pretend to be either complete or very accurate.

### Pronunciation.

A final *u* is sometimes distinctly pronounced, is sometimes hardly audible, and is sometimes not heard at all. So also a final *i*. Thus, *butu, but*$^{u}$, or *but,* all (masc. sing.), *āshipi* or *āship*$^{i}$, horses (masc. pl.).

Pronounce:—

*a* as the *u* in *nut.*
*ă* as the *a* in *hat.*
*á* as the *a* in *all.*
*ā* as the *a* in *father.*
*ĕ* as the *e* in *met, hen.*
*ê* as the same sound lengthened; the *e* in *there,* as pronounced by a Scotchman.
*ę̄* is the ordinary long *ē*, pronounced like the *a* in *mate.*
*ę* is the short sound of the foregoing, pronounced something like the *é* in the French word *était.*
*i* as the *i* in *pin.*
*ī* as the *i* in *pique.*
*ō* is the second *o* in *promote.*
*o* is the short sound of the preceding. It is the first *o* in *promote,* and is the *o* in the French word *votre,* as distinguished from *vôtre.*
*ŏ* is the *o* in *hot.*
*ö* as in German.
*u* as the *u* in *full.*
*ū* as the *u* in *rude.*

The ligatured letters <u>*kh*</u> and <u>*gh*</u> represent خ and غ respectively. When not ligatured, they represent the well-known Dêvanâgarî letters. The mark ँ over a vowel nasalizes it. Other letters are pronounced as in India. The compound *ts* represents a single letter, such as we meet in Marāṭhī, Puṣhtō and Kāśmīrī.

### Article.

The definite article "the" is not expressed, but the indefinite article "a" is generally expressed by adding *ek, ik,* or *ak* to the noun, *e. g.,*

*barī chē-ak,* a tall woman.
*gāv-ik,* a cow.

## Nouns.

| Masc. | | Fem. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mushā* | man, pl. *mushē*. | *chēī* | woman, pl. *chē-e*. |
| *bāl* | boy, pl. *bāl*. | *mulāi* | girl. |
| *mālu* } *bāb* } | father. | *āzhi* } *māī* } | mother. |
| *pūch* | son. | *dhī* | daughter. |
| *zhā* | brother. | *sass* | sister. |
| *dōnu* | bullock, pl. *dōne*. | *gāv* | cow, pl. *gāvē*. |
| *bātsō* | calf. | *bātsōī* | heifer. |
| *karāılu* | ram. | *ēsh* | sheep. |
| *urand* | lamb, m. and f. | | |
| *shū* | m. and f. dog. | | |
| *āship* | m. and f. horse. | | |
| *chhaīlu* | he-goat. | *āī* | she-goat. |
| *chhāl* | kid, m. and f. | | |
| *pūshu* | cat, pl. *pūshē*. | *pūshi* | f. cat, pl. *pushè*. |
| *mūzh* | rat, pl. *mūzhē*. | | |
| *kōkō* | cock, pl. *kōkōī*. | *kōkōī* | hen, pl. *kōkōē*. |
| *bīru* | male. | *sōch* | female. |
| *bīru āship* | male horse, pl. *āshipi*. | *sōch āship* | female horse, pl. *āshpē*. |

OTHER NOUNS (GENDER NOT ASCERTAINED, UNLESS SPECIALLY STATED).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *vōī* | water. | *batuk* | duck. |
| *khwon* | hill, pl. *khānī*. | *gōsh* | house. |
| *tōm* | tree, pl. *tōmē*. | *sinn* | river. |
| *bāt* | stone, pl. *bāti*. | *hulo* | large river. |
| *gīr* | boulder, pl. *gīrē*. | *yab* | small stream. |
| *sūri* | sun, f., pl. *sūri*. | *zhēl* | forest. |
| *yūn* | moon, f. | *kūī* f. | village. |
| *tār* | star, pl. *tārē*. | *zhut* | grass-land. |
| *azhu* | rain. | *ich* | bear. |
| *hin* | snow. | *kākas* | hill-partridge. |
| *mōs* | month. | *hangōl* | *bāra sing* deer. |
| *dēs* | day. | *rōs* | musk-deer. |
| *rāti* | night. | *kēl* | ibex. |
| *pichīh* m. | father's brother. | *chhimu* | fish. |
| *phīphī* f. | father's sister. | *kunūl* | pigeon. |
| *dādu* m. | father's father. | *kā* | crow. |
| *dādīh* f. | father's mother. | *kuruhin* | hail. |
| *bring* | kite. | *angei* | thunder. |
| *hōnz* | goose. | *bichīsh* | lightning. |
| *mōti* | earth. | *lavīt* | house ; building. |
| *sōr* | hoarfrost. | *dêra* | household. |
| *lāu* | dew. | *tiki* | food. |
| *lach* | flock of sheep. | | |

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday | *Aitwār*. | Thursday | *Bariswār*. |
| Monday | *Sandarwār*. | Friday | *Zhuma*. |
| Tuesday | *Bōwār*. | Saturday | *Batwār*. |
| Wednesday | *Bádhwār*. | | |

NAMES OF THE MONTHS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Wèhak* | Baisākh. | *Kārtika* | Kātik. |
| *Zhista* | Jēṭh. | *Muzhhōra* | Magar. |
| *Ha mōs* | Hāṛ. | *Poh* | Pōh. |
| *Shāwana* | Sāwan. | *Māgah* | Māgh. |
| *Bhādrēte* | Bhadru. | *Phāgomah* | Phaggan. |
| *Ashta* | Assu. | *Chitra* | Chēt. |

**Nouns** —

*Mushā* — MAN, *masc.*

| | Sing. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | *mushā* | *mushē.* |
| Ag. | *mush-eī* | *mushē-s.* |
| Gen. | *mush-ō* | *mush-ō.* |
| Dat. | *mushā-t* | *mush-ōnt.* |

*Pūch* — SON, *masc.*

| | Sing. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | *pūch* | *pē.* |
| Ag. | *pūch-se* | *pē-se.* |
| Gen. | *pūch-ō* | *pe-ō.* |
| Dat. | *pūch-at* | *pē-ōnt.* |

*Chēī* — WOMAN, *fem.*

| | Sing. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | *chēī* | *chē-e.* |
| Ag. | *chē-ō* | *chē-is.* |
| Gen. | *chē-ō* | *chē-ō.* |
| Dat. | *chē-it* | *chē-ōnt.* |

*Sass* — SISTER, *fem.*

| | Sing. | Pl. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | *sass* | *sazār.* |
| Ag. | *saz-ō* | *sazār-is.* |
| Gen. | *saz-ō* | *sazār-ō.* |
| Dat. | *saz-ut* | *sazār-ōnt.* |

NOTE.—There is a curious dearth of words distinguishing between the male and female of animals. This is done by prefixing the word *bīr* (male), or *sōch* (female), *e. g.* :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bīr āship* | male horse. | *sōch āship* | mare. |
| *bīr shū̃* | male dog. | *sōch shū̃* | bitch. |

## Adjectives.

Adjectives agree with their nouns in gender and number, but do not alter with the case of the noun. This rule applies also to genitives in *ō*, which change it to *ī̃* in the fem. sing. and masc. plural and *ē* in the fem. plural. [The rule as to the formation of the feminine is not complete, as will appear from the following examples.]

| | |
|---|---|
| *baṛ mushā* ... ... ... ... ... | great man. |
| *baṛi chēī* ... ... ... ... ... ... | great woman. |
| *miō āship*... ... ... ... ... ... | my horse. |
| *mē āshipi* ... ... ... ... ... ... | my horses. |
| *meiī āship*... ... ... ... ... ... | my mare. |
| *mē āshipe* ... ... ... ... ... ... | my mares. |
| *ā mushō āship* ... ... ... ... ... | that man's horse. |
| *āyā chēō āshipi* ... ... ... ... ... | these women's horses. |
| *anu mushā sīō hō*... ... ... ... ... | this man is good. |
| *ani chēī sī hī* ... ... ... ... ... | this woman is good. |
| *ane mushē sīē hā*... ... ... ... ... | these men are good. |
| *ania chēe sie hē* ... ... ... ... ... | these women are good. |

| | | Sing. | Pl. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Masc. | | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| *sīō* | good. | *sī* | *sīē* | *sīē.* |
| *bar̤* | great. | *bar̤i* | *bar̤* | *bar̤i.* |
| *atsak* | bad. | *atsaki* | *atsak* | *atsaki.* |
| *zhigu* | long. | | | |
| *k̲h̲utu* | short. | | | |
| *chun* | small. | | | |
| *zhāru* | old. | *zhāri.* | | |
| *mīō* | my. | *meīī* | *mē* | *mē.* |
| *thō* | thy. | *theīī* | *thē* | *thē.* |
| *asō* | our. | | | |
| *tsē* | your. | | | |
| *āsō* | of that man. | *āseīī.* | *āsē* | *āsē.* |
| *shō* | white. | | | |
| *kōnu* | black. | | | |
| *lōlu* | red. | | | |
| *kumūm* | yellow. | | | |
| *butu* | all. | | *buti.* | |
| *mishtu* | good | *mishti* | *mishta* | *mishti.* |
| *tushār* | much, many. | | | |
| *mutt* | other. | | | |
| *bĕng* | both. | | | |
| *tōm* | own. | | | |

## Numerals.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ek.* | 12 | *bāī.* | 30 | *chīh.* |
| 2 | *dū.* | 13 | *chōi.* | 40 | *dō bīh.* |
| 3 | *chē.* | 14 | *chōdei.* | 50 | *dō bīh ga deii.* |
| 4 | *chār.* | 15 | *panzilei.* | 60 | *cho bīh.* |
| 5 | *punsh.* | 16 | *shōin.* | 70 | *chō bīh ga deii.* |
| 6 | *sha.* | 17 | *satāi.* | 80 | *char bīh.* |
| 7 | *sat.* | 18 | *ashṭāi.* | 90 | *char bīh ga deii.* |
| 8 | *ashṭ.* | 19 | *kunyīh.* | 100 | *shal.* |
| 9 | *naū.* | 20 | *bīh.* | 200 | *dū shal.* |
| 10 | *deii.* | 21 | *bīh ga ek.* | 300 | *chē shal.* |
| 11 | *akāi.* | 22 | *bīh ga dū*, etc. | 1000 | *sās.* |

Note. — After thirty, the enumeration is by scores, *e. g.*, 70 is "three twenties and ten."

## Pronouns.

*1st person* —

| | Sing. M. and F. | Plur. M. and F. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. and Acc. | *mo* | *be.* |
| Agent. | *meī* | *aseīzh.* |
| Genitive. | *mīō* | *asō.* |
| Dative. | *mote* | *asonte.* |

*2nd person* —

| | Sing. | Plur. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | M. and F. | M. | F. |
| Nom. | *tu* | *tsõ* | *tsã.* |
| Agent. | *thõ* | *tseīzh* | *tsãse.* |
| Genitive. | *thõ* | *tsē* | *tsānõ.* |
| Dative. | *tute* | *tsõnte* | *tsõnte.* |

*3rd person* —

| | Sing. | | Plur. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. and F. |
| Nom. | *zho* | *zhĕ* | *zhe.* |
| Agent. | *zhĕsi* | *zhĕsõ* | *zhenijh.* |
| Genitive. | *zhĕsõ* | | *zheneõ.* |
| Dative. | *zhĕsit* | | *zhunut.* |

| | | Fem. Sing. | Plur. M. | Plur. F. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *anu* | this. | *ani* | *ani* | *na.* |
| *ā* | that. | *ā* | | *āyā.* |
| *parā* | yonder. | *parāi.* | | |
| *zho* | who (relative). | | | |
| *kōī* | who ? | *kōī* | *kōī* | *kō ā.* |
| *zhōg* | what ? | | | |
| *kōī* | some, any. | *kōī* | *kōī* | *kajāk.* |

## Verbs.

### Auxiliary Verb.

PRESENT — I AM.

| | | Sing. | | | Plur. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | M. | F. | | M. | F. |
| 1. | *mo* | *hõs* | *hẽs* | *be* | *hãs* | *hẽs.* |
| 2. | *tu* | *hõ* | *hẽ* | *tsõ* | *hãnt* | *hẽnt.* |
| 3. | *zho* | *hõ* | *hī* | *zhe* | *hã* | *hē.* |

PAST — I WAS.

| | Sing. | | Plur. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | M. | F. | M. and F. |
| 1. | *asulus* | *asilis* | *asilis.* |
| 2. | *asulo* | *asile* | *asilit.* |
| 3. | *asul* | *asil* | *asil.* |

FUTURE — I SHALL BE.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ās-im* | *ās-on.* |
| 2. | *ās-e* | *ās-at.* |
| 3. | *ās* | *ās-in.* |

### Negative Verb.

I AM NOT.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *nīsh-is* | *nīsh-is.* |
| 2. | *nīsh-e* | *nīsh-it.* |
| 3. | *nīsh* | *nīsh.* |

### Finite Verb.

IMPERATIVE.

The 2nd singular imperative is the root of the verb ; *e. g.*, *bŏh*, go ; *tiki kha*, eat bread ; *vō pīh*, drink water. The 2nd person plural is formed by adding *ā* to the root ; *e. g.*, *vōī pīā*, drink water ; *khaliā*, get out.

FUTURE — I SHALL SPEAK.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *mose rāz-im* | *bese rāz-ōn.* |
| 2. | *tuse rāz-e* | *tsōse rāz-at.* |
| 3. | *zhuse rāz-e* | *zhese rāz-in.* |

PAST — I DID.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *meī thās* | *bēsi thī-is.* |
| 2. | *thō thā* | *tsōsi thī-it.* |
| 3. | *zhĕseī thāu* | *zhenijh thī-e.* |

NOTE.—The past tense of a transitive verb may be used either with the nominative or agent case of the subject, and in either case agrees with it in person. The forms given for the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons plural, are apparently variants from those given above.

PAST — I CAME.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *mo āl-us* | *be āl-is.* |
| 2. | *tu āl-o* | *tsō āl it.* |
| 3. | *zho āl* | *zhe āl-e.* |

PAST — I WENT.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *mo gās* | *be gē-is.* |
| 2. | *tu gā* | *tsō gī-it.* |
| 3. | *zho gau* | *zhe gē.* |

PRESENT TENSE.

The present tense is formed by adding the present tense of the auxiliary verb to the future *e. g.* —

PRESENT —I AM DOING.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *mose thim hōs* | *bese thōn hās.* |
| 2. | *tuse thē hō* | *tsōse thiāt hānt.* |
| 3. | *zhuse thēī hō* | *zhese thēin hā.* |

### List of Verbs.

| Root. | Meaning. | Infinitive. | Pres. Part. | 3rd Sing. Past. | 3rd Sing. Fut. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *thē* | do, make | *thiōṇ* | *theihū̃* | *thāu* | *thēī.* |
| *ĕh* | come | *ōṇ* | *eihū̃* | *ālu* | *ēī.* |
| *bŏh* | go | *bojhōṇ* | *bōjhū̃* | *gāū* | *bōzh.* |
| *khă* | eat | *khōṇ* | *khāhū̃* | *khiāu* | *khā.* |
| *sŏh* | sleep | *sōṇ* | *seihū̃* | *suttu* | *sēi.* |
| *bĕih* | sit | *bĕōṇ* | *bĕhū̃* | *bĕhtu* | *bĕe.* |

| Root. | Meaning. | Infinitive. | Pres. Part. | 3rd Sing. Past. | 3rd Sing. Fut. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *pīh* | drink | *pīōṇ* | *pīhū̃* | *piāu* | *pīe.* |
| *wali* | fall | *walīōṇ* | *wal ihū̃* | *walau* | *walei.* |
| *chōk bōh* | get up | *chōkbōṇ* | *chōkbeihū̃* | *chōkbilu* | *chōkubei.* |
| *bei* | become | *beihōṇ* | *beihū̃* | *bilu* | *bei.* |
| *shīlā* | be ill | *shilīōṇ* | *shilāhū̃* | *shilāl* | *shilā.* |
| | be hungry | *unzāilōṇ* | *unzāilhū̃* | *unyāil.* | |
| *yās* | go on | | | | |
| *hun lōh* | get up | | | | |
| *de* | give | *deōṇ* | *deihū̃* | *dāu* | *deī.* |

A question is signified by adding *dā* to the verb, *e g.* —

*tu ān hōndā ?* .. ... ... Art thou here ?
*tsō ānēhi hānt dā ?* ... ... Are you just here ?

The 1st person plural is not used for the 1st person singular, as in Urdū, nor is the 2nd person plural used for the 2nd person singular as in English.

The present tense of the auxiliary verb has different forms for the masculine and feminine, *e. g.*, *hō*, he is ; *hī̃*, she is.

EXAMPLES.

| | |
|---|---|
| *thō gōsh kōṇ hō ?* ... ... ... | Where is thy house ? |
| *thō nōm zhōg hō ?* ... ... ... | What is thy name ? |
| *mīō nōm Gafār hō* ... ... | My name is Gafār. |
| *meī gāo pashās hūs* ... ... | I have seen the cow. |
| *meī dōne pashās hūs* ... ... | I have seen the bullocks. |
| *meī vōī piā hūs* ... ... ... | I have drunk water. |
| *thō vōī pīe hō* ... ... ... | Thou hast drunk water. |
| *āseī krum thāu* ... ... ... | He did the work. |
| *āseī dōnu pashau* ... ... ... | He saw the bullock. |
| *āseī gāo pashau* ... ... ... | He saw the cow. |
| *āseī dōne pashau* ... ... ... | He saw the bullocks. |
| *āseī gāwe pashau* ... ... ... | He saw the cows. |

## Adverbs.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *chē* | now. | *kharte* | below. |
| *karega* | at some time, any time. | *dārō* | outside. |
| *nē* | not. | *azhō* | inside. |
| *kare* | when ? | *lōko* | quickly. |
| *kyē* | why ? | *chhūt chhūt* | slowly. |
| *kadāt* | how ? | *inne* | hither. |
| *anāt* | thus. | *āwari* | thither. |
| *adāt* | so. | *ānīō* | hence. |
| *ān* | here. | *ādō* | thence. |
| *sad* | there. | *āsh* | to-day. |
| *kōṇ* | where ? | *lōsht* | to-morrow. |
| *kōṇit* | whither ? | *bilāh* | yesterday. |
| *kōṇ ō* | whence ? | *lās* | in the evening. |
| *parāda* | yonder. | *chīd* | the day after to-morrow. |
| *azha* | above. | | |

### Postpositions.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ō* | of, sign of genitive. | *eī, si* | by, sign of agent case. |
| *-t, te, it, at* | to, sign of dative. | *khaire* | under. |
| *izh* | to, at, on, in. | *mazha* | between. |
| *ō, lo* | from. | *muthō* | before. |
| *ēl* | near. | *pātōn* | behind. after. |
| *seī* | along with. | | |

### Conjunctions.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ge, ga, ha* | and. | *Amma* | but. |
| *Bara* | then, again. | *Si ki* | because, that. |

### The Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Gurēzī Dialect.

*Ek mushāt dū bāl asil. Si duō zhō chunei mālit razhau, 'Bāb,*
A man-to two sons were. These two from by-the-young to-father said, 'Father,
*zhabō mo-te hissa ēik, deh.' Bara sēsi zhab būtuh bagē dau.*
from-the-goods me-to the-share will-come, give.' Then to-them goods all having-divided he-gave.
*Barah zhēk dēzō patō, chuno pūch-se butu jama-thē, dūr mulk-at safar thau;*
Then some days after, the-young son-by all having-collected, a-distant country-to journey was-made;
*sad tōmu arāmit butu zhab khārich thāu. Zhe seī zhu zhab butu khārich*
then his-own pleasure-to all goods spent were-done. When by-him that wealth all spent
*thāu, zhu-mulk-azh baṛ drāg hun-bilu. Zhu manuzh ho uniāl. Zho gau zho*
was-made, that country-in great famine happened. That man became hungry. He went that
*mulk-ō ekēl nōkar bēhtu. Zhēsi chhēnyau tōme chhēchōnj sorōt rāchh. 'Zhuse*
country-of to-a-man servant sat. By-him he-was-sent his-own field-into to-pigs herding. 'What
*sōrse khākh dileh akōnt khum thēi-asul.' Bara zhēs khōṇ nē̃ dēn asil. Bara zhēsit*
pigs eat husks my-own eating I-shall-make.' Then they eating not giving were. Then to-him
*fikruzh āl, zhēs razhau, 'Miō bāb-kach tushār nōkar-ōnt tikih tushār hī. Mo nirōnu*
in-thought came, by-him said, 'My father-with many servants-to food much is. I hungry
*mirījim-hōs. Mo chōkubōi tōm bāb-īl bōzhim, zhēsit mōse rāzim, "Vo bāb, meī Khudāī*
am-dying. I standing-up own father-to will-go, to-him I will-say, "O father, by-me God
*ge tu muthō gunāī thās. Mo zhēsit laiak nush-is, zhēs rāzin-bil thō pūch hũ. Mo*
and thee before sin has-been-done. I to-this fit am-not, they will-say thy son it-is. Me
*tōmi nōkari-hānau kāli."' Bara chōku-bōī tōmu māl-el ālu. Zhēse dūr pāshī*
own servant-like consider."' Then standing-up own father-to he-came. By-him far having-seen
*mālus darbak thē bōsi-dē māchi thau. Hō pujh-se mālit*
his-father running having-made having-given embrace kissing was-made. And by-son to-father
*razhau, 'Vo bāb, meī Khudāī ge tu muthō gunāī thās. Mo zhēsit laiak nush-is, zhēs*
was-said, 'O father, by-me God and thee before sin done. I to-this fit am-not, they
*rāzin-bil thō pūch hũ.' Amma mālei tōm nōkarō-vāri razhau, 'Butizhō sīē chilakhōī*
will-say thy son it-is.' But by-father own servants-towards was-said, 'Of-all good clothes
*khaliā, zhēsit bunyeā; zhēsē hātizh vāzhi viyā, zhēsē pēōnt pāezār bunyāyā; bara bēs khōṇ,*
get-out, to-him put-on; his hand-on ring put-on, his feet-to shoes put-on; then we let-eat,
*khushi thōṇ; si-ki zho miō pūch mū asul, bara zhinilu; lip bilu asul, bara hāt*
pleasure let-make; for this my son dead was, again he-lives; lost been was, again to-hand
*āl.' Zhē khush bili.*
has-come.' They happy became.

*Ohē zhēsō baṛ pūch chhēchh asul. Zho gōzh-ēl eh nātiōṇ bāshōṇ krū pārūd. Ho*
Now his great son in-field was. He house-near coming dancing singing noise heard. And
*sēseī ek nokar-kit hōthē khōzhin thau, 'Nu zhōg hũ?' Zhēsi zhēsit razhau, 'Thō zhā*
by-him a servant-to calling question made, 'This what is?' By-him to-him said, 'Thy brother

*āl. Thõ lābei khushī thau hũ, siki thõ zhā zhĩnu lādu hũ.' Iaia sēsit malāl*<br>
came. Thy father-by pleasure made is, because thy brother living got is.' Then to-him anger<br>
*bilu. 'Mo azhõ nē buzhim.' Zhēseī-kār māl daiõ āl, zhēsit madār thau.*<br>
became. 'I inside not will-go.' For-this-cause father outside came, to-him entreaty made.<br>
*Zhēsi jhawāb mālit razhau, 'Chake, mõse ani barzhõnt theī khidmat thās, meī*<br>
By-him answer to-father said, 'Listen, by-me these years-to thy service made, by-me<br>
*karēgē thõ razhõṇ-it badal nē thās, amma thõ zāt mo-te aiõ chhāl nē dā,*<br>
at-any-time thy saying-to contrary not done, but by-thee at-any-time me-to goat kid not given,<br>
*siki mo-se tōme shulõ-seī khushī thim; amma kare ālu hũ anu thõ pūch, thõ zhab*<br>
that I own friends-with pleasure shall-make; but when come is this thy son, thy goods<br>
*kanzhēiõ-seī khyau hũ, thõ zhēsī-kar bāṛī khushī thā hũ.' Mālus zhēsit razhau, 'Vo*<br>
harlots-with eaten is, by-thee for-him great pleasure made is.' By-father to-him said, 'O<br>
*pūch, tu zap mo-seī hāno, miõ butu zhab thõ hõ. Lāzim asul, asunt khushi thõṇ,*<br>
son, thou always with-me art, my all goods thine is. Proper it-was, for-us pleasure making,<br>
*siki anu thõ zhā mū asul, zhunu bil; liṇ bil asul, bara hāt ālu.'*<br>
for this thy brother dead was, living became; lost became was, again to-hand came.'

---

## NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENCY IN THE FAR EAST.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.[1]

CIRCUMSTANCES have obliged me to interrupt for a time the elaborate and detailed remarks I have been making for the last year or so on **the Currency and Coinage of the Burmese**, but the subject is so difficult to follow in detail that I am rather glad of the opportunity given me by an enforced cessation of my labours to take **a short review** of at least the most important part of it, and to try and see where my enquiries are taking us. Hence this article, which I hope will serve to render clear to those, who do me the honour to follow my more elaborate pages, the mass of somewhat confusing tables and facts I have been obliged to gather together in one view.

In my "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese" I have endeavoured to collect together all the available information on the subject from the very commencement, and have consequently found myself involved in a dissertation on the entire question of all the primitive and early forms of currency that exist, or have existed, in the world; because, when one begins to study any given form of civilization in the East, one is sure to find all the details of the whole scale thereof co-existent there at any given period. It was thus that I found myself obliged to consider the rise of currency and coinage step by step from barter pure and simple by examples culled from the Far East; to trace the rise of the conception of standards of weight as applied to metals used for money, *i. e.*, Troy weight, from rude measures of capacity, by examples similarly culled; to show how and why, not only the conceptions, but the very terminology of Troy weight, currency and coinage are inextricably mixed up in the Oriental mind; to state in detail the great array of articles that have been used in the Far East as currency, which are not bullion, and to explain their use; to point out how the currency of the cubic contents of non-bullion money, measured by size, preceded and steadily led to the currency of the cubic contents of bullion money, measured by weight.

I found it necessary to show directly from data still procurable in the East, that the idea of currency arose before those of Troy weight and coined money, and to explain how it arose: also to show how the terminology devised for conventional cubic measures of articles commonly required was transferred to the weights of the metals for which they could be bartered, and thus to the currency: and further to show why, to the vast majority of the Oriental world,

---

[1] The substance of this Article was given in a lecture before East India Association on February 24, 1899, and was subsequently published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1899, and in the *Journal* of the Association Vol. XXX., No. [illegible]

currency means the conventional weights of the exchange metals, and coins have no commercial meaning at all, except in their relation to the weights of the pieces of metal of which they are composed.

For the present purpose I have to insist on this last point. **It is quite impossible to separate the terms for currency and Troy weight in the Far East, and the history of the development of the one is the same thing as the history of the development of the other. The most practical and the clearest way to treat the question is as one of the history of Troy weight.**

I must resist the temptation of examining now the interesting and exceedingly picturesque details of the points I have thus very briefly referred to, and must pass on quickly to that part of the subject which it is my immediate object now to discuss — **the development of the forms of currency in the Far East existing at the present day, and bearing an established relation to coined money or to bullion.** It is the most difficult, and in an academical sense the least interesting, but I hope that it will be conceded that it is by far the most important part of my general subject.

To make myself quite clear in the remarks that follow, I wish to explain that **by Troy weight I mean** the conventional standard weights of the exchange metals, *i. e.*, of bullion. **By currency I mean** what our forefathers used to call Imaginary or Ideal Money, *i. e.*, money of account or exchange — the means by which the commercial world is able to balance its books. **By money,** as differing from currency, I mean what was of old called Real Money, *i. e.*, coins or tokens of credit convertible into property. With these remarks I will now attack our present problems, remarking merely further that the argument has to be so close, and the subject is so difficult, that they will demand the reader's close attention.

I must begin by stating that **all the existing Troy weights and currencies in India and the Far East are based on one, and sometimes on both, of two seeds,** which are known to Europeans as the seeds of the **Abrus precatorius** and the **Adenanthera pavonina.** I must ask that these two names be borne in mind, and I will call them in my arguments the *abrus* and the *adenanthera*. The *abrus* is a lovely little creeper yielding a small bright red seed with a black spot on it. The *adenanthera* is a great deciduous pod-bearing tree, having a bright red seed. **Conventionally the adenanthera seed is double of the abrus seed.** Now, as will be presently seen, our subject literally bristles with every kind of difficulty, and here, at the very beginning, is the first. The weights represented by the two seeds have everywhere and **at all times been mixed up.** The terms for the *abrus* and its conventional representatives have been applied to the *adenanthera*, and *vice versâ*, both by native writers and European translators and reporters. As a result of the same kind of confusion of mind, whole systems of currency have been borrowed from outside by half-civilized and ill-informed rulers and Governments, and brought arbitrarily into existence, starting on the wrong foot, as it were. The unlimited muddle thus arising may be easily imagined, and so, too, may the amount of investigation necessary to unravel the resultant tangle. With this preliminary information as to the fundamental basis thereof, let us proceed to inquire into **the Indian Troy weight system,** because I hope to show that **the whole currency of the Far East is based on it,** or is at least directly connected with it.

Based on the conventional *abrus* seed, there were in **ancient,** or at any rate in old, *i. e.*, in undiluted Hindu, **India, two concurrent Troy scales,** which, for the present purpose, I will call **the literary and the popular scales.** For the present purpose also, and for the sake of clearness, I will call the *abrus* seed of convention in the literary scale by one of its many ancient names, *raktikâ*, and in the popular scale by one of its many modern names, *ratî*.

In the Indian Troy scales, then, the lower denominations represented in each case the *abrus* seed, but the upper denominations differed greatly; *i. e.*, **in the literary scale there were 320 raktikâs to the pala, and in the popular scale were 96 ratîs to the tôlâ.** These facts

are presented in the old books, and in innumerable reports of local and general scales spread over many centuries, in a most bewildering maze of forms and details, but it may be taken from one who has studied them for years that they are essentially as above stated.

I have differentiated the concurrent scales by the titles of literary and popular, because the former is that which alone is to be found in the classical books, and **the latter is the scale which the Muhammadan conquerors found to be everywhere in use** on their irruptions in the eleventh and subsequent centuries of the Christian Era. That the two scales were actually concurrent for many centuries is shown by the antiquity of some of the works in which the literary scale is quoted, by the fact that **the details of the popular scale are traceable to the old Greek scales,** at any rate clearly in part, and by the quotations of both concurrently for purely mathematical purposes by the author of the *Lîlâvatî* in the twelfth century.

I must ask my readers for special attention to what I have just stated, *viz.*, the existence in India of two concurrent Troy scales — a literary one of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala*, and a popular one of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ*. I do so because it is on this cardinal fact that the coming arguments are based.

Now, as might be expected, it is the popular scale that the practical Muhammadan conquerors caught up, shifting and changing the details in substance and in name to suit their own preconceived ponderary notions, but adhering strictly to its main features and essential points, and spreading it everywhere, so far as their influence or authority extended. They never varied materially from **the great fact of the scale, that 96 ratis made a tôlâ.**

So **when the Europeans came** — the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French — **that was the scale,** which, with an endless variety of intermediate detail it is true, they found spread far and wide along the Indian coasts and ports: that was the scale they reported, more or less incorrectly and ignorantly in their various languages, in all its bewildering nomenclature: that was the scale they eventually and in due course ill-treated with new names and small changes to an almost infinite extent. To attempt, as I have done *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 63 ff. and p. 85 ff., to dive into the jungle of Indo-European Troy weight is to plunge into a very thick tangle indeed. However, the result of any such attempt will, to my mind, show that, despite ill-treatment and misreporting, the scale has never altered materially, and is now, and substantially has always been, what it was originally — 96 *ratîs to the tôlâ.*

It is, indeed, this combined Græco-Indo-Muhammadan scale, which has at last spread itself, under British guidance, all over modern India, becoming crystallized in one form of it, the North Indian, in the authorized general scale of the Imperial Government — in other forms of it in the authorized scales of the great Governments of Madras and Bombay.

So far, then, we have arrived at one distinct notion, *viz.*, that it is the popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ* which has settled itself down on India. What, then, has become of the old literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala?* Is it dead? Not by any means, as will be presently seen. In the first place, though South India is now given over to the popular scale, so pronounced a stronghold of Hinduism is not likely to have lost all trace of the literary scale, and indeed it is there that the most interesting struggle between rough and ready Muhammadan innovation and dreamy Hindu conservatism is observable in the various existing native nomenclatures of the weight and coinage systems.

But there is a far stronger proof than this of the vitality of the literary scale. It does not require much imagination to suppose that the literary scale was not a literary invention, and that it, or something very like it, must once have had a concrete existence. The proof of the correctness of such a supposition lies in the fact, that **it is the literary, and not the popular scale, which is found to have spread itself everywhere in the Far East.**

I fear that the mere indication of the proof of this fact will require as close attention from the reader as the arguments I have already imposed. The subject is, indeed, as full of difficulties

as a brush is of bristles. In the first place, in order to make clear the inductive argument I am bound now to follow, I have to take him over the Far East the wrong way round, historically speaking, *viz.*, into Burma, Siam, and Shan-land, then into China, Cambodia, Annam, Tongking, and Cochin-China generally, and thence, through Malay-land to the Far-Eastern International Commercial Community of the present day.

**The modern popular Burmese Troy weight system,** in its existing forms, does not suggest anything Indian, and it is only by examination that its unquestionable identity with the Indian literary scale comes out. To begin with, all the terms are purely Burmese, and the scale runs thus :

DIAGRAM I.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 ywê | ... ... ... | make 1 ywêjî or great ywê |
| 4 ywêjî | ... ... ... | make 1 pè |
| 2 pè | ... ... ... | make 1 mû |
| 2 mû | ... ... ... | make 1 màt |
| 4 màt (128 ywê) | ... ... | make 1 kyàt or tickal |
| 5 kyàt | ... ... ... | make 1 bôl |
| 640 ywê | | |
| 320 ywêjî | | |

Now, the *ywê* is the *abrus* seed, and the *ywêjî*, or great *ywê*, is the *adenanthera* seed, the latter, you observe, being double of the former. But this does not help us, because, it will have been seen, 128 *ywê* make a *kyàt*, and the *kyàt* represents neither the *tôlá* nor the *pala.* However, there happens to be the further denomination, now practically obsolete, but constantly occurring in the older books, called **the bôl.** Five *kyàt* made a *bôl*, and therefore 640 *ywê* ran to a *bôl.* Here the sweet confusion of the two standard seeds, already explained, comes into play, for the Burmese, in taking over the Indian literary scale bodily, as it can be otherwise shown that they did, confused the actual and the conventional *raktiká*, and therefore all their Troy statements must be cut down by half, and thus 320 *ywê* make a *bôl.* In other words the *bôl* is the same thing as the *pala*, as an upper Troy weight. There is no doubt whatever that this is so, and, moreover, it can be clearly shown that *bôl* is etymologically the form that the Indian word *pala* would properly assume on being adopted into the Burmese language.

So **here we have the link** we are seeking to show that the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikás* to the *pala* spread over the Indian borders among the peoples further East possessed of the Indo-Chinese civilization. I ask this point, too, to be borne in mind, for it is another fundamental point in the argument.

I now ask the reader to step over for a moment into Siam and Shan-land. Here we have as much confusion in terminology and presentment of fact as before, but, as the outcome of a very long inquiry, I am able to present **a comparative table,** on which I may fairly ask him to rely, of **the Burmese and Siamese Troy weight systems,** thus:

DIAGRAM II.

| *Burmese.* | | | *Siamese-Cambodian.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 ywêjî | ... ... ... ... | make 1 pè | 5 hüng | ... ... ... ... | make 1 pê |
| 2 pè | ... ... ... ... | make 1 mû | 2 pê | ... ... ... ... | make 1 fûang |
| 2 mû | ... ... ... ... | make 1 màt | 2 fûang | ... ... ... ... | make 1 salüng |
| 4 màt | ... ... ... ... | make 1 kyàt | 4 salüng | ... ... ... ... | make 1 bât |
| 5 kyàt | ... ... ... ... | make 1 bôl | 4 bât | ... ... ... ... | make 1 tàmlüng |
| 320 | | | 320 | | |

Now, I wish to draw attention here to the following special points. Firstly, though the terminology and the subdivisions differ entirely, the fundamental fact remains, that the upper

and lower denominations of both scales are identical. Secondly, the Siamese scale is practically identical with the Burmese, because the *hüng* is undoubtedly the *adenanthera* seed, as the *ywêjî* has been seen to be, and both are equally connected with the Indian literary scale. Thirdly, I have called the Siamese scale the Siamese-Cambodian scale. I have done this, because, however little it may be the case now, the old Cambodian scale was identical with the Siamese, a fact which takes the wanderings of the Indian literary scale pretty far East. Indeed, the reason why I said that I was taking the wrong way round historically is, that, in my belief, the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikâs* to the *pala* came into Indo-China *viâ* Malay-land, by way of Cambodia into Siam, and thence into Burma.

I presume it is generally known, that the Siamese form part of the great Tai Race, or, as the Burmese and through the Burmese we ourselves, call them, the Shans. The Shans, fundamentally affiliated to the Chinese proper, and once a comparatively homogeneous people of some political importance, now consist of a great number of disunited, and in some instances isolated, tribes, spread over a wide region in the Further East. For the present purpose they are useful, as showing in their notions of currency the influences upon them, exercised by the more compact nationalities which have dominated them. Their ideas of currency have been severally coloured, according to situation, by the Burmese, Siamese, and Cambodians, in a way that it has been of great interest to me to observe; and perhaps the most interesting point of all is, that whatever the influence has been, and however much the terms themselves may vary, the denominations used in each sphere of influence can all be stated in terms of each other, point for point, in comparison with what I may now call the Burmo-Siamo-Cambodian scale. And thus they serve to show the continuous spread of the old Indian literary scale to the Mêkhong at any rate.

Next, I must ask your readers to look round the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, despite the great and numerous difficulties that must lie in the path of every inquirer in those regions. Imagine a number of semi-civilized and savage tribes, chiefly occupying a very large Archipelago, and they will perceive that two things must be looked for — a great variety in the actual weights of the standard denominations themselves, and puzzling differences in the nomenclature thereof. And they will find both beyond all doubt before they have proceeded far. Indeed, so endless are the variations in the actual weights of the denominations, that in order to arrive at any definite idea of the rise of the modern Malayan Troy weight system, one must trust rather to the denominations, than to the actual weights they now represent in various places for various articles of commerce. And that, too, in spite of the difficulties created by the fact, that the weights are stated by travellers, traders and natives, sometimes in the vernacular terms, sometimes in the international commercial terms, and sometimes in a mixture of both.

Patience and study have served, however, to unravel even the mad muddle of the Malayan scales, and to bring out clearly in time the following general average table.

DIAGRAM III.

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 kundarî ... ... ... | make 1 kupong |
| 4 kupong ... ... ... | make 1 mâyam |
| 4 mâyam ... ... ... | make 1 tâhil |
| 4 tâhil... ... ... ... | make 1 bûngkal |
| 320 | |

Now, the *kundarî* is the candareen, or, in other words, the *adenanthera* seed, *i. e.*, the conventional *raktikâ* of the Indian literary scale. And thus is brought into line with the general Literary and Further Eastern scales the Malayan scale also.

I have now to consider one more point in this connection. With the advent of the Europeans, having dealings in the ports of the whole of the Far East, there arose at once a necessity, for account purposes, for arriving at some common denominators, to which to be

able to reduce the conflicting and endlessly varying standards and systems that the traders and adventurers had to confront. The necessity was met, commercial fashion, effectively and practically at a very early period in the history of the dealings, for we find the existing international commercial weight system for the Far East partially in existence, in the notes of ra ders of the fifteenth century, and in full swing, substantially in the form in which we now have it, as early as the days of the first voyage to the East of the Dutch East India Company in 1595-97. Perhaps it is rather late in the day to do so, but still I think it necessary to point out even now, that **this international system is neither in form nor in nomenclature Chinese, but entirely Malayan in origin, being, I believe, based on the Malayan nomenclature of a commercial system of weights used in the Malayo-Chinese trade of the Middle Ages,** found to be in existence by the Europeans on their arrival, and eventually modified by them to suit their own requirements.

The international commercial terms are nowadays also used to suit the exigencies of a popular general scale so different in principle from that hitherto described, as I will presently explain, that I feel obliged to exhibit a longish table, which will very clearly bring out **its Malayan origin.**

DIAGRAM VI.

RISE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL TERMS.

| *Old Malay Forms.* | *International Commercial Forms.* |
|---|---|
| Kôndarî, kundarî ... ... ... | Candareen. |
| Kupong, kûpang ... ... ... | Cobang, copang. |
| Mâyam, mâs ... ... ... ... | Mace, mas. |
| Tâhil, tâil ... ... ... ... | Tael, tale. |
| Bûngkal ... ... ... ... | Buncal. |
| Katî ... ... ... ... ... | Catty. |
| Pikûl ... ... ... ... ... | Picul, pecul. |

So far as it deals with matters Malayan, and distinctly in its origin, **the international commercial scale, therefore, constitutes the latest development of the ancient India. scale of 320 raktikâs to the pala.**

Now, while I was endeavouring to trace the history of the Troy weight system of modern India, I had very little to say about the literary scale, and had it not been for the excursions Eastwards we have just been making together, it might have been thought that it had died So also, in considering the Far Eastern systems, it might be thought that the Indian popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlâ* had failed to commend itself beyond the Indian borders. But all uch institutions die hard, and research will show that the literary scale of India has failed to kill its rival, the popular scale, in more than one most interesting instance.

**It is the Indian popular scale that has found its way among the wild tribes on the Indian and Tibeto-Burman border** — the Chins, the Lushais, the Nagas, the Singphos, the Kachins — and that, too, despite the eclecticism, with which these untrained populations have borrowed their fiscal terms from their neighbours on both sides the borders. Perhaps one of the most interesting instances existing of the evolution of ideas is to be found in the cumbrous and complicated attempts of the most civilized of these border peoples, the Manipuris, to engraft the ideas embodied in the Indian popular scale on to the terminology of their own previously acquired monetary scale — also by the way originally Indian. That scale had no reference to weight at all, but related to the counting of cowries when used as currency.

This point has more than an academic interest, for it is on the basis of dividing the upper Troy denomination into 400 parts, as a survival of the method of counting cowries for currency, that the Indian popular scale has been carried into Nepal, and from Nepal, through its trade with Tibet, far into all sorts of regions, East and North, in Central Asia. And not only

that, it is this very relic of savagery, this memorial of early attempts to meet the necessities of primitive fiscal conditions, that lived on into the highly civilized gold coinage and currency of the great Emperor Akbar, which was itself based on the Indian popular scale of 96 *ratîs* to the *tôlá*.

But I have kept to the last the best instance of the ground covered by the Indian popular scale in about the least likely place, at first sight, for its occurrence — **Ancient China.** The case is here based on the badly presented and somewhat, I think, undeservedly discredited researches of my late friend, Terrien de Lacouperie. However, as he has never touched upon the points I am now urging, it is I, and not he, that should be held responsible for what follows.

Terrien de Lacouperie shows, in his cloudy pages, that up to the seventh century A. D. at any rate, and partially up to several centuries later, the old Chinese had a popular scale, which, though it can be compared with the Indian, is, like the Indian, not recognised in the classics. But because this scale contains terms still in use in a very different sense, I wish to mention that I am now speaking of Ancient China only. Thus:

DIAGRAM IV.

| *Early Indian Popular Scale (Muhammadan Form).* | | | | | *Ancient Chinese Popular Scale.* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | ratî ... ... ... | make | 1 | mâsha | 6 | chu ... ... ... | make | 1 | hwà |
| 4 | mâsha ... ... ... | make | 1 | tânk | 2 | hwà ... ... ... | make | 1 | chè |
| 3 | tânk ... ... ... | make | 1 | tôlâ | 2 | chè ... ... ... ... | make | 1 | liàng |
| — | | | | | 2 | liàng ... ... ... | make | 1 | kin |
| 96 | | | | | — | | | | |
| | | | | | 48 | | | | |

Now, the *chu* is the conventional *adenanthera* seed, or, roughly, double the *ratî*. and therefore the old *kin* must have represented the *tôlá*. I have already,[2] and perhaps erroneously, worked out the old *kin* to be the Indo-Chinese tickal, which belongs properly to the Indian literary scale. As a matter of practical fact, the *kin* was actually between the *tôlá* and the tickal; thus, taking common standards, the *tôlá* is 180 grains, the *kin* is 195 grains, and the tickal is 225 grains. **However this may be, the great fact remains that the Ancient Chinese, even up to medieval times, had a popular Troy scale closely allied to the Indian and directly comparable with it. It is easy to perceive that, since the Indian popular scale is partly due to Greek influence, this consideration opens up a long vista for speculation and inquiry.**

Of course, all the world knows that what I have thus described is not the case now, and that the Chinese have for centuries had a decimal scale. This scale seems to have arisen as a convenient way of enumerating the paper currency established in China between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, A. D. It was, under the Mongols in the thirteenth century, of paramount importance and in universal use, and after centuries of confusing struggle, it suppressed the old and popular scale. I put it forward, as a supposition based on their terminology, that the decimal divisions of the notes were transferred to a new use from the old decimal divisions of the Mongol Army.

I thus speak of this fresh scale, because it is going to give trouble. **Chinese trade influence** has made itself felt clearly all over the Far East, all over Indo-China and Malayland. It has become paramount in Tongking, Annam and Cochin-China. It has fought hard in the Philippines and in the Sulu Archipelago with many another influence to good purpose. It has made itself felt in the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, and has strongly affected

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 29 f.

Burma and Siam. And the result has been that the comprehension of the existing Far Eastern scales is not quite so easy as it might appear from my former remarks. For I regret to say, that wherever one goes, one has to face the more or less plain existence of two concurrent scales: the local variety of the Indian literary, and the local conception of the Chinese decimal. The less plain the fact, the more puzzling the phenomena always are, and in any case it causes confusion where, indeed, very little is to be desired. Its troublesome presence exists, however, everywhere. In Siam it pleasantly makes the same term half of itself, according to the scale used: in Malay-land it has had the effect of making traders, skippers and travellers, having no doubt clear conceptions of their meaning in their own minds, but not much vernacular knowledge, cheerfully adopt the terms of one scale while using the other: in Burma it has played a kind of practical joke and confused everyone, natives and foreigners. Thus, having carefully learnt that the equivalent of 16 annas makes a *kyàt* or rupee, and that 2 annas make a *mû*, one naturally expects that half a rupee, *i. e.*, 8 annas, would equal 4 *mû*. But it does not: it equals 5. So also 10 annas equal 6 and not 5 *mû*. The little difficulty thus created with 12 annas, which should properly equal 6 *mû*, is got over by calling them 3 *màt* or quarters, which is correct. Now, all this is not playing the fool on the part of a whole nation. It merely means first, that the Burmese populace has adapted its Troy scale to the British-Indian coinage now current, and next, not being brilliantly endowed with mathematical skill, that it has mixed up the scale borrowed from India with that borrowed from China. In the former 8 *mû*, and in the latter 10 *mû*, made a *kyàt*. Thus, in order to face new conditions, the Burmans went straight over from the Indian literary to the Indian popular scale, while adhering to the terminology adopted for the former. In like fashion also, in his gold coinage, the late King, Mindon Min, of Burma, adopted the British-Indian standards, while adhering to the partial decimal system adapted from China. These were both practical measures easily taken, but they caused myself at any rate, a vast deal of inquiry.

The last matter connected with our subject to be seriously affected by Chinese influence was **the Far Eastern international commercial scale.** This, as I have already said, was in origin Malay, and in the earliest instances in which it comes to light, it is purely Malay in form, too. It is, however, almost as early found current in Chinese form; then the two forms are found for centuries concurrent, till at last the Chinese form has conquered. Where the two forms differ and agree can be seen thus:

DIAGRAM V.

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL SCALE.

| *Old Malay Form.* | | *Chinese Decimal Form.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 candareens ... | make 1 mace | 10 candareens... | make 1 mace |
| 16 mace ... ... | make 1 tael | 10 mace... ... | make 1 tael |
| 20 tael ... ... | make 1 catty (1600) | 16 tael ... ... | make 1 catty (1600) |
| 100 catties ... | make 1 picul | 100 catties ... | make 1 picul |

Thus it was that the old merchants met the varying conditions they found around them in their own rough-and-ready, but most effective, fashion. But the scale shows a further interest ing fact. They found that the tael was not only the upper Troy weight, but also roughly the ounce *avoirdupois*, as they used to call it; so they boldly made 16 tael go to the catty, or pound *avoirdupois*, and 100 catties go to the picul, *i. e.*, the hundredweight or quintal. And thus did they arrive at what they wanted to get at — a standard weight system of reference for the Far East practically on all fours with their own familiar standards of the West.

I have now performed the main task before me in this article, and to meet criticism that while my title promises a talk about currency I have written about Troy weight, I must repeat that emphatically **the Far Eastern peoples have never separated either the ideas or the denominations of Troy weight and money of account, i. e., of currency.** They have gone, indeed, much further, for every such coinage as they have produced has merely been

an effort to give practical effect to the conventional denominations of their Troy weight and currency, and thus have **all the three subjects of Troy weight, currency and coinage, been always quite inextricably mixed up.** It is much the same in India, and the further one takes the inquiry back, the more do the terms for Troy weight and currency and coinage become synonymous, and at no time, even up to the present day, have they become completely separated. So much is this the case, that in tracing out elsewhere, *ante*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 63 ff. and 85 ff., the history of the Indian terms for bullion weights, I had to include those for money. The only difference between the two sets of scales lies in this, that where money is mentioned, the question of alloy influences the rates at which one denomination is compared with another. To give a concrete example. In South India the number of *fanams* to a pagoda is a conventional proportion in a statement of Troy weights, but the number of *fanams* to a pagoda will vary according to the alloy in any particular sort of *fanam* or pagoda in a statement of current money.

There is only one more point that I will briefly touch upon. At first, among semi-civilized or early civilized nations, we find that **exchange** was manipulated merely that profit might be made by the Courts and the officials out of the peoples they always misgoverned. **It begins with a system of out-going and in-coming measures.** The profit was the difference between the size of the measures employed for weighing in and weighing out the same goods. It is a most interesting and instructive study to watch the effects of this. Where there was political power the difference was as great as oppression dare go. Where there was no political power the difference was fair enough, and was what we should now call "cover," just sufficient to compensate for risk, maintenance, incidental expenses and charges.

Exchange is next seen in the buying of the medium of one place with the medium of another, the profit or loss in the transaction arising solely out of the difference in the quality of the metal itself, nearly always silver, and the quantity temporarily present in the two places with reference to the quantity of purchasable merchandize. This class of exchange involved the risk and expense of transporting bullion from place to place. Communications, both in frequency and safety, had to be vastly improved before exchange by means of documents representing the medium, such as Bills of Exchange as we now have them, to say nothing of telegraphic transfers, could be brought into play.

Well, at first the general scales we have been carefully examining were kept alive so long, so persistently, and so widely by the Courts and the officials for *their* purposes, and the enormous mass of local variations thereon were created by the merchants and producers for *their* purposes: by the former for profits out of general, and by the latter for profits out of local, exchange, as they understood it. Then when the Europeans came in and created the internal commercial scale, the trading capital, indeed, was, as now, found in Europe, but the merchant adventurers, as they were then called, had no control over exchange whatever; and their object accordingly was to ascertain firstly, the most stable medium of exchange, and secondly, a common measure for it. The medium was, as all the world knows, silver, and the common measure the international commercial scale already explained.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### PROPER NAMES IN THE THANA DISTRICT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

SIR, — In turning over the pages of Vol. XII. of this *Journal*, a volume I had not seen before, I read on p. 259 with no little interest the following, under the above heading:—"The Âgris, Kolis, Mâlis and other castes at Wasâi (Bassein) and adjoining places, who, it is said, are natives converted to Christianity, and some of whom have even the same surnames as Koṅkaṇastha Brâhmans, are named and married by the Pâdre. There is nothing peculiar about this. But many of them have names given them from the days on which they are born. The name *Somâ*, for instance, is given to one born on a Monday," etc., etc.

If I understand the above rightly, the inference to be drawn is that the Âgrîs, etc, are natives converted to Christianity, and that they are named by the Pâdre, who gives them names from the days on which they are born. That the Âgrîs, etc, are natives converted to Christianity is true, as also it is true that they are named by the Pâdre, but that he (the Pâdre) gives them names from the days on which they are born is not true. The Pâdre invariably names them after the Saints such as Andrew, Bernard, etc., etc. The names after the days, Somâ, Mangalyâ, Budhyâ, etc., are, what we might call, household names, that is, those given them either by their parents or friends and relations, just as we find Bob, Dick, Jack, etc., among the English names. These converts to Christianity are most of them, if not all, illiterate persons, and when asked their names they naturally mention those by which they are popularly addressed. It must also be stated here that *all* Âgrîs, Kôlîs, Mâlîs, etc, are not converts to Christianity; many (perhaps the majority) are Hindûs.

Yours truly,
GEO F D'PENHA.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. When it is "raining cats and dogs," an uncle should not go out with his nephew for a walk, or on any business, as it is believed that lightning will fall upon them, or they will fall victims to some other similar calamity.

2. When a lamp is put out by a puff of wind, or accidentally by breath, people (when they have no tinder-sticks, fire and the like) very often go to their neighbours for a fresh light, who, unfortunately, disappoint them very often (even though they be of the closest relationship), saying, "I dare not do so, my friend, for it will either decrease my capital or bring ruin upon my family."

3. The Hindus never allow anybody to pluck the leaves of a plant or tree after dusk, and, if asked the reason, they reply:—

"Oh! dear Sirs, we disturb the trees from sunrise to sunset and give them no rest the whole day. But now is the time for them to take repose, for we always ask for a satisfactory reason when we are compelled to serve our masters day and night; but they are dumb and consequently can neither speak nor complain."

4. Occasionally it happens to a person while kneading flour with great force, that the dough lifts up the vessel with it. This creates a great joy in him, for it is the sign of a new visitor to his house.

5. Whenever a person runs short of salt, he goes to get a little from one of his caste-people. But if he takes it in the palm of the hand, a bitter enmity will exist between him and his friend, as long as they live in this land of tears and sorrows.

6. A female, when pregnant, should not go near a bier to mourn for a relative, as she does always otherwise; because the slightest touch of the deceased would melt and bring the womb out. Likewise, a man, who lends a helping hand in lifting the corpse, will lose his wife's progeny.

7. The whole family invoke God to prevent a child's birth during Sundays and Tuesdays at new and full moons. If a child be born on such occasions, it will grow up with a character of the worst type.

8. To avoid a dead loss, at the time of harvest, the husbandmen, for the abatement of a strong gale, paint their right buttock with black pigment and the left any other colour; and stand in the direction of the wind. Similarly, the injuries which crops suffer from excess of rainfall or hail-storm, are prevented by an individual who is one of twins going through the same operation.

9. Frequently, robbers of the blackest dye, who have planned to attack a rich man's house in the dead of night, if they catch sight of a serpent on the way, interpret the sight as an omen to retrace their steps

10. Low caste people, in times of drought, implore the deity for an abundant fall of rain by catching a frog and tying it to a rod covered with green leaves and branches of the *nîm*[1] tree, and take it from door to door singing:—

"Send soon, O frog: the jewel of water!
And ripen the wheat and *juarî*[2] in the field."

M. N. VENKETSWAMI.

[1] The Hindu term for *Azadirachta Indica*, and all the species of *Azadirachta* and *Melia*.

[2] A kind of millet used as an article of food, chiefly by Mhârs, Gônds, Chamârs, etc.

## NOTES ON MARÂṬHÂ MARRIAGES.

AFTER the *kuṅkutilá* or betrothal both parties cause some turmeric and about five *sers'* weight of wheat to be ground and boiled together into balls or cakes for distribution to the women at the *hâlâd* ceremony. This takes place after both parties have given, by separate processions of drums, etc., an invitation to the marriage to their own tutelary gods and to Ganapati. It consists merely in applying a day or two before the marriage a little mashed turmeric to the body of the bride when bathing, and then taking the *hâlâd* or turmeric powder used on her to the bridegroom, and doing the same to him.

The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by the *jôshî* or astrologer. The hour is very often that of the evening twilight. On the appointed day, at a sufficient time before the particular moment for the marriage, the bridegroom is made to sit on a wooden daïs covered by a piece of red broad cloth ornamented with figures, and a border work of unhusked wheat and rice. A laundress, especially the one working for the family, is here told to dip an arrow [? an old Kshatriya custom], or a pointed stick into common (or scented) oil of sesamum, and to let fall a few drops from it upon the ornament known as the *bashing*, made for the occasion and placed on the bridegroom's head.[1]

*The late* B. V. SHASTRI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## APPRECIATION OF GOOD RUSTIC ART.

IN some districts there is a quaint custom. When a carpenter has made a particularly good *chaukaṭ* (door or window frame) he takes it to the house into which it is to be built, and spreading a sheet on the ground, he lays his work down and seats himself alongside to receive the congratulations of his townsfolk. These take a practical form and *kauṛîs* (shell-money), *pais* (coppers), and *chiṭṭî chândnî* (silver), rain on the sheet. There is a tradition that on one occasion as much as a hundred rupees testified to the skill of the carver. This custom is unknown in the large cities.[2]

J. L. KIPLING in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## SOME HINDU BUILDING CUSTOMS.

ORTHODOX Hindûs sacrifice a goat at the beginning of a house, and Ganêś, the elephant-headed god who presides at all beginnings, and whose quaint figure finds a place over most Hindû doorways, is worshipped. His sign heads every *baniyâ's* (tradesman's) account-book, and is the ubiquitous *swastika*, or cross fylfot of our heraldry. Some earth from the parental homestead is often interred with the new foundations, or placed in the pot of the sacred *tulsî* plant (*ocymum basilicum*).[3]

J. L. KIPLING in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## BUDDHIST RUINS AT SAIRON.

SAIRON is situated in Tahsîl Lalitpur, about 15 miles to the N-W. of the subdivision and some 10 miles to the west of the road going from Lalitpûr to Jhânsî. To the east of the village there is a rock on which now stands a Jain *mandir*, apparently about 300 or 400 years old. It was built on the ruins of a Buddhist Mound. I infer this from the numerous images of Buddha in different positions. I should say that there are more than a thousand images there, all lying round the *mandir*. Some of the larger ones are kept in the *mandir* compound. In the compound there is also a stone pillar measuring about 5′ × 4′ × 3″, on which are inscribed some 60 lines in Sanskrit or some other language; the dates on it are 740, 1160, and 1370 or so in the Vikrama Saṁvat. I think the pillar therefore to be about 600 years old, but as I gave my notes about it to a friend at Lucknow I cannot now give further details. Near the place there is a door of a house said to be that of a washerman very nicely carved in stone. The Railway goes as far as Lalitpûr, and thence one can go to the Sairon on horseback or by bullock cart.

KHUNDANLAL.

## THE CHIHLA OR 40 DAYS' FAST.

BHAG SHAH, *faqîr*, is reported to be performing *chihlâ* (40 days' fast) on the borders of the village Shotâb and Mandrâṅwâla, police station Daskâ, in the Siâlkoṭ District. The ceremony consists in the man burying himself in a hole or arched grave for 40 days, with only 40 grains of roasted barley and a small jar of water. I remember unearthing one of these men at Paṭhânkôṭ. The trick is performed with the help of an accomplice, who supplies food and drink, under cover of night, through a secret opening.[4]

J. T. CHRISTIE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [See *Mookerjee's Magazine*, November, 1872; and *Orient*, July, 1883. — ED.]

[2] [See *Journal*, Society of Arts, 1883, p. 379. — ED.]

[3] [See *Journal*, Society of Arts, 1883, p. 738. — ED.]

[4] [I saw a *faqîr* performing the same fast in a ditch under the mud wall of an old Musalmân cemetery, near the Royal Horse Artillery Bâzâr, in the Ambâlâ Cantonments, in 1882. Filling the ditch with water, or rather the threat of it, induced him to depart at once. — ED.]

# SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

## Ancestor-Worship.

ALL SOULS DAY, the 2nd of November, is a day specially set apart by the **Catholic Church** for intercession for the souls in **Purgatory,** when prayers and Masses are offered for their release from the sufferings. Not many years ago, and I believe even now in certain obscure parts, the ignorant classes spread a mat on which were laid down tooth-brushes, snuff, liquor, food and *âṭṭôlaṁ*[1] for those of the family who have died. The notion is that, **on All Souls Day, the dead are granted respite** from their sufferings and are allowed to roam whither they will, and, as it is natural that they should visit their own houses, or those of their nearest connections, **they are provided with a dinner,** after partaking of which they feel gratified and go in peace.

There is a good story told in this connection. There lived an old woman by herself. Near her house was a **brab-tree**[2] which was tapped for *sûr* or *tâṛî* (toddy) by a Christian *bhanḍârî*. On one All Souls Day, the old woman asked the *bhanḍârî* for some *sûr*. On being questioned why she wanted it, the old woman said that, as it was *jêliâṅ mêliâṅchâ dîs* (the day of the dead and gone), she must prepare something for them. The *bhanḍârî* very kindly gave the old woman some toddy without charging her anything. The old woman took the toddy and made some *pôlê*, curry, *âṭṭôlaṁ*, etc., and, laying it on a mat, went to Church to attend the *Officium Defunctorum*, which is held in every Church on the evening of that day, leaving the door partially open, for the *jêliṅ mêliṅ* to enter. A little while after, the *bhanḍârî* who was waiting for an opportunity, quietly entered the old woman's house, ate well and emptied the liquor pot, and went away, unseen by any one. When the old woman returned from Church and saw that the dinner was partaken of, she, in her simplicity, was quite convinced that the *jêliṅ mêliṅ* had come and had their fill. The following day, when the *bhanḍârî* came, as usual, to draw toddy, he called out to the old woman and said: — "*Âô, kâ gê, jêliṅ mêliṅ âiltiṅ kaṁ nahiṁ*, Grandmother, well, had the dead and gone come or not?" To which the old woman proudly replied: — "*Hô rê pûtâ, âiltiṁ rê âiltiṁ, khâlaṁ pilâṁ ani gêliṁ*, Yes, my son, they had come, they had come, they ate and drank and went away." The *bhanḍârî* laughed in his sleeve at the simplicity of the old woman, but kept the true story to himself, relating it to his friends only after the demise of the old woman.

**Some people set down liquor,** or anything of which a person was fond in his lifetime, on the nights of the funeral-day, second day and third day after death, in some place in the house most frequented by the deceased. I have been an eye-witness to a case of this kind, under the following circumstances. An old man died, whose funeral I had to attend. The funeral was over late in the evening, and, being related, I was asked to spend the night at the house, which I did. My bed was prepared on a cot which turned out to be one in which the deceased had usually slept. Late in the night, having occasion to strike a light, I saw beside me some country liquor in a *châun* (a small cup used for drinking country liquor out of). In another case, an old woman had placed a spirit-glass with a little brandy, for her grandson, aged about fourteen years, in a place the boy frequented most, although I know he had a great aversion to all sorts of liquor.

On the night previous to the wedding-day, *ôrê*, *pôlê*, etc., a little of everything prepared for the wedding, including some liquor, are taken to some distance out of the village, and there left, evidently for the spirits of ancestors, or of the deceased members of the family, in general.

**The dead are believed to intercede with God for the living,** and people pray to the departed in time of need. I have sometimes heard people say: — "*Sârê sâṅtâṅsiṁ ani âlmâṅsiṁ mângtus hôtûṁ*, I have always been asking of (praying to) all the saints and souls." And that the

[1] This is a sort of gruel, prepared with new rice with the addition of jaggri and some ingredients such as cardamoms to sweeten and lend flavour to it. Almost every Bombay East Indian family makes *âṭṭôlaṁ* on All Souls Day.

[2] A palm. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

souls of the dead have helped the living may be gathered from the following: — "*Mâṅjê vakhthâlâ âlmaṅ ûbiṅ rêliṅ*, in the time of my need the souls stood (helped, or interceded for, me)." A person, in asking a favour, say to educate a poor orphan, says: — "*Sikwâ, sikwâ pôrûlâ, tiâchê bâpâschaṅ âlm tûmâlâ ûbaṅ rêl*, Educate, educate the boy, his father's soul will stand for you (will obtain for you grace or favours)."

There is a general belief that the *kûmbhârs* or potters do not eat the fish called *kûpâ*, because they say the *kûpâ* is their *dâi* or *gôtrî*, that is, belonging to their sect. How they came to identify the *kûpâ* as belonging to their *gôtra* I cannot ascertain.[3]

## Cure of Spirit-caused Diseases.

**Diseases are sometimes believed to be caused by spirits.** The people ascribe some sicknesses to the agency of *bhûts* or evil spirits, and exorcists, Hindu or Musalmân, are resorted to to rid themselves of the ills. The diseases attributed to evil spirits or *bhûts* are fainting, mania, small-pox, etc. Perhaps, sneezing and yawning, too, are attributed to spirits, for when a child sneezes, the mother of the child or any one at hand says: — "*Jitush.*" I cannot ascertain the meaning of this word. Can it be a corruption of Jesus? So, some persons, when they yawn, make the sign of the cross with their right thumb before their mouths, twice or thrice, or as many times as possible, while the yawning lasts.

I remember once, when cholera was raging in the Mâhârwâḍâ (where Mâhârs live — almost every village in Salsette has one) attached to the village of Mallâ, in Bândrâ, seeing a Christian cultivator (aged about 55, an illiterate person), after drinking some liquor, take a big stick in hand and beat well the sides and roof of a hut, belonging to a Mâhâr, in which a case of cholera had occurred, making plenty of noise. He evidently believed that the epidemic was caused by an evil spirit, and that what he was doing would frighten away the spirit, and thus free the place from the dreaded sickness.

**Water.** — Water drives off the spirit of thirst, it refreshes the fainting, and it restores life to those in a swoon. When a child gets into a rage, and keeps crying for a long time, in spite of all coaxing and soothing words and threats of punishment, it is called *gâṇḍlâṅchî rag* (rage caused by worms). To cure this, water is dashed on the eyes and face of the child. When a person, in whose house is a pregnant woman, goes to a funeral, on his return he must bathe before entering the house; he must also not touch the pregnant woman before he has washed himself. New-born infants are washed. The dead are also washed before being clothed for burial. If a person treads or steps over a ground on which an animal, a dog, or a cat, or a horse, or a snake, etc., has been wallowing, he is affected with an illness called *rêṅs*, the symptoms of which are vomiting and looseness with great griping about the pit of the stomach. It is supposed that no medicine can cure this malady; indeed, the sufferer suffers more by taking any medicine. To cure this, among other things, water is waved over the prostrate body of the patient, about seven times, and the patient recovers.

**Metals.** — Metals have great power over spirits, **iron** in particular. In Salsette there is a spirit known as *gîrâ*, who plays much mischief with a solitary traveller — specially one under the influence of liquor, or one who is a coward, — in the night, leading him astray; in many cases carrying the victim many miles away from the place of attack and lowering him in an empty well, or digging a pit in the sea and burying the man up to his neck, leaving him to extricate himself the best way he can from that position or to die. A *gîrâ*, however, dare not touch a person who has on him anything made of iron or steel, particularly a knife or nail, of which the *gîrâ* is in great fear. A *gîrâ* will never meddle with a woman, especially a married woman, for he is afraid of her bangles. It is believed that, if any one can manage to drive a nail in the *gîrâ's* head, he (the *gîrâ*) again becomes a man. It is also believed that a *gîrâ*, metamorphosed into a man, will do any work, like an obedient servant, so long as he remains as such. Horse-shoe nails are driven into the threshold to prevent spirits from entering the house. In cases of poisoning, **copper** coins are boiled in water, and the water is given the patient to drink, to make him vomit the poison. At the time of making *ôrê*, if bubbles appear on the oil while being boiled,

[3] [This should interest the enquirers into totemism.—ED.]

a copper coin is thrown into it, which has the effect of reducing them. When a woman dies in child-birth, especially if the child be living, a piece of iron or a nail is thrust among the folds of her dress, evidently with the avowed object of preventing her spirit from coming back, for there is a belief that dead mothers haunt the house to carry away their children. An instance is given in which a mother, whose child was living, although she had died several months after confinement, used to enter her sleeping apartment and try to snatch away the infant from the arms of the nurse, often succeeding in dragging the child several paces from the bed. Knives are sometimes kept under the pillow to prevent spirits or harassing dreams. In cases of dog-bite, a copper coin with edible *chunam* is bound up on the wound as a cure. In cases of jaundice, the left arm is branded with a red-hot piece of iron, and castor oil applied over it, which helps to purge the wound thus caused of pus for a few days. At the time of confinement, if a woman labours very much, all locks of doors or drawers are opened with a key. This is said to facilitate delivery. A *koitá*, a kind of hatchet, is also waved, in cases of *rêṅs*, over the body of the patient. So also a copper *tâmbiâ* (*lôṭá* or pot), containing live coals, is waved in cases of *rêṅs* and placed with mouth downwards in a copper *thâlá* (pan, generally used for making hand bread). Thefts are believed to be detected by means of scissors and a sieve. A pair of scissors are held with points upwards, on which a sieve is made to balance flat. Then a person repeats one by one the names of those suspected of the offence ; when the name of the thief is pronounced, the sieve gives one or two turns, and that establishes the real culprit. When a woman has had two or three miscarriages, gold beads are ground, with other medicines, and given her to drink at a subsequent pregnancy, which helps the growth of the fœtus and a safe delivery.

**Urine.** — It is supposed that if a person, who is severely beaten, drinks his own urine, he gets over the effects immediately. A certain root, called *âbût*, to obtain medicinal value, is buried for six months or so in a stable, in the ground over which a black cow passes urine. If little children are made to drink their own urine, they grow fierce. To cure sore-eyes, one must wash them with the first urine passed after waking in the morning. Making water on a cut is sure to stop bleeding.

**Blood.** — A person's blood becomes corrupted through cares and anxiety and sadness, and the cure for it is bleeding. To get rid of asthma, one should drink the blood of a *gôr* (? *ghôrpar* or big lizard) and run about violently until quite fatigued. Consumption, in its first stage, is also believed to be cured by the same treatment. Women are bled in the fifth or seventh month of their pregnancy. A slight crack in an earthen pot is joined by placing ashes over it and pouring in the blood of a fowl.

**Brooms.** — A broom is also used, among other articles, to cure a person affected with *rêṅs* : it is drawn over the prostrate body from the head leg-wards and struck upon the ground about seven times. If a broom is made to stand brush upwards, when two persons are quarrelling, it is supposed to aggravate matters. Some people think that on a wedding-day a house and the *maṇḍap* (pandal) must not be touched with a broom, that is, they must not be swept till the bridal party has returned from Church after the celebration of the marriage. This custom is observed with greater rigour in the house where there is a bride, for, say they, we sweep away the girl as we do dirt.

**Canes.** — The cane is a good cure for rat-bites. A little paste is formed by rubbing a piece of cane in a small quantity of water, and the paste applied to the bite.

**Circles.** — After birth, a portion of the navel cord is left, and the end is tied to a black thread and put round the child's neck. Fevers are supposed to be cured by tying a thread round the arm. As the bandage grows tighter the fever abates, and as soon as the fever leaves off the circle slackens itself, and the patient is declared cured.

**Coins.** — On the evening previous to the wedding day, the barber is called in to shave. All male guests, old or young, have a shave, or at least some touch of the barber's razor. The payment for this service is — the guests wave a coin or coins, copper or silver, round the head of the bride or bride-groom, and throw them into a plate set there for the purpose ; the head of the house gives two *sêrs* of rice, a cocoanut, and one *sêr* (one bottle) of country liquor. In cases of dog-bite, a little *chunam* is applied to the wound, and a pie or pice placed upon it and tied there.

**Colours.** — On the morning of the wedding-day, brides and bridegrooms are bathed. Before bathing cocoanut milk is applied to the head and the body, and into this milk **saffron** powder is thrown.

**Lamp-black** is used to anoint the eyes of infants and their mothers to prevent *nadar* (the Evil Eye). The forehead and cheeks of little children are also sometimes marked with lamp-black, or the black from a cooking utensil, to keep off the Evil Eye. The cow, under whose urine the root *âbût* must be buried to obtain medicinal properties, must be a black one.

**Comb.** — Among the presents given by the bridegroom to the bride on the wedding-day, the comb (a white one) forms a particular item.

**Coral.** — Coral necklaces are invariably worn by children. It is believed that the changes effected in the **colour** of the coral by wear, indicate the enjoyment of good health or otherwise by the wearer.

**The Cross.** — If a person observes the mark or trace of a snake or any creeper on the road, he generally makes a cross on the mark, with a stick or an umbrella or even with the foot, before he passes it or steps over it. The sign of the cross is made rapidly, as often as possible, while a person yawns. In the case of a child, unable to do it for itself, an elder who is at hand does it for the child.

**Dancing.** — At weddings, dancing is invariably performed. People often dance on occasions of feasts and christenings. Dancing is also sometimes performed before a small-pox patient, that is, if the patient desire it. People suffering from small-pox express peculiar desires, and it is said they must be satisfied.

**Earth.** — Every attendant at a funeral throws three handfuls of earth on the corpse or coffin after it is lowered in the grave. Earth taken from the grave of an infant is applied as a cure for the swelling and pain in the breasts of a mother, due to an accumulation of milk. Women in pregnancy sometimes conceive a desire to eat earth, when *khâyâchî mâtî* (edible earth), generally obtainable from *chanâ kûrmûrîvâlâs* (dealers in gram and parched rice), is given them. Earth is sometimes used to clean cooking-vessels. When the transplantation operations of a cultivator are complete, the labourers pelt the owner and one another with clods of earth from the field. Earth taken from bee-hives is a good remedy for headache.

**Eggs.** — A person spitting blood or with a weak chest is made to swallow raw eggs. Among the articles used for curing *rêns*, the egg also finds a place. On the night before the wedding-day, the white of an egg is rubbed on the face of the bride and bridegroom; it is believed to impart a certain amount of *kayâ* (beauty). The dhobie, besides the ordinary charges of washing, takes a certain number of eggs, when a bride's *vôl* (white sheet of cloth used when going to Church or from one place to another) is given him to wash. One or two eggs are given to the priest who comes to bless the houses after Lent.

**Flowers.** — After the celebration of the marriage in the Church, the bridal party goes to the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are made to stand at the entrance of the *maṇḍap* (pandal), if there is one, or at the entrance to the house. Then all the friends and relations come one by one to congratulate the happy couple, and this is done by sprinkling flowers on their heads and the shaking of hands. The same is done in the evening of the same day on their arrival at the bridegroom's house, and the ceremony is sometimes repeated, for the third time, on their return from the bridegroom's to the bride's house on the evening of the second day. At the funerals of little children or unmarried young persons, flowers are distributed to those accompanying the funeral, who throw them on the corpse or coffin before throwing the three handfuls of earth. Those who have not obtained flowers throw in green leaves of trees instead. Women deck their hair with flowers. Persons who have decked their hair with flowers must not move about much in the heat of the noon-day sun, nor in the darkness of the night, or they run the risk of being possessed by evil spirits; if they must, they should be accompanied by some one, and not stir out alone. During illness promises are made to crosses to adorn them with garlands of flowers.

**Fruit.** — Along with the presents of a *sâṛî*, a *chôlî*, etc., given by the bridegroom to the bride on their wedding-day, are also carried some fruits — dry dates, almonds, walnuts, etc., — five or seven of each, some of which are taken by the people at the bride's house, and some returned with the box in which the presents were brought.

**Garlic.** — To prevent indigestion, when a person complains of feeling puffiness of the stomach, garlic, black pepper and salt are given to eat, over which a small quantity of country liquor is drunk hot. When cholera is raging, garlic, black pepper and leaves of the tree of the custard apple are tied to the ends of handkerchiefs, and carried by persons going about, to prevent being attacked by cholera.

**Glass.** — Women wearing glass bangles must not approach near to a person who has been bitten by a snake, because the poison will work with all the greater force. A *girâ* cannot come close to a person wearing glass bangles, as he fears their tinkling. On the death of a man the glass bangles on the hands of his wife are broken. The gold necklace — *pôt* — presented to the wife by her husband on the wedding-day, is interspersed with black glass beads. It is not good to show little children their faces in the looking-glass.

**Grain.** — When a woman dies in child-birth, particularly so if the child be living, some grain (? *râlâ*) are strewn on the road to the burying-ground. The object is to prevent the spirit of the woman from coming back home to take away the child. The prevention is effected thus :— the spirit, as she comes, sees the grain which she waits to count, so that by the time she has counted all, it is near dawn of day, and the spirit must go back. On the evening previous to the wedding-day, the barber, who comes to shave, gets a present of two *sêrs* of rice, a cocoanut and a bottle of country liquor, from the head of the house, while the guests wave coins (copper or silver) round the head of the bride or bridegroom, and give them also to the barber. The payment for the services of a native midwife at the time of the confinement and for twelve days later, is also a certain quantity of rice and a rupee or two.

**Honey.** — Honey possesses healing properties. Given internally with hot water or tea with or without the addition of a little brandy, honey cures cough.

**Horns.** — A *sâmbar shiṅg*, the horn of a deer, is rubbed in water and applied as a cure for headache. Horns are used as bleeding cups.

**Incense.** — After bleeding, the arm or leg which has been bled is fumed with incense, and then bandaged. Incense is thrown on a fire over which the godmother, returning with the baptised child, has to step.

**Kiss.** — **Kissing the hand** of a Bishop is practised by all; some extend this practice to the kissing of the hand of the priests, while a few even kiss that of laymen. One should not kiss a sleeping child— it is not good to do so, say the old folk. After the ordination ceremony, all present kiss the right hand of the newly-ordained priest. When a child is hurt, the mother, or any close connection, who is by, kisses that part of the body which is hurt, and says : — "Now it will be well."

**Knots.** — The tying of the thread round the arm to cure fever is done by a certain number of knots. A person, who is somewhat forgetful, is told to tie a knot in his handkerchief to remind him of any work that he may have been asked to do.

**Leather.** — When fruit-trees do not bear fruit, people tie up an old *vân*, sandal, of the left foot, to prevent the Evil Eye. If a blister be caused by wearing tight boots or shoes, to cure it, burn a piece of old leather and apply the ashes to the spot with a little oil.

**Lifting.** — When the bridegroom is bathed, his maternal uncle lifts him and carries from the *maṇḍap* into the house. So also the bride is bathed on Tuesday, that is, the second day of the wedding, in the *maṇḍap*, and lifted by the bridegroom, over the threshold.

**Liquor.** — Liquor is a bringer of joy, and it also benefits health. Among the presents given to the barber on the evening previous to the wedding is a bottle of country liquor. Liquor is drunk at all festivals, christenings, weddings, and even on occasions of death. Persons under the influence of

liquor are most liable to the attacks of a *gîrâ*. **Health-drinking** is indispensable at all feasts. The host drinks to the health of the guests, while the guests drink to that of the host. At a wedding-dinner, the toasts are drunk generally in the following order — the bride and the bridegroom, the parents of the bride and bridegroom, blood relations of the bride and bridegroom such as brothers and sisters and maternal uncles and aunts, then other relations and friends. At christenings, the first toast is that of the new-born, next the sponsors, then the parents of the child, followed by other relations and friends. The custom of health-drinking is also practised at meals after a funeral: — the first toast is that of the chief mourner, with the addition of a few consolatory words; then the toast of all others present, generally proposed by the chief mourner, when he or she takes the opportunity of thanking one and all for the trouble taken by them in attending the funeral. Among the Christian *bhanḍârîs*, on the wedding-day, the bridegroom has to give a pot of liquor to the bride's father. Some persons, at the time of arranging a bethrotal, exchange liquor, that is, the girl's party offers liquor to the party of the boy, and then the boy's party offers some to that of the girl. Wounds are sometimes washed with liquor. In cases of indigestion, liquor is given to drink hot with pepper, garlic and salt. Liquor is sometimes offered to the spirits of the dead. The evils of drinking liquor is graphically described in the following phrase — "*dârû anî ghar dâr bârû*, liquor and (the) sweeper of house and door" — that is, because of the vice of drunkenness, a house is swept of all its possessions; in other words, poverty is brought on through drink.

**Light.** — "*Ujêr hâi tê Lakshimi hâi*, light is Lakshmi" that is, the bringer of good fortune. A light is kept burning all night, for several months, in the lying-in room. When a person is suffering from small-pox, an *ârti* is performed, in which a lamp is lit with seven wicks. On the day of a christening, the godmother, when she returns from the Church with the baptised child, steps over a fire in which some incense is thrown. A light is kept burning at the head of the dead.

**Noise and Music.** — Noise and music are believed to restore to consciousness or life one who is in a swoon or trance. During a recent outbreak of small-pox in Bândrâ I observed a great noise being made in a house in which a boy was attacked by the small-pox by playing on the *rabân* (a tambourine) and the *ghûmaṭ* (a kind of musical drum) and the persons singing at the top of their voice. On enquiry I was told that **the boy (or rather his soul) had gone** ( ? was carried off by the Bâyâ) **to the Koṅkan**, the supposed permanent residence of the Bâyâ or Mâuliâ (small-pox mothers), and that the noise was made to bring him back. On another occasion noise and music were resorted to to drown the sound of the chanting of the *Responsorios* sung in a funeral procession. It is dangerous for a small-pox patient to hear the *Responsorios* or even funeral music. So also when cholera broke out many persons fired guns. Guns were also fired in the nights during the time the plague was raging. At a wedding-dinner, when toasts are drunk, guns or crackers are fired, and music is sometimes played, or some person sings a song in the absence of music. Marriage songs are sung on the day of the declaration of the first bann, about twenty-one days before the wedding, and these are repeated every evening till three or four days after the wedding. Songs are sung when the dough for *ôrê* or *sâṅdnaṅ* is prepared; songs are sung when the shaving of the bridegroom and other guests is going on on the evening previous to the wedding-day; songs are sung when women and even men go to fetch water for the bride or bridegroom to bathe with, also on the evening of the day previous to the wedding; songs are sung when cocoanut milk (sometimes mixed with saffron powder) is rubbed on the bride or bridegroom before bathing on the morning of the wedding-day; songs are sung when the bride or bridegroom is dressing to go to Church; songs are sung on return of the bride and bridegroom from Church. Singing is also done on Christening and festival days. In drinking healths, people sometimes shout out "*viva!*"

**Mirror.** — Children are not allowed to look into a mirror, as it is not good for them to see their own reflections. No reason is assigned for this.

**Oil.** — Oil is used both as food and medicine. It is also a giver of light. Rubbing with oil prevents cramps and rheumatism (*vârâ* or wind). In cases of jaundice, after branding with a red-hot wire of iron, castor oil is applied to the part burned. Oil is used at time of child-birth. After child-

birth the mother is rubbed with oil, for several days; the child is also rubbed with oil, by some for two or three months, by others for as many as six months. On the seventh day, after a funeral, a neighbouring woman or two bring cocoanut milk and rub the hair of the women-mourners. Women, once in a week or fortnight, and sometimes men also, oil their hair, by means of cocoanut milk, before washing with water. The bride and bridegroom are anointed with cocoanut milk on the wedding-day. Corpses are also anointed with cocoanut milk before washing, preparatory to the funeral. When a person is over-fatigued with hard work, such as that of a cultivator, he receives great comfort from having his back, loins, neck and joints rubbed with oil, followed by a hot-water bath.

**Precious Stones.** — The **diamond** is believed to be poisonous. It is believed that great merchants always wear a diamond ring, and, should they meet with loss to any large extent, they commit suicide by sucking the venom from the diamond. Children, particularly girls, are made to wear necklaces of **coral.** Wristlets (*mangutlias*) are also made of coral and tied round the wrists. These necklaces and wristlets are sometimes interpersed with *ḍiṭ-minûṁ* (**Evil-Eye beads**) to keep off the Evil Eye. When any one casts the Evil Eye, a *ḍiṭ-minûṁ* breaks off. When children are sick, the colour of the coral worn by them fades and the beads become pale. With the return of health the bright colour, of the coral also returns. **Amber-beads** are also strung between coral beads and worn round the neck and wrists and waist. These amber-beads are also believed to break when the Evil Eye falls on the wearer.

**Salutations.** — The form of salutation among the Salsette Christians, when they meet, is, among the illiterate generally and the literate too, a slight shake of the head with the expression *zuâr*[4] and the question "*kâ khabar ?*[5] How are you ?" Others, with some pretensions to learning or rather to civilization, who sometimes speak Portuguese (not quite the correct language), say : — "*Como esta?* How are you ?" or "*Como vai?* How do you go ?" or "*Como passo?* How do you pass ?" or "*Como deixa?* How do you keep" ? Many, also, salute in English, shaking hands, as they say :—" How are you ?" or " How do ye do ?" etc.

(*To be continued.*)

---

## HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(*Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.*)

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

### Preface.

ALL histories of the Bahmanî and succeeding Muḥammadan dynasties of the Dakhin hitherto published, have been based upon **Firishtah**; but the history of the **Bahmanî Kings** which I now introduce, is based upon the **Burhân-i Ma,âṣir, by Alî Bin 'Azîz-Ullâh Ṭabâṭabâ** — a work written several years before Firishtah's appeared. Though the two authors were contemporaries, and probably met one another in Aḥmadnagar, neither makes any mention of the other.[1] We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in compiling the Bahmanî history; yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable, especially in the names and genealogy of some of the kings. Where the difference occurs, the Bahmanî

---

[4] What the word may mean I do not know, but it apparently means compliments, for the expression is also used in that sense; for instance, at time of parting, people generally say — *zuâr sângâ* = give compliments.

[5] *Lit.*, what news ?

[1] Firishtah left Aḥmadnagar, and proceeded to Bijâpur in A. H. 998 (A. D. 1589). Shortly after his arrival in the latter place he commenced writing his history, under the auspices of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil-Shâh II., but did not complete it till about A. H. 1036 (A. D. 1626-7). He mentions in the preface no less than thirty-five works which he consulted in the composition of his history, and — according to Briggs — makes quotations from twenty others in the body of his work; yet never mentions the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir*, unless he alludes to it under some other title. Professional jealousy probably accounts for this.

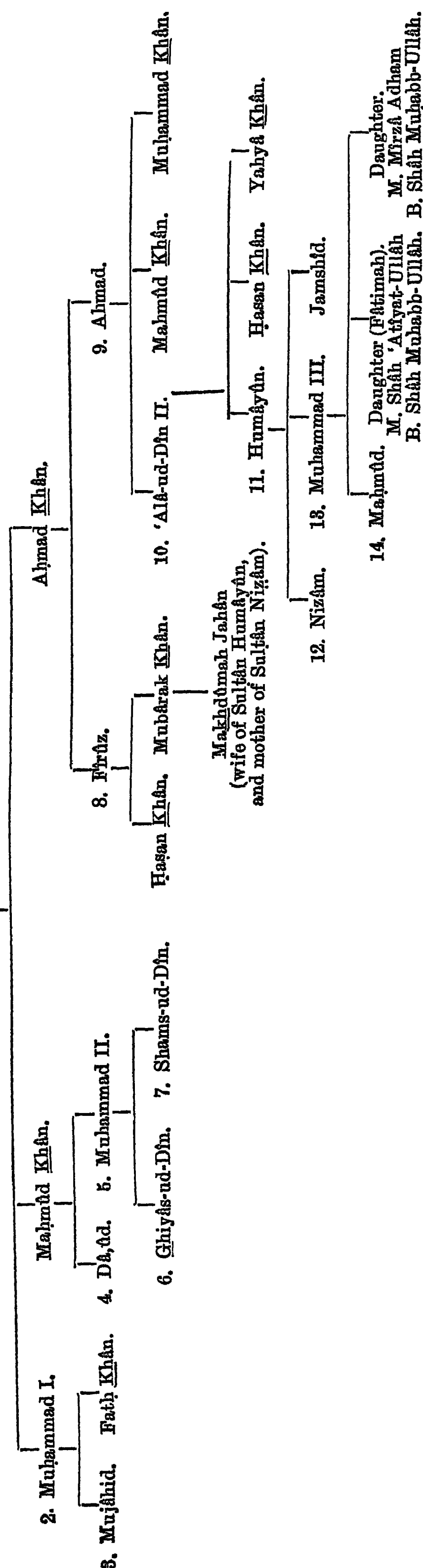
coins of the period — which are the most reliable evidence — corroborate the statement of our author, and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the **Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk** — from which I have given several extracts — and in extracts from **Târîkh-i Jahân-Ârâ** and **Sirâj-ul-Ḳulûb**. The latter written in A. H. 821. (British Lib.-Or. 1964, fol. 5 *b. et seq.* and fol. 34 — *vide* Dr. Rieu's Catalogue, p. 1039.) There may also be others which I have not yet seen.

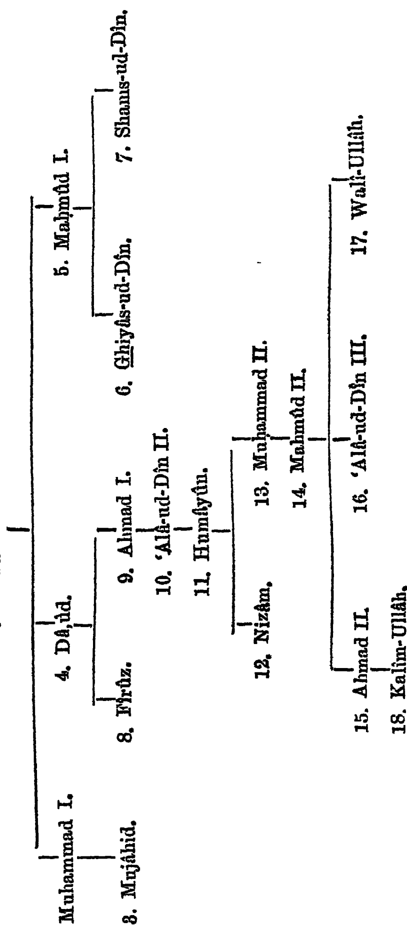
The *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* is essentially a history of the Niẕâm-Shâhî dynasty of Aḥmadnagar, and derives its title from Burhân Niẕâm-Shâh II. (A. H. 999-1003), the reigning sovereign, under whose auspices the work was written. The title is also a chronogram recording the year when the work was commenced, *viz.*, A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591), and the history is brought down to the latter part of A. H. 1004 (A. D. 1595-96).

As I have before remarked (*ante*, Sept, 1898, p. 233), only three copies of this work are known to exist; and its extreme rarity doubtless accounts for its not having previously been brought to notice. The style of the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* is more ornate than Firishtah's history; and in general completeness is inferior to the latter; but, at the same time, our author in many instances gives details not given by Firishtah, and relates the same occurrences in a different way; so the one work serves as a useful complement to the other. I have not thought it necessary to point out all the points of difference, as it would make the present work too elaborate. The reader can easily do that for himself; and with this and Briggs' *Translation of Firishtah* before him, he will have all the available raw material for a history of the Bahmanî Dynasty, as far as it can be gathered from Persian historical MSS.

## Sulṭâns of the Bahmanî Dynasty.

| Names. | Dates of Accession. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A. H. | A. D. | |
| 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan ... ... | 748 | 1347 | |
| Muḥammad I. ... ... ... | 759 | 1358 | |
| Mujâhid ... ... ... | 775 | 1373 | Assassinated. |
| Dâ,ûd ... ... ... ... | 780 | 1378 | Do. |
| Muḥammad II. ... ... | 780 | 1378 | |
| Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn ... ... | 799 | 1397 | Blinded and deposed. |
| Shams-ud-Dîn ... ... ... | 799 | 1397 | Deposed. |
| Fîrûz ... ... ... ... | 800 | 1397 | Do. |
| Aḥmad ... ... ... ... | 825 | 1422 | |
| 'Alâ-ud-Dîn II. ... ... | 838 | 1435 | |
| Humâyûn ... ... ... | 862 | 1457 | |
| Niẕâm ... ... ... ... | 865 | 1461 | |
| Muḥammad II. ... ... | 867 | 1463 | |
| Maḥmûd ... ... ... | 887 | 1482 | Died 24th Ẕî-ul-Ḥijjah, 924 (26th December 1518), when the Dynasty became practically extinct. |


Genealogy of the Bahmanî Dynasty.
According to the Burhân-i Ma,âsir.
1. 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Gangû Bahmanî.
2. Muḥammad I.
3. Mujâhid.
Fatḥ Khân.
Maḥmûd Khân.
4. Dâ,ûd.
5. Muḥammad II.
6. Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn.
7. Shams-ud-Dîn.
Aḥmad Khân.
8. Fîrûz.
Ḥasan Khân.
Mubârak Khân.
Makhdûmah Jahân
(wife of Sulṭân Humâyûn,
and mother of Sulṭân Niẓâm).
9. Aḥmad.
10. 'Alâ-ud-Dîn II.
Maḥmûd Khân.
Muḥammad Khân.
11. Humâyûn.
Ḥasan Khân.
Yaḥyâ Khân.
12. Niẓâm.
13. Muḥammad III.
Jamshîd.
14. Maḥmûd.
Daughter (Fâṭimah).
M. Shâh 'Aṭîyat-Ullâh
B. Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh.
Daughter.
M. Mîrzâ Adham
B. Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh.


Genealogy of the Bahmanî Dynasty.
According to Firishtah.
1. 'Alâ-ud-Dîn I.
Muhammad I.
3. Mujâhid.
4. Dâ,ûd.
5. Maḥmûd I.
6. Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn.
7. Shams-ud-Dîn.
8. Fîrûz.
9. Aḥmad I.
10. 'Alâ-ud-Dîn II.
11. Humâyûn.
12. Niẓâm.
13. Muḥammad II.
14. Maḥmûd II.
15. Aḥmad II.
16. 'Alâ-ud-Dîn III.
17. Walî-Ullâh.
18. Kalîm-Ullâh.

## Contents.

### CHAPTER I.

*Reign of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Gangû.*

*(Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.)*

Various accounts of his descent.

Enters the service of Muḥammad Tughlak Shâh in Dihlî.

His future greatness foretold by Shêkh Niẓâm-ûd-Dîn.

Rebellions in Muḥammad Tughlak's dominions.

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan proceeds to Daulatâbâd.

Rebellion of the Amîrân-i Ṣadah, who seize treasure, and defeat the Amîrs of Gujarât.

Muḥammad Tughlak summons the Amîrân-i Ṣadah to his camp: on the way there from Daulatâbâd they attack and defeat the escort.

Return to Daulatâbâd and proclaim Ismâ'îl Mugh Afghân as king.

He is defeated by Muḥammad Tughlak.

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan marches towards Kalburgâ.

Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn is sent in pursuit of him.

Muḥammad Tughlak proceeds to Gujarât to put down a rebellion.

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan turns on his pursuers and defeats them.

Returns to Daulatâbâd, and is proclaimed king *vice* Ismâ'îl Mugh, who resigns.

Date of his ascension, 3rd December, A. D. 1347.

Or — according to another authority — 3rd August 1347.

He sends a force in pursuit of the *amîrs* of Muḥammad Tughlak, who are defeated.

Various appointments and titles.

Local governors despatched to their respective districts.

Expedition against Hindus.

Hussain Garshâsb obtains possession of Kandhâr.

Hussain Garshâsb obtains possession of Kotaghîr.

Saiyid Raẓî-ud-Dîn Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, on his way to Mundargî, takes possession of Bhûm and Akalkot.

Changes the name of Mundargî to Saiyidâbâd.

Kambar Khân, on his way to Kotûr, takes possession of Kalliânî.

Sikandar Khân, from Bîdar, takes Malkeḍ.

Kanâbâyand (?), *wâlî* of Teliṅgânâ, tenders his submission to the Bahmanî Sulṭân through Sikandar Khân, and presents elephants, etc.

Ismâ'îl Mugh, induced by promises of assistance from one Nârâyan, aspires to the sovereignty, but Nârâyan breaks faith with him and poisons him.

Khwâjah Jahân, from Miraj, and Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, from Mundargî, march against Kalburgâ, which they take.

Khwâjah Jahân assumes the governorship of Kalburgâ.

Mutiny among the troops at Sagar, who kill Safdar Khân and take possession of the town.

Khwâjah Jahân writes to Muḥammad bin 'Âlam, the leader of the mutineers.

The latter sends an answer by the hands of Naṭhû 'Almbak, who is made prisoner by Khwâjah Jahân.

Khwâjah Jahân reports the matter to the Sulṭân, who orders him to cross the Bhîmâ, and there await his arrival from Daulatâbâd.

The Sulṭân has a dream of good omen.

He marches from Daulatâbâd to Kalburgâ, where he is well received by the inhabitants.

Khwâjah Jahan joins the Sulṭân at Kalburgâ.

News of the death of Muḥammad Tughlak near Tatḥah on the 20th March, A. D. 1351.

The Sulṭân marches against the mutineers at Sagar: receives the submission of Muḥammad bin 'Âlam, whom he imprisons.

The Sulṭân encamps at Sagar, treats the inhabitants kindly, and confers various distinctions.

He sends a force to the district of Harib (*sic*): they take by siege the fort of Karabjûr (*sic*).

The Sulṭân marches from Sagar towards Kanbâdî (Kalâdgî ?) and Mudhol: the former town surrenders, and Kapras, the chief of the district, agrees to pay tribute.

The army maches towards the country of one, Nârâyaṇa, and on the way, Tâlakaryah (*sic*) is surrendered.

One, Mu'în-ud-Dîn Mukṭ'a, who with Nârâyaṇa, was formerly an ally of Muḥammad Tughlak's, tenders his submission.

The Sulṭân continues his march towards Mudhol.

Crosses the river Kistnâ.

Letter from Nârâyaṇa to the Sulṭân.

The latter sends a reply.

Nârâyaṇa takes refuge in the fort of Jamkhandî, and sends three of his chiefs to hold Mudhol, Terdal and Bâgalkot.

The Sulṭân proceeds to attack the fort of Mudhol.

Nârâyaṇa's troops make a night attack on the Sulṭân, and are defeated.

The Shâhzâdah joins the Sulṭân.

The Sulṭân, thinking the fort of Mudhol too strong to be carried by assault, lays siege to it, and takes it after four months.

The army encamps near Miraj.

The Sulṭân proceeds to invade the Koṇkan.

Takes Kârepatan without opposition.

Two months afterwards returns to Sagar and assigns the neighbouring districts to some of his adherents on feudal tenure.

Crosses the Bhîmâ, and after exacting tribute from Seḍam and Malkaiḍ, goes towards Kalburgâ.

Rebellion of Ḳîr Khân and Kâlah Muḥammad.

Ḳîr Khân loses his baggage and most of his followers in a flood.

The Sulṭân proceeds to Kaliâna, then occupied by Kâlah Muḥammad. Lays siege to it.

Sikandar Khân "Farzand" arrives in camp.

He is promoted in rank, and sent against Kîr Khân to Kutûr.

Battle, in which Kîr Khân is defeated and he himself captured by Fakhr Sha'bân, who is sent to the Sultân with news of the victory.

The Sultân proceeds to Kutûr. Sikandar Khân drags Kîr Khân in chains before the Sultân, who orders Kîr Khân to be put to death, but spares his life at the intercession of Sikandar Khân.

Kâlah Muhammad leaves Kaliâna and fortifies himself in Kutûr (?). Makes several sallies: is at last defeated, made prisoner and beheaded.

In this campaign the Sultân obtains two important fortresses — Kaliâna and Kutûr.

He proceeds to Kalburgâ, where he erects several buildings: calls the town Ahsanâbâd, and makes it his capital.

The first victory in the Sultân's reign said to have been at Bhokar (Bhokardhan ?). He next took Mâhûr. Then exacted tribute from Mândû.

The Sultân proceeds to the Konkan. Lays siege to Goa, and takes it in five or six months.

Takes Dâbhol.

Takes Kalhar (?) and Kolhâpur, and then returns to Kalburgâ.

Invades Telingânâ, spending about a year there. Takes Bhonâgîr, and after completing the conquest of Telingânâ, returns to Kalburgâ.

Extent of the Bahmanî dominions at this period.

The Sultân's nephew, Bahrâm Khân Mazindarânî, governor of Daulatâbâd, contemplates rebellion.

The Sultân ill for three or four months. He dies.

Shortly before death summons his four sons to his bedside. Nominates his eldest son Muhammad Shâh (Zafar Khân) as his successor.

(*Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

Various accounts of the origin of the founder of the Bahamanî Dynasty. Hasan Gangû: his future greatness foretold by Gangû Pandit Bahman.

Hasan promises to assume the surname "Bahmanî."

Hasan in the employ of a Shekh at Gangî, near Miraj.

The Shekh founded a masjid there.

Hasan's mother mentioned as being with him.

He finds a treasure.

Raises an army: is assisted by Gangû Pandit.

Hasan marches to Miraj with his army. Encounters Rânî Durkâvatî, the ruler of Miraj, and makes her prisoner.

Reports his victory to the Shekh, who desires him to call Miraj, "Mubârakâbâd."

Date of this victory, A. D. 1347.

Obtains possession of Miraj and the neighbouring districts, and then proceeds toward, Kalburgâ.

Advice of the Shekh. By means of a stratagem, Hasan Gangû and his men enter the town and expel the garrison. Attacked by Parwan Râo, the chief of Kalburgâ. The latter is defeated and killed.

Kalburgâ is named "Ahsanâbâd.

Hasan makes Kalburgâ his capital: assumes the title of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahman Shâh. Exalts the Brahman, Gangû Pandit.

Death of the Sultân.

CHAPTER II.

*Reign of Sultân Muhammad Shâh I.*

He invades Vijayânagar territory. Gains a victory (place not mentioned).

Takes Fîlampattan (?), and returns to Kalburgâ.

Marches to Daulatâbâd to quell a rebellion raised by Bahrâm Khân, the governor of that province.

The latter yields, and dies in banishment.

According to the *'Aiyûn-ut-Tawârîkh*, Muhammad I. possessed himself of the whole of the Dakhan.

He had two sons, Mujâhid Khân and Fath Khân.

Conquers Telingânâ.

His death.

CHAPTER III.

*Reign of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh.*

Invades Vijayânagar territory.

The Râya submits and agrees to pay *na'l-bahâ*, also to deliver over a fortress (name not mentioned) [probably Raichûr or Âdonî].

While encamped on the bank of the river Kistnâ, he is assassinated by his cousin, Dâ,ûd Khân.

(*Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

Mujâhid Shâh entitled "Balwant," *strong-bodied.*

Is a disciple of Shekh Muhammad Sirâj-ud Dîn.

Besieges Âdonî. Garrison about to surrender, owing to want of water. The Shekh withdraws his assurance of victory. Mujâhid much incensed against him.

Rain having fallen, the garrison of Âdonî refuse to surrender; cut off the Bahmanî ambassador's head and fire it from a gun.

Mujâhid returns to Kalburgâ. Utters threats against the followers of the Shekh and the Habshîs.

Is found beheaded on his throne. Deed attributed to Jinns. The Shekh's followers refuse to allow the body to be buried in the royal sepulchre.

CHAPTER IV.

*Reign of Dâ,ûd Shâh.*

Unwillingly accepted as king. The widow of the late Sultân bribes a slave to assassinate him. He is stabbed to death in the *masjid.*

Muhammad Khân, younger brother of Dâ,ûd, kills the assassin, and is proclaimed king.

CHAPTER V.

*Reign of Muhammad Shâh II.*

His character.

Had no wars during his reign.

Story told about the adulterous woman and the puzzled Kâzî.

Death of the Sultân.

### CHAPTER VI.

*Reign of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn.*

Twelve years of age at his accession.

Too partial towards his father's slaves, one of whom turns against him: invites the Sulṭân to his house, deprives him of sight and deposes him.

### CHAPTER VII.

*Reign of Shams-ud-Dîn Dâ,ûd Shâh.*

In the seventh year of his age.

The slave [?] retains the real power in his hands.

Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân, grandsons of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh, obliged to fly to Sagar.

The Kotwâl of Sagar promises to assist them, but proves faithless.

The nobles arrange terms of peace, and the two princes submit.

The mother of Sulṭân Shâms-ud-Dîn, persuaded by the slaves that Fîrûz and Aḥmad had caused the assassination of the late Sulṭân, and fearing the same fate for her son, plots against Fîrûz and Aḥmad.

Makhdumah Jahân, the wife of Fîrûz, informs her husband of the plot.

The principal *amîrs* join the two princes in a plot to dethrone the Sulṭân and put Fîrûz in his place.

This plot is successfully carried out.

### CHAPTER VIII.

*Reign of Fîrûz Shâh.*

He imprisons the slave [?] and other conspirators.

Confers on his brother, Aḥmâd Khân, the title of Khân-Khânân.

Confirms Khwâjah Jahân in his previous office.

Fîrûz contemplates the conquest of Vijayânagar.

Devadâr (Devarâja ?), the ruler of Vijayânagar, submits and agrees to pay a tribute of thirty-three laks of *tanka* a year.

The Sulṭân agrees, and returns to Kalburgâ.

Marches against Sagar. The chiefs of that district submit to the Sulṭân and agree to pay tribute.

He calls Sagar, "Nuṣratâbâd," and returns towards Kalburgâ.

On the way there he encamps on the bank of the River Bhîmâ and founds a town called Fîrûzâbâd, A. D. 1399.

Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz arrives in Kalburgâ from Dihlî.

He is well received by the Sulṭân, but they afterwards quarrel.

The Sulṭân again goes to war with Vijayânagar. Takes Bahnûr and Musalakal and returns to Kalburgâ.

A year afterwards, he marches against Mâhûr.

Fails to take it; but exacts tribute from the Râya of that place, and returns to Kalburgâ.

Rise of the slaves Hûshyâr and Bîdâr.

Death of Khwâjah Jahân, who is succeeded in office by Hûshyâr and Bîdâr.

The Sulṭân invades Teliṅgânâ. Conquers Râjâmundrî (Rajamahendrî) and other districts; appoints governors, and returns to Kalburgâ.

During a reign of a little over 25 years he made 23 or 24 expeditions against the Hindus.

Towards the end of his reign is again compelled to go to war with Vijayânagar. Marches towards Pângal. Is opposed on the way by the Vijayânagar troops. After a severe struggle the latter are defeated.

Besieges Pângal. Is repulsed, and retreats to Utakur. This defeat attributed to the Sulṭân's rupture with S. Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz.

Returns to Kalburgâ.

Resigns the government to Bîdâr and Hûshyâr.

They are inimical to Khân Khânân (Ahmad Khân) and scheme to exclude him from the succession, substituting the Sulṭân's eldest son, Ḥasan.

They gain over the Sulṭân to their side, and he consents to have Khân Khânân blinded.

Shîr Khân, the Sulṭân's nephew, informs Khân Khânân of the plot, and the latter prepares for flight.

He and his eldest son, Ẓafar Khân, receive the blessing of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz.

Khalf Ḥasan — afterwards entitled Malik-ut-Tijâr — offers his services to Khân Khânân.

Khân Khânân accepts his proffered services.

They leave Kalburgâ and proceed towards Telingânâ.

Hûshyâr and Bîdâr propose pursuing them.

The Sulṭân unwilling, but is ignored by Hûshyâr and Bîdâr, who start in pursuit with a large force.

The fugitives overtaken at Ni'matâbâd.

Khân Khânân inclined to surrender, but is persuaded by Khalf Ḥasan to give battle.

Stratagem to increase the apparent numbers of their force by means of bullocks.

Hûshyâr and Bîdâr defeated and put to death.

Sulṭân Aḥmad (Khân Khânân) marches back to Kalburgâ.

Sulṭân Fîrûz is deserted by his troops.

Aḥmad is handed the keys of the city.

Meeting between the brothers.

Sulṭân Fîrûz abdicates in favour of Aḥmad.

Death of Sulṭân Fîrûz. Said to have been strangled.

Character of Fîrûz.

Fîrûzâbâd assigned to prince Ḥasan Khân, who shortly afterwards dies.

(*Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

Character of Sulṭân Fîrûz.

Founds the town of Fîrûzâbâd, which is partly destroyed by a flood.

Becomes a disciple of Bâbâ Kamâl. Builds a tomb for himself, and another for the saint.

Entrusts the principal affairs of state to his brother, Aḥmad, who plots against the Sulṭân.

The Habshî slaves and most of the troops side with Aḥmad.

Sulṭân Fîrûz is assassinated by his own slave.

Aḥmad puts to death the eldest son of Fîrûz.

Duration of the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz.

### Ṭabaḳah II.

*Bahmanî Kings whose capital was Bîdar.*

### CHAPTER IX.

*Reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh.*

His titles.

His accession generably approved.

Had seven sons. Gives titles to three of them.

Gives Khalf Ḥasan the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr.

Death of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz.

The Sulṭân invites a saint named Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh, from Kirmân, to visit the Dakhan.

Goes to Antûr to meet him.

Sulṭân Aḥmad in the second year of his reign (A. D. June 1423) made Bîdar his capital.

Marries his eldest son, Prince Ẓafar Khân, to the daughter of Mîrân Mubârak Fârûkî, the ruler of Khandesh.

Invades the "mountainous country" (name not mentioned).

Takes Marmat (?), and returns to Bedar.

Invades Teliṅgânâ, and takes Mandal (?) and Warangal.

The Râyas of Devkunda (Devarkunda) and Râjkoṇḍa tender their submission, and agree to pay tribute. The Sulṭân returns to Bîdar.

Marches against Mâhûr, which he besieges, but, failing to take it, returns to Bîdar to rest.

A year afterwards he again goes against Mâhûr, and takes it by assault.

Takes Kallam by assault, and returns to Bîdar.

Sends Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-Tijâr on an expedition to the Koṇkan.

Khalf Ḥasan takes a number of places in the Koṇkan. His successes and his favour with the Sulṭân excite the jealousy of the Dakhani nobles.

The Sulṭân again goes to war with Vijayânagar. Takes several forts, and returns to Bîdar.

Narsing Râya of Kherlâ, Gondwânâ, applies to the Sulṭân for assistance.

Narsing Râya breaks faith with him, and enters into an alliance with Alp Khân (Sulṭân Hushang Ghûrî) of Mâlwâ.

The Sulṭân retreats in order to see whether Alp Khân will attack him.

The nobles expostulate with him for his apparent timidity.

The Sulṭân asks the opinion of the doctors of law.

He returns towards Kherlah, and gives battle to Alp Khân.

Defeats Alp Khân, and captures his baggage and *ḥaram.*

Sends back the *ḥaram* under escort to the Mâlwâ frontier.

Takes possession of Narsing's territory as far as Mâhûr (*sic*) and assigns it to his second son, Prince Maḥmûd Khân.

Returns to Bîdar.

Applies to Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Walî for a spiritual guide.

Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh Walî — son of this saint — goes to the Dakhan in 1439.

Khalf Ḥaṣan invades Mahâ,îm (Bombay), which was Gujarât territory.

Sulṭân Aḥmad Bahmanî sends his son, Prince Ẓafar Khân to help Khalf Ḥaṣan.

The combined Bahmanî forces drawn upon one side of the Mahim Creek, and the Gujarât army on the other.

The Dakhanî nobles stir up dissension between Prince Ẓafar Khân and Khalf Ḥaṣan.

The latter, left in the lurch, is defeated by the Gujarât army, and his brother made prisoner.

In revenge for this defeat, the Sulṭân leads an army against Gujarât.

Encamps near Bahûl (?) on the frontier between the Dakhan and Gujarât.

The Hindû governor of Bahûl (?) applies to Sulṭân Aḥmad of Gujarât for assistance.

The Bahmanî and Gujarâtî armies drawn up on opposite banks of a river.

Terms of peace arranged. Bahûl (?) to remain with Gujarât. Offensive and defensive alliance.

The Sulṭân returns to Bîdar. Confers various titles.

Death of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh. A fair instituted in his honour. Each descendant of this saint connected by marriage with the Bahmanî royal family.

Dispute with the ruler of Mândû (Mâlwâ) about the fortress of Kherlâ.

Terms of peace arranged. Kherlâ to be a frontier fortress belonging to Mâlwâ.

During the recent wars with Gujarât and Mâlwâ, many parts of Telingânâ having been wrested from the Bahmanîs by their former possessors, the Sulṭân now proceeds to reconquer them.

He takes Râmgîr and other forts.

Warangal submits, and agrees to pay tribute.

The Sulṭân makes Ibrâhîm Sanjar Khân commander of the army in Telingânâ, and gives him the *jâgîr* of Bhonâgîr.

Returns to Bîdar, and makes Miyân Maḥmûd Niẓâm-ul-Mulk his prime minister.

Consigns to Khalf Ḥaṣan Dâbhol and the other seaports.

Builds a palace in Bîdar.

Rewards the poet Shekh Âzarî for composing verses in eulogy of the new palace.

Also rewards Maulânâ Sharf-ud-Dîn Mâzandarânî for writing verses on the door.

Abdicates in favour of his eldest son, Ẓafar Khân.

Gives the district of Mâhûr to his son, Maḥmûd Khân, and Râ,îchûr and Chûl (?) to his son Dâ,ûd Khân.

Death of the Sulṭân.

His character.

How he punished Shîr Malik for insulting Saiyid Nâṣir-ud-Dîn.

The Sulṭân's age, and duration of his reign.

(*Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

The behaviour of a hunted hare suggests to Sulṭân Aḥmad the idea of making Bîdar his capital; besides, he suffered from dysentery at Kalburgâ.

The celebrated Khwâjah Jahân, in this reign, arrives in the Dakhan from Khurâsân.

Sulṭân Aḥmad founded the city of Muḥammadâbâd (Bîdar) in the first year of his reign.

Duration of his reign, and year of his death.

Khwâjah Jahân's arrival in Dhâbol.

He wishes to go to Bîdar, but foreigners were not allowed to go inland. He bribes the governor of Dhâbol.

Writes to Bîdar for permission to visit it. The Sulṭân unwilling. Ministers willing.

The Sultân consents. Khwâjah Jahân arrives in Bîdar and makes presents to the Sulṭân, including a copy of the Ḳurân, which he receives with reverence.

The Khwâjah grows in favour with the Sulṭân.

CHAPTER X.

*Reign of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn II.*

Ceremony of his ascension described.

His character.

Miyâṇ Maḥmûd Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, prime minister of the late Sulṭân, is degraded and put to death.

Various appointments made.

Ni'matâbâd founded as a country residence for the Sulṭân, who is addicted to pleasure.

Sanjar Khân wages successful war against Teliṇgânâ.

Sends his prisoners to court, where they are forcibly converted to Muḥammadanism.

Dilâwar Khân sent on an expedition to Sharkah (?).

On his return to court, he is degraded, and a eunuch appointed in his place.

This eunuch (Dastûr-ul-Mulk) causes much distress by his tyranny. As the Sulṭân does nothing to check him, Prince Humâyûn Khân has the eunuch assassinated.

Nâṣir Khân, Sulṭân of Khandesh, invades Bahmanî territory. Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-Tijâr is send to repel the invasion.

Nâṣir Khân retreats to Asîrgaḍh, and Khalf Ḥasan lays siege to the fortress.

Death of Nâṣir Khân, A. D. 1435.

Khalf Ḥasan retreats to court with booty.

The Sulṭân's younger brother, Muḥammad (Maḥmûd ?), rebels.

The Sulṭân proceeds to suppress the rebellion, and a battle is fought. Muḥammad Khân routed.

Muḥammad Khân yields ; is pardoned, and given the *jâgîr* of Râyachal (Raichûr ?).

The Râya of Vijayânagar invades Bahmanî territory, and takes Mudgal.

The Sulṭân besieges Mudgal, which he takes.

The Vijyânagar Râya agrees to pay tribute and compensation, and promises not to invade Bahmanî territory again.

The Sulṭân returns to Bedar.

He is, by some historians, said to have also taken Chandan and Wandhan, Sâtârâ and other walled towns.

Death of the saint, Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh. His relationship to the Sulṭân.

Khalf Ḥaṣan proceeds to attack the fortress of Sangameshvar in the Koṇkan.

Takes prisoner a Hindû chief named Sirkah, whom he compels to become a Muḥammadan.

Sirkah offers himself as a guide to Sangameshvar.

He treacherously leads them into an ambush. Khalf Ḥasan is killed and his force nearly annihilated.

The remnant make their way to Châkan, which was Khalf Ḥasan's head quarters.

The Dakhanî *amîrs* represent this disaster in a false light to the Sultân, who orders the massacre of the *saiyids* and foreigners in Châkan.

Râjâ Rustam Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, and Sâlâr Hamzah Mushîr-ul-Mulk, with a mixed force of Musalmâns and Hindus, proceed to Châkan.

They invite the *saiyids* and foreigners to an entertainment.

They massacre 1,200 *saiyids* and 1,000 other foreigners.

Divine punishment awarded to the two *sardârs* for this act of treachery.

Jalâl Khân and his son Sikandar Khân in Bâlkoṇḍa, fearing to meet the same fate as their compatriots, refrain from going to court, and their enemies at court incite the Sultân against them.

Sikandar Khân goes to Mâhûr and applies to Sultân Maḥmûd Khiljî of Mâlwâ for assistance.

Maḥmûd Khiljî invades the Dakhan, but is obliged to retreat.

Sikandar Khân forced to accompany him, but escapes and returns to Bâlkundah.

The Sultân pardons Sikandar Khân and his father.

Death of the Sultân, and duration of his reign.

His character.

Publicly reproved by Saiyid Ajall.

Date of the Sultân's death.

(*Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

Brief summary of the reign of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn II.

Had Khwâjah Jahân as his prime minister.

The Sultân appoints his son Humâyûn Shâh as his successor.

Discrepancy in the date of his death.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Reign of Humâyûn Shâh.*

The people object to him as Sultân. His brother, Ḥasan Khân, is seated on the throne.

Humâyûn unseats and imprisons him.

Râjâ Rustam, an adherent of Prince Ḥasan's, flies to Châkan and Junnar, and Malû Khân to Râichûr.

Date of the Sultân's accession.

His character.

Makes Maḥmûd Gâwân — afterwards entitled Khwâjah Jahân — his prime minister.

Sikandar Khân again rebels, and marches on Golkoṇḍa.

The Sultân marches against him. Sikandar Khân is defeated and killed.

Jalâl Khân (Sikandar Khân's father) submits and is pardoned.

The Sultân declares a *jihâd* against the Hindûs of Teliṅgânâ.

Sends Khwâjah Jahân on ahead to Devarkoṇḍa.

The people of Devarkoṇḍa apply to the Râya of Orissa for assistance.

The latter sends an army to assist them.

Khwâjah Jahân commits a tactical error of judgment.

He is hemmed in between two forces, and completly defeated.

The Sulṭân much enraged, and is about to avenge the disaster, when he hears of a revolution in Bîdar.

Object of the revolution, to release Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh Ni'mat-Ullâh from prison, and proclaim the former as king.

Malik Yusuf Turk — one of the late Sulṭân's slaves — manages to enter the fortress of Bîdar, and release the prisoners.

The Sulṭân's brother, Yahyâ Khân; also Jalâl Khân Bukhârî, are killed — probably by mistake in the darkness.

Prince Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh proceed to Bhîḍ, and are joined by some of the troops.

Rage of the Sulṭân on hearing the news.

Sirâj Khân, governor of Bijâpur, receives the fugitives. His treachery.

Pusillanimity of Ḥasan Khân, and courage of Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh. The latter is killed. Chronogram giving the date of his death.

Ḥasan Khân is sent to the Sulṭân, who has him thrown to tigers.

Tyranny of the Sulṭân.

Ḥasan Bahrî, a "converted" Brahmin youth, given the title of Sârang Khân.

The inmates of Shitâb Khân's *ḥaram* publicly outraged by order of the Sulṭân.

Death of the Sulṭân.

Chronogram giving the date of his deata.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Reign of Niẓâm Shâh.*

Ministers left to decide which of the late Sulṭân's sons should be his successor. They select Niẓâm Shâh.

Ceremony of enthronement.

Makhdûmah Jahân appointed Queen Regent, and Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân prime minister.

The country invaded by the Râya of Orissa.

Battle fought within 34 miles of Bîdar. The Râya is defeated.

Invasion by Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî of Mâlwâ. Battle fought near Bîdar. The Bahmanî army take to flight, and Maḥmûd gains an easy victory.

Maḥmûd plunders Bîdar and lays siege to the citadel.

Makhdûmah Jahân applies to Gujarât for assistance.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât is willing to go, but his ministers try to dissuade him.

He brings them round to his views; but they advise an invasion of Mâlwâ as a counter-move.

He ignores their advice, and marches to Sulṭânpur and Nandurbâr.

Progress of the siege of Bîdar.

Luxurious living of Maḥmûd Khiljî.

Consults a Shekh about vegetables.

He raises the siege, and retreats towards Chândor, but changes his route on hearing of the advance of the Gujarât army.

Khwâjah Jahân sent in pursuit.

Maḥmûd Khiljî asks the chief of Gondwânâ to guide his army. He offers to lead them by a difficult route.

Maḥmûd Khiljî turns from the Daulatâbâd route, and proceeds north-east towards Ankot (?) and Elichpûr.

Distress of his army on the march through Gondwânâ.

He kills the chief of Gondwânâ.

Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh writes to Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât, thanking him for his assistance.

Maḥmûd Khiljî again contemplates the invasion of the Dakhan, and the Sulṭân of Gujarât again comes to the assistance of the Bahmanî Sulṭân, and compels Maḥmûd Khiljî to retreat.

Sudden death of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh.

## Chapter XIII.

### *Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh II.*

In the tenth year of his age succeeds to the throne.

His character.

Regency during his minority.

Assassination of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk at Kherlah.

His death is avenged.

He leaves two adopted sons, who receive the titles respectively of 'Âdil Khân and Daryâ Khân

Marriage of the Sulṭân.

Embassy from the ruler of Mâlwâ.

Bahmanî ambassador sent to Mândû.

Letter to the ruler of Mâlwâ regarding certain territory in dispute — Mâhûr, Kherlah, etc.

Speech made by the Sulṭân.

Maḥmûd Gâwân made prime minister, and gets the title of Khwâjah Jahân.

Expedition against Hublî and Bâgalkot.

Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, at his own request, is sent on an expedition to the Koṇkan.

Halts at Kolhâpur to collect reinforcements.

Has several engagements in tha Koṇkan, and returns to Kolhâpur for the rains.

Takes Rabankanah (Râyabâgh ?) and Machâl; then proceeds to Sangameshvar.

Khelnah (Vishâlgaḍh) is surrendered to the Khwâjah.

Khwâjah Jahân remains nearly two years in the Koṇkan, and then returns to court with his booty.

Receives additional titles.

Death of the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân.

The Sulṭân assumes the reins of government.

Death of the Râya of Orissa.

Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî is sent to invade Orissa.

Takes Râjâmundrî and Koṇḍâvîr, etc., and returns.

Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân founds a college in Bîdar.

The Sulṭân announces his intention of taking Vairâgaḍh.

One of the adopted sons of the late Niẓâm-ul-Mulk volunteers to undertake the duty.

He takes Vairâgaḍh by siege, and returns.

Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân reports that Goa has been taken by Parkatpa (?), Râya of Vijâyânagar, and volunteers to go and re-take it.

The Sulṭân resolves to go himself.

He lays siege to the fort of Belgâṇw.

Parkatapa tries to make terms through the *amîrs.*

The Sulṭân angrily refuses.

Parkâtapa surrenders the fort of Belgâṇw, which the Sulṭân then gives to Khwâjah Jahân.

The Sulṭân stops at Bijâpur on his way back.

Great famine of Bijâpur in the same year.

The Râya of Orissa again invades Bahmanî territory.

The royal army assembles at Malikpur near Ashtûr.

Proceeds towards Râjâmundrî.

The Sulṭân with a picked force goes in advance, leaving Khwâjah Jahân and Prince Maḥmûd behind.

Narsiṇha Râya's arrangements for the defence.

The latter takes to flight.

Malik Fath-Ullâh Daryâ Khân sent in pursuit.

Surrender of Râjâmundrî.

The Sulṭân hands it over again to Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, and returns to Bîdar.

Âdil Shâh, Wâlî of Asîrgaḍh and Burhânpur visits the Sulṭân and is fêted.

Rebellion at Koṇḍâvîr: the Sulṭân goes there to suppress it : lays siege to the fortress.

The garrison surrender, and hint that the minister, Khwâjah Jahân, was the cause of their rebellion.

Koṇḍâvîr is given to Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî.

The Sulṭân invades Vijâyânagar territory and reaches Malûr. Narsiṇha Râya takes to flight.

The latter tenders his submisson, and sends presents.

The Sulṭân proceeds by forced marches to Kânchîpur.

Takes and sacks the town, getting immense booty.

Plot against Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân.

The Sulṭân summons him.

Account of the interview.

Unjust execution of Maḥmûd Gâwân and As'ad Khân.

His accusers afterwards put to death.

The Sulṭân regrets his hasty action: is disturbed by a dream.

Proceeds on a *jihâd* to the Koṇkan: is taken ill on the way.

His death.

His character.

Dissension between the Dakhanî and Turkî *amîrs.*

Age of the Sulṭân: duration of his reign: date of his death.

Chronogram giving the date of his death.

CHAPTER XIV.

*Reign of Sulṭân Maḥmûd II.*

The Dakhanî *amîrs* plot against the Turks.

The Dakhanîs treacherously massacre the Turks.

Malik Ḥasan Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî is made Malik Nâ,ib.

First mention of his reputed son, Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who afterwards founded the Niẓâm-Shâhî Dynasty.

Aḥmad is given the districts of Junnar and Châkan as a *jâgîr*. Goes to the assistance of the Sulṭân.

Expedition into Teliṅgânâ: the Sulṭân marches to Warangal.

The Ḥabshîs plot against the Malik Nâ,ib: the Sulṭân believes their stories, and resolves on his death.

The Malik Nâ,ib flies to Bîdar.

Treacherous conduct of Pasand Khân.

The latter kills the Malik Nâ,ib, and throws his head outside the fort.

Presumption and arrogance of the Ḥabshîs.

Rise of Turkî influence as that of the Ḥabshîs declines.

Ḥasan Khân Khurâsânî gets the title of Khwâjah Jahân.

The Sulṭân's sister, Fâṭimah, married to Ḥabîb-Ullâh, and the fort of Medak given as a wedding present.

His other sister married to another son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh.

Rebellion against the Sulṭân in Bîdar.

The Sulṭân defended by ten Turks: desperate fighting.

The rebels are routed.

New palace built near the Shâh Burj.

Rebellion of the notorious Ḳâsim Turk Khawâss Khân (afterwards entitled Barîd-i Mamâlik) at Kaṇdhâr.

Dilâwar Khân Ḥabshî sent to suppress the rebellion.

In the battle which ensues, Dilâwar Khân is killed by one of his own elephants.

Ḳâsim Barîd triumphant, and more than ever rebellious.

Rebellions in all directions.

The Sultân, unable to subdue Kâsim Barîd, is obliged to conciliate him by giving him a share in the government.

This is much resented by the other nobles, who rebel.

Aḥmad Nizâm-ul-Mulk comes to the assistance of the Sultân.

The *amîrs* promise their support to the Sultân if he will only oust Kâsim Barîd from the government.

Practical overthrow of the Bahmanî Dynasty, and establishment of the Barîd-Shâhî in its place.

The Sultân wounded in battle.

The *amîrs* disperse, and Kâsim Barîd returns with the Sultân to Bîdar, and again assumes the government.

Letter from Yusuf 'Âdil Khân, reporting the rebellion of Malik Dînâr Dastûr-i Mamâlik and Malik Khûsh-Kadam Turk; and offers to aid in suppressing it.

The Sultân and Kâsim Barîd proceed against the rebels.

'Âdil Khân and Fakhr-ul-Mulk join the camp.

Disposition of the forces. Battle.

Malik Dînâr taken prisoner and his army dispersed.

'Âdil Khân intercedes for Malîk Dînâr, and procures his pardon.

The Royal troops lay siege to and take the fort of Sagar.

Sultân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî complains of an act of piracy committed by Bahâdur Gîlânî.

Letter on this subject from the king of Gujarât.

Letter from the Sultân to Bahâdur Gîlânî, ordering him to restore the ships and looted property.

Reply of the Sultân to the king of Gujarât.

The Sultân's messenger to Bahâdur Gîlânî is stopped on the way.

The Sultân marches with his army to Mangalveḍhâ.

The fort is taken, and assigned to Fakhr-ul-Mulk.

The army marches to Jamkhandî, which Bahâdur Gîlânî was then besieging.

Mukaddam Nâ,ik [chief of Jamkhandî ?] takes service under the Sultân.

Malik Sultân Kulî Hamadânî Khawâss Khân (afterwards the founder of the Kutub-Shâhî dynasty) is given the title of Kutb-ul-Mulk.

Several feudal tenures granted. Names of various nobles then serving with the Sultân.

The army besieges Miraj. The governor, Bimah (?) Nâ,ik, surrenders after his son has been killed.

The troops of Bahâdur Gîlânî then in the fort of Miraj are offered generous terms.

Bahâdur Gîlânî hides himself in the jungle, and sends an ambassador to the Sultân, who promises him pardon on certain conditions.

Bahâdur Gîlânî still obstinate: a force is sent against him, with orders to spare his life.

He is slain in single combat by Ratan Khân, son of Fakhr-ul-Mulk on the 5th November, 1494.

The Sultân visits the fort of Panhâlâ: description of the fort.

He then visits Dâbhol.

Bahâdur Gîlânî's *jâgîrs* given to various nobles.

The Sulṭân returns to Bedar, halting on the way at Miraj, to distribute the booty.

Increase in the power of Ḳuṭub-ul-Mulk.

Plot against the Turks.

The Turks anticipate matters by massacring the conspirators.

The Turks send Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh to the Sulṭân to explain matters.

Re-distribution of *jâgîrs*: Yusuf 'Âdil Khân gets Bijâpur and Mangalveḏhâ.

Plot against Barîd-i Mamâlik.

The Sulṭân besieges him in the fort of Ansâ, but is deserted by several *amîrs*: Barîd again triumphant.

Another revolt against Barîd-i Mamâlik.

Terms of peace arranged.

Preparations for a *jihâd* against Vijayânagar: enumeration of the forces.

'Ain-ul-Mulk sent round by Kolhâpur.

Râyachûr and Mudgal surrendered.

These *parganahs* are given to 'Âdil Khân.

In the absence of the *amîrs* who sided with the Sulṭân, Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik proceeds to Bîdar; is admitted to the fortress by treachery, and again usurps the government on the 5th June, 1502.

Adil Khân, Ḳuṭub-ul Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others form a coalition to displace him.

The Sulṭân is compelled to side against them: a battle ensues, in which Ḥaidar Khân — Barîd's general — is killed. Barîd then takes to flight. The allies do homage to the Sulṭân, and return to their provinces.

A marriage arranged between 'Âdil Khân's daughter and the Sulṭân's son.

The marriage festivities in Kalburgâ are interrupted by the return of Malik Barîd to court, when hostilities are resumed. 'Âdil Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk against Malik Barîd, Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik.

The Sulṭân sides with 'Âdil Khân.

Malik Ilyâs 'Ain-ul-Mulk is killed in battle: hostilities then cease.

The Sulṭân proceeds to Miraj and Panhâḷâ, to secure possession of the late 'Ain-ul-Mulk's *jâgîr*.

During his absence Barîd-i Mamâlik and his adherents take possession of Bîdar.

They receive the Sulṭân with all honour on his return.

Barîd's titles are further increased.

Hostility between 'Âdil Khân and Dastûr Dînâr: the latter obtains assistance from Aḥmad Baḥrî, and invades Bijâpur territory: 'Âdil Khân flies to the Sulṭân's court.

The Sulṭân compels them to make peace.

The Sulṭân, in 1506, quarrels with 'Âdil Khân.

The Sulṭân summons to his assistance Ḳuṭub-ul-Mulk and 'ImâMud-ul-lk. As the latter neglects to obey the summons, the Sulṭân goes after him to Berar and meets him near Kalamb. The quarrel is then arranged.

D eath of Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and Yusuf 'Âdil Shâh.

The Sultân settles the succession to Yusuf's title and territory on Ismâ'îl, eldest son of the latter.

Confusion in Berar owing to the late Fath-Ullâh's eldest son, 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, being a prisoner in Râmgîr. He makes his escape, and succeeds to his father's title and territory.

Death of Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân: his title conferred on his eldest surviving son, Nur Khân.

The latter is given Pareindâ in exchange for Sandlâpur [Sholâpur ?] which is given to Kamâl Khân, Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân's general.

The Sultân takes the fortress of Kalburgâ by force.

Dastûr Dînâr akes refuge with Barîd. These two, with Kutb-ul-Mulk march on Bîdar. Dastûr Dînâr's reputed son, Hamîd Khân Habshî, is killed in battle.

Peace arranged by 'Azamat-ul-Mulk, Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân's ambassador at the Bahmanî Court.

Quarrel between Dastûr Dînâr and Barîd.

Embassy from Shâh Ismâ'îl Husainî Safawî.

Ungracious reception of a Shî'ah ambassador at a Sunnî court.

Rebellion of Bashîr Khudâwind Khân, the feudatory of Mâhûr. The Sultân, in August, 1517, marches with the army against him.

Bashîr applies to 'Alâ-ud-Dîn 'Imâd-ul-Mulk for assistance, which is given.

A battle takes place: Bashîr Khudâwind Khân's son, Ghâlîb Khân, is killed. Khudâwind Khân fights valiantly, but is wounded, taken prisoner, and put to death.

Mâhûr given to Mahmûd Khân, youngest son of Khudâwind Khân. The Sultân returns to Bîdar.

Several of the principal *amîrs* — too late to take part in this last expedition — now come to court.

The Sultân — taking advantage of the large force thus assembled — determines on a *jihâd.*

Arrived at Dîwânî [?] a battle is fought, in which the Sultân is severely wounded; and this puts a stop to the fighting.

The allies disperse to their respective provinces.

Barîd accompanies the Sultân back to Bîdar, and again assumes the government.

An *amîr* named Shujâ'at Khân having carried off two of the Sultân's elephants, the other *amîrs* of Bîdar, anxious to get rid of Barîd, suggest that the latter should be sent after Shujâ'at Khân.

Barîd overtakes Shujâ'at Khân, kills him, and returns in triumph with the elephants, etc.

Barîd's power then becomes greater than ever.

Death of the Sultân. Date of his death, age, and duration of his reign.

The *amîrs* — in spite of their quarrels among themselves — always loyal to their sovereign.

Other historians give a different account of the latter part of the reign of Sultân Mahmûd II.

Anarchy in the Dakhan on the death of the Sultân.

End of the Bahmanî Dynasty.

(*To be continued.*)

# NOTES AND QUERIES.

## ROPES OF SAND; ASSES; AND THE DANAIDES.

THE following inquiry was published in the number of the *Journal* of the Folk-lore Society for December, 1898. I venture to hope that its publication in these pages may bring to light some Indian evidence.

The occurrence of a single incident in ancient Egyptian custom, on Greek and Roman monuments, in an Arabian story, and in English folk-lore, provokes suspicion that some one idea, worth finding out, may lie behind the scattered facts. Such an incident is the weaving of a futile rope; twisted and untwisted in festival custom in Egypt, in Greek and Roman art, eaten by an ass, made of sand in Arabic story and in English legend.

Further, in more than one ancient monument the futile rope is associated with those futile water-carriers the Danaides, whose condemnation it was to carry water in sieves; and in Cornwall the spirit who was set to weave ropes of sand had also to empty a lake by the aid of a shell with a hole in it.

What do these coincidences mean?

In the hope of gaining further facts I quote, but make no attempt to value, the following rope-makers, ass, and water-carriers.

"In the city of Acanthus, towards Libya beyond the Nile, about 120 furlongs from Memphis, there is a perforated *pithos*,[1] into which they say 360 of the priests carry water every day from the Nile. And the fable of Ocnus is represented near at hand on the occasion of a certain public festival. One man is twisting a long rope, and many behind him keep untwisting what he has plaited."[2]

In the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, Pausanias describes among other dwellers in Hades, "a man seated: an inscription sets forth that the man is Indolence (*Oknos*). He is represented plaiting a rope, and beside him stands a she-ass furtively eating the rope as fast as he plaits it. They say that this Indolence was an industrious man who had a spendthrift wife, and as fast as he earned money she spent it. Hence people hold that in this picture Polygnotus alluded to the wife of Indolence. I know, too, that when the Ionians see a man toiling at a fruitless task they say he is splicing the cord of Indolence."[3]

In the mediæval Arabic story, one of the tasks imposed by Pharaoh on Haykar the Sage is to make two ropes of sand; Haykar says:—

"'Do thou prescribe that they bring me a cord from thy stores, that I twist one like it' So when they had done as he bade, Haykar fared forth arear of the palace and dug two round borings equal to the thickness of the cord: then he collected sand from the river bed and placed it therein, so that when the sun arose and entered into the cylinder the sand appeared in the sunlight like unto ropes."[4]

Of Michael Scott a note to the *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* says:—

"Michael Scott was, once upon a time, much embarrassed by a spirit, for whom he was under the necessity of finding constant employment." Two tasks were accomplished in two nights by the spirit. "At length the enchanter conquered this indefatigable demon, by employing him in the hopeless and endless task of making ropes out of sea-sand."[5]

A passage in the *Denham Tracts* speaks of Michael Scott as famed

"for having beat the devil and his myrmidons by the well-known device of employing them to spin ropes of sand, denying them even the aid of chaff to supply some degree of tenacity . . . ."[6]

The wild Cornish spirit Tregeagle brings life into these somewhat tame accounts of futile industry. The wandering soul of a tyrannical magistrate, Tregeagle, was bound to fruitless labour on coast or moor; his toil prevented and his work destroyed by storm and tide. His cries sounded above the rear of winter tempests; his moanings were heard in the soughing of the wind; when the sea lay calm his low wailing crept along the coast. More than one task was laid upon this tormented soul.

---

[1] *Pithos* = a vessel of large size, used for stores, sometimes sunk in the ground as a cellar.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, I. 97.

[3] Pausanias, X. 29. 2. See J. G. Fraser, *Pausanias*, V. 376; *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1897, p. 458; *Journal Hellenic Studies*, XIV. p. 81.

[4] *Supplemental Nights*, Burton, Lib. Ed. XII. 24.

[5] *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Ed. 1869. Note 15.

[6] *Denham Tracts*, II. 116.

> "On the proposal of a churchman and a lawyer it was agreed that he should be set to empty a dark tarn on desolate moors, known as Dosmery (or Dozmare) Pool, using a limpet-shell with a hole in it Driven thence by a terrific storm, Tregeagle, hotly pursued by demons, sought sanctuary in the chapel of Roach Rock. From Roach he was removed by powerful spell to the sandy shores of the Padstow district, there to make trusses of sand and ropes of sand with which to bind them."[7]

Again we find him tasked

> "to make and carry away a truss of sand bound with a rope of sand from Gwenvor (the cove at Whitsand Bay) near the Land's End."[8]

The Cornish pool which Tregeagle had to empty with a perforated shell is said to be the scene of a tradition of making bundles and bands of sand:—

> "A tradition . . . . says that on the shores of this lonely mere (Dosmery pool) the ghosts of bad men are ever employed in binding the sand in bundles with 'beams' (bands) of the same. These ghosts, or some of them, were driven out (they say horsewhipped out) by the parson from Launceston."[9]

I place these roughly gathered facts together in the hope of gaining further instances; especially instances of,

(1) Ritual use of ropes, or of perforated water-vessels.

(2) Futile rope-making in custom or story.

(3) Futile water-carrying in custom or story.

(4) Asses in connexion with any of the above acts; and in connexion with (*a*) water in any form, (*b*) death and the underworld.

G. M. GODDEN, F.A.I.

---

## SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The throbbing of different parts of the eye portends different things:—

**Eye-brows.** — When the right eye-brow of a person beats very forcibly, it indicates that the wife will present her husband with a child; and if the left eye-brow beats, it signifies that the person is to acquire wealth. When both throb, it signifies that overwhelming sorrow is to overtake a person.

**Pupils.** — If the pupil of the right eye dilates, it means great loss to a person; and if the left, it warns one to keep aloof from fears and difficulties. If both the éye pupils are dilated, it indicates loss of health.

**Corners of the Eye.** — If the corner of the right eye throbs, it means that a man's foes and friends love him. If the corner of the left eye beats, it means the recovery of lost property.

**Eye-lashes.** — The throbbing of the right and left eye-lashes means that the person is likely to get into a broil with others.

**Eye-lids.** — The beating of the right eye-lid indicates that the person is to witness a marriage ceremony soon. And if the left, that fear will overtake him and make him ill.

**Whole Eye.** — When the whole right eye beats, it means that the patient will recover from long illness. And if the whole left eye, it brings a good name.

A person whose death takes place on a Saturday, should never go alone. To avert evil consequences, a live fowl is taken with such a corpse to the cemetery and it is there interred with it. Brâhmans, averse to bloody sacrifices, substitute for a fowl the steel bolt of a door.

If a person dies under the influence of an evil star, the seeds of leguminous plants are scattered along the route of the funeral procession. It is believed that such a body, when buried, turns into a devil, and comes home to hold sway as a nocturnal monarch over the house. If the above custom is observed, however, it will try and pick up the seeds on its way from the grave to the house, dropping them on its return at day-break. In this way every night it starts, but never reaches its destination, since the seeds prevent its arrival in time.

All Hindus believe that by keeping quills or spines of porcupine at home they will meet with vain quarrels with neighbours and kinsmen.

M. R. PEDLOW.

---

[7] Taken from Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 3rd Ed. pp. 131 ff.

[8] Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 73.

[9] Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 73; quoting *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 1850.

# HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(*Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.*)

BY J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 138.)

## CHAPTER I.

### Account of the Kings of Kalburgâ,[1a] who, according to the most authentic accounts, were eight individuals, the first of whom was 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa ad-Dunyâ Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân Ḥaṣan Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî.

**Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh Gangû,î Bahmanî** was the first king, who in the Dakhin, the land of perpetual freshness (may God preserve it so!) raised the standard of Islâm, propagated the rights of the true faith, and overthrew infidelity.

Historians have related various accounts of the origin of this king, and to relate them all would cause prolixity, so we pass them by.

According to the statement of the author of the *'Aiyûn-ut-Tawârîkh* and other historians of the kings of India, the ancestors of this illustrious sovereign traced their descent from Bahman and Isfandyâr; and what is stated on the subject in some books of genealogies which the author of these pages has seen is that Sulṭân Ḥaṣan was **descended from Bahrâm Gûr**, in the following way: —

Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa ad-Dunyâ Ḥaṣan Bahman Shâh, son of Kaikâ,ûs Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, son of Ḥaṣan, son of Bahtâm, son of Sîmûn, son of Salâm, son of Nûḥ, son of Ibrâhîm, son of Naṣîr, son of Manṣûr, son of Nûḥ, son of Nûḥ, son of Ṣâni', son of Bahrâm son of Shâh-rîn, son of Sâd, son of Nûsîn, son of Dâwâd, son of Bahrâm Gûr. But God, the Most High alone knows the truth of matters! In consequence of his descent the king was known as "Bahman" — Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh Bahmanî.

During the reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, who was king of the greater part of India, Ḥaṣan happened to go to the capital, Dihlî, and without disclosing to anyone the fact of his illustrious descent from Kaiyûmarṣ he became enrolled among the servants of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh.

At that time it happened one day that the saint Shekh Niẓâm-ud-Dîn gave a sumptuous entertainment, at which Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh was present. Shortly after the Sulṭân had left the entertainment Ḥaṣan arrived at the door of the Monastery of His Holiness. The latter by his inward consciousness being aware of this, said to his servant: — "To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door: let him come in." The servant went to the door and brought in Ḥaṣan. The Shekh received him with the utmost respect, and announced to him the good news that he was destined to have the sovereignty of one of the districts of India: this he mentioned as a divine revelation.

It is said that on this occasion the Shekh placed a cake of bread (*ḳurṣ*)[2] on the tip of his fore-finger and gave it to Ḥaṣan, saying: — "This is the canopy of sovereignty which shall be exalted till the extinction of this illustrious dynasty at a long distant date." From this token of good news given by the eminent Shekh, Ḥaṣan was made hopeful, and began to cherish the idea of sovereignty and conquest.

---

[1a] I am doubtful as to whether the name of this town should be spelt Kalburgâ or Kulbargâ. Professor Eastwick (Murray's *Handbook of Madras*) adopts the former spelling; and in a *History of the Bijâpur Kings*, written in Marâṭhî, I find it spelt sometimes कलबुर्गा. and sometimes कुलबर्गा.

[2] By this is meant "*chaupatti*," a word familiar to all who have ever been in India.

In this year[3] a state of the utmost disorder began to show itself in the dominions of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, and each of the *amîrs* in charge of the several districts raised rebellions. Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh also with a number of brave and select warriors — Afghâns and others — in accordance with the advice of the Shekh, set out for the Dakhan and halted at Daulatâbâd.

In the midst of these affairs Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ was informed that the *amîrân-i ṣadah*,[4] who had been appointed to keep in subjection the coast of Gujarât, had withdrawn from their allegiance and were in a state of rebellion, besides plundering the property of Musalmâns. Some treasure which had been sent in charge of one of the *amîrs* of Gujarât to the seat of government at Lâhaur and Dihlî had been plundered; a great number of those accompanying it were killed, and the whole of their goods looted. The *amîrs* of Gujarât, who went to put down this rebellion and disturbance, were routed, and most of them killed.

Sulṭân Tughlaḳ, on hearing the news of this outbreak in Gujarât showed much disquietude and agitation, and he proceeded in person to put down the rebellion.

Ḳutlagh Khân was governor of Daulatâb âd; and by the justice, bravery and good manage ment of this pure-minded minister[5] the people had hitherto been kept secure and free from disturbance; but before the outbreak of rebellion in Gujarât he had by the Sulṭân's orders gone to the Tughlaḳ Shâhî court, leaving his brother, 'Âlam-ul-Mulk, as vice-regent of the district.

While on the way it occurred to Sulṭân Tughlaḳ Shâh that the district of Daulatâbâd being now free from the personal influence of Ḳutlagh Khân it was quite possible that the *amîrân-i ṣadah*, having the power to do so, might there also stir up Gujarât and raise a rebellion. To prevent this he sent some of his *amîrs* to Daulatâbâd bearing instructions for the *amîrân-i ṣadah* to join the Sulṭân's camp. In accordance with this order the *amîrs* went to Daulatâbâd; and the *amîrân-i ṣadah*, obeying the order of the Sulṭân, started with the *amîrs* for the camp of the Sulṭân; but on the way, overcome with fear (of the consequences of their past offences), they one night attacked the royal army,[6] and the troops being taken unawares, most of them were killed, and the remainder took to flight, and narrowly escaping with their lives, made their way to the Sulṭân's camp.

After the rout of the Sultân's army the *amîrân-i ṣadah* returned to Daulatâbâd, and giving the title of Nâṣir-ud-Dîn to Ismâ'îl Mukh[7] Afghân, seated him on the throne; and, according to the custom of kings, sprinkled money over his head. 'Âlam-ul-Mulk, through fear of them, had shut himself up in the fort of Dêôgîr (Daulatâbâd); but as he had treated these people in an approved manner they gave him safe conduct and dismissed him.

---

[3] What the year was is not stated, but it was probably A. H. 744 (A. D. 1343) — *vide* Bayley, *Gujarât*, p. 43.

[4] There is no English equivalent for this expression. According to Sir E. C. Bayley it is said to be a Moghal technical term for a " captain of a hundred " ( ), but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free-lances" of the Middle Ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries and foreigners; at least for the most part: some were probably remnants of the "New Musalmâns," or converted Moghal settlers, though some were most certainly Afghân adventurers. Loyalty sits lightly on troops of this class, and they have ever been known for violence and rapine. (Bayley, *Gujarât*, p. 43, n.)

[5] Here begins the India Office MS., with the words

وزیرِ صافي ضمیر مردم آنملک از فتنہ و فساد ایمن و مطمئن بودند

[6] That is, the escort taking them to the Sulṭân's camp.

[7] In the India Office MS. this name is always written مخ (Makh, or Mukh). In the British Museum MS. it appears in some places to be منج and in others مبخ Firishtah writes the name مغ (Mugh, a Magian), and this is probably the correct spelling. According to Firishtah Ismâ'îl Khân Afghân was an officer of a thousand horse, whose brother, Malik Mugh, commanded the royal army in the province of Mâlwâ, and the selection arose principally out of the hope that the Dakhanis would be supported by the new king's relative in Mâlwah. (Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 287-288.)

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî, with a force of his own faithful adherents, was then in Daulatâbâd; and though outwardly, for prudential reasons, on friendly terms with these people, he was only watching for an opportunity of obtaining power.

In some histories of India it is stated that Sulṭân Ḥasan, before obtaining dominion over the Dakhan, was enrolled among the troops of Sulṭân Tughlaḳ Shâh, who were employed in the defence of the Dakhan; and when Ismâ'îl Mukh, who had at first been raised to the throne, was found unfit for it, the whole army united in exalting Sulṭân Ḥasan Shâh to the sovereignty of the Dakhan. But God only knows the truth of matters!

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh arrived in Gujarât, a number of those who had rebelled prepared to oppose him; of these, some became food for the swords of the Sulṭân's troops, and others proceeded to Daulatâbâd and joined themselves to Ismâ'îl Mukh and his followers.

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, having finished repelling the violence of the *amîrs* of Gujarât, heard of the rebellion of the *amîrân-i ṣadah* of Daulatâbâd, he proceeded with his army in that direction. Ismâ'îl Mukh was ready for him, and formed line of battle in front of the Sulṭân's army; but the latter being twice again as weak as the followers of Ismâ'îl Afghân, however much it attacked and retreated gained no lasting advantage over them. At last, however, the army of the Sulṭân gained the victory, the Daulatâbâdîs took to flight, and Ismâ'îl Mukh retired to the fortress of Dêôgîr. Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh with his own particular followers proceeded towards **Kalburgâ**. Sulṭân Muḥammad laid siege to the fortress of Daulatâbâd, and sent **Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn** with a select force in pursuit of Sulṭân Alâ'-ud-Dîn.

In the midst of these affairs news again arrived from **Gujarât** that **Malik Taghî** had raised a rebellion there; so the Sulṭân was compelled to leave some of his nobles and a portion of his force at Daulatâbâd while he himself started for Gujarât.

When Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥasan became aware that he was being followed by the enemy, he laid in ambush with a portion of his force, and suddenly attacking them killed 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, dispersed his army and pursuing the fugitives turned back towards Daulatâbâd.

When the news of the death of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk as well as the rout of his force and the approach of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥasan and his followers reached the ears of the *amîrs* who were engaged in besieging Ismâ'îl Mukh, they wavered, and being powerless to resist they unavoidably raised the siege of the fortress and took to flight. Ḥasan then entered the city of Daulatâbâd in triumph; and **Ismâ'îl Mukh** coming down from the fortress of Dêôgîr voluntarily and gladly resigned the sovereignty in favour of Ḥasan; and abandoning the title of Sulṭân Nâṣir-ud-Dîn which had previously been given him, called himself **Shams-ud-Dîn**.

The whole army and the populace having unanimously consented to the **sovereignty of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥasan**, at the ninth hour of Friday the 28th Sha'bân, A. H. 748 (**3rd December, A. D. 1347**), or — according to one writer — on the 24th Rabî' II. of the year above mentioned (3rd August, A. D. 1347), he attained the object of his desires. At the entreaty of Ismâ'îl Mukh and all the *amîrs* and the army the ruby-coloured royal umbrella was raised over his head, and he was seated on the throne of sovereignty under **the title of Sulṭân 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî.** The *amîrs*, ministers and generals vied with one another in doing him honour and praising him and swearing fealty to him.

The Sulṭân now applied himself to the affairs of government and the occupations of his subjects with such ability and attention that the signs of his illustrious actions embellishing the history of the kings are beyond computation, and the mention of his good qualities adorns the preface of the history of the kings powerful as Heaven. In his day no tyrant hand struck the knocker of disquietude on the door of any subject, nor did the foot of any trader in oppression tread the inner court of the house of anyone with the step of molestation or hindrance.

The Sulṭân sent some troops in pursuit of the *amîrs* of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ who had taken to flight. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who was leader of the defeated army was killed, and the remnant with much difficulty succeeded in saving their lives.

When the Sulṭân had thus finished repelling his enemies, he turned his attention to those brave amîrs who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred on each of them rank and dignity corresponding to his merit.

Of this number, 'Ain-ud-Dîn, who was one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, with his son Muḥammad entered the service of Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh and were honoured by the titles of Khwâjah Jahân and Shîr Khân respectively.

Malik Hindû,î Turk received the title of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, and was appointed Ṣâḥib-i 'Arẓ.[8]

Ḥusâm-ud-Dîn Aḳchî became Nâ,ib Wazîr.

Zhakâjût Saiyid Raẓî-ud-Dîn, who was one of the descendants of the martyr Zaid,[9] received the title of Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk.

Malik Shâdî, who had been Nâ,ib Bârbak, became Shams-i Rashîk Ṣâḥib-i Khâṣ.

Ḥusain, who had attacked 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, obtained the title of Garshâsb, and was appointed Ḳûr Bêg-i Maisarah (Commander of the Left Wing).

Mîr Saḳû Shams-ud-Dîn was appointed Ḳûr Bêg-i Maimanah (Commander of the Right Wing).

Sharaf Fârsî became 'Umdah-ul-Mulk and Dabîr (Secretary).

Ḳâẓî Jalâl, who in Awadh (Oude) deserted from the service of Sulṭân Muḥammad after killing one named Mukbil, governor of Awadh, and then entered the service of the Sulṭân, received the title of Ḳadar Khân, and his son Muḥammad became Azhdar Khân.

Several of the *amîrs* received the titles of "Khân" and Malik." A few retained their previous titles. Several of the servants of the royal court obtained employment as *dîwâns;* thus Ḥusain bin Tûrân became Treasurer, and the son of Mubârak Khân became Superintendent of Elephants (*shaḥnah-i fîl*) and Keeper of the Seals (*dawât-dâr*).

Malik Chahjû became Saiyid-ul-Hujjâb (Lord Chamberlain).

Ḳâẓî Bahâ-ud-Dîn became Ḥâjib-i Ḳaṣabah (Constable of the City).

Daulat Shâh became Shaḥnah-i Bârgâh, and Shahâb, Sâlâr-i Khwân, which in the Dakhanî dialect is called "Châshnîgîr."[10]

'Alî Shâh became the Sar Pardah-dâr, with a number of others under him.

Each of the *amîrs, wazîrs* and generals, according to his desert, was promoted to *maḳâṣâ* and *jâgîrs*, obtaining towns and districts on feudal tenure, and kept up a proportionate army and retinue.

The Sulṭân having despatched the *amîrs* to take possession of the country and organise the army, each of them proceeded to his own district. Khwâjah Jahân was sent to Kalburgah, Sikandar Khân to Bîdar, Ḳîr Khân to Kottûr and Ṣafdar Khân Sust-'Ahd to Sagar, which afterwards became known as Sâghar, and Ḥusain Garshâsb to Kotâgîr. Other generals, by the Sulṭân's orders, proceeded to plunder and devastate the country of the infidels.

'Imâd-ul-Mulk and Mubârak Khân, by the Sulṭân's orders, went on a marauding expedition as far as the river Tâvî [Tâptî], devastating the country of the Hindus, and beheaded any idol-worshippers they found. Among other districts they plundered that of دکرکر

[8] Ṣâḥib-i 'Arẓ means one whose business is to review an army.

[9] Founder of the Zaidî sect.

[10] A taster, a servant whose duty it is to watch over the kitchen of princes, and to taste every dish brought to table as a security against poison.

(Dangrî) and beheaded the cursed Râmnât. From that place they went to Janjûl (?), plundered the fort, and cutting off the head of threw his body on the ground.

Of the other *amîrs*, who, by the Sulṭân's orders, had hastened off to take possession of their respective districts, Garshâsp, who had been sent to Kotâgîr on the way received intelligence from **Khandâr of the Dakhan, now known as Ḳandhâr,** that a number of Turks of the army of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, who were in Kandhâr when they saw that 'Alâ-ud-Dîn had been confirmed in the sovereignty of the Dakhan, one night with a loud cry took possession of the fort of Kandhâr and submitted themselves to the Sulṭân, and Ikrâj being put to flight, went towards Bodan and his people and family were made prisoners by the Turks. The latter wrote a letter to this effect to Garshâsb, and informed him of their submission to his authority.

Garshâsp was much pleased at hearing this news, and wrote them a letter, praising them for what they had done; and held out to them hopes of the king's favour. He himself also hastened to Kandhâr and the Turks went out to give him a ceremonious reception, and proffered their services.

From that place Garshâsp went to Kotâgîr and laid siege to the fort.[11] After some time the garrison called for a truce, and obtained quarter. They delivered over the fortress, and of their own accord agreed to pay tribute. When messengers brought this news to the Sulṭân he was much gratified; and by his orders the drums of rejoicing were beaten in the city, and all the people were glad.

Saiyid-Raẓî-ud-Dîn Ḳutb-ul-Mulk, who had gone towards Mundargî, proceeded by way of Bhûm and took possession of it. After that he turned towards Akalkot which he also succeeded in taking, and then returning to **Mundargî** gave it the name of **Saiyidâbâd.** Each of the *zamîndârs* of that district who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property; but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force he succeeded in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fortresses.

Kambar Khân,[12] who had obtained the Kotûr *jâgîr*, proceeded in that direction; but on the way turned aside to the fort of **Kalyân,** and for nearly fifty days laid siege to it, after which it capitulated; and the inhabitants on giving security for good behaviour were included among the subjects of the Sulṭân. After taking Kalyân he wrote to the Sulṭân giving him the welcome intelligence of his victory. The Sulṭân was much pleased, and ordering the drums of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of **Daulatâbâd, called it Fatḥâbâd.** The rejoicings were continued for a week.

Sikandar Khân, who by the Sulṭân's orders had started with an army in the direction of **Bîdar,** turned from there towards **Malkaiḍ,**[13] and the Hindûs of that place having heard of and seen the recent success of the Turks, deemed it advisable to refrain from offering resistance; they therefore tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute, and so obtained immunity from molestation by Sikandar Khân's troops.

Sikandar Khân after his return sent a letter to Kanâbâyand,[14] who was **wâlî of Telingânâ** asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army.[15] When Sikandar

11 The word in the text is کر (*kar*, or *gar*): it is probably meant for the Hindî word गढ़ (*gadh*), a hill fort.

12 This name is here written قبز خان (Kabaz Khân) in the text, but it is evidently a mistake of the copyist's for further on, when he rebels against the Sulṭân and is made prisoner by Sikandar Khân, his name is written قیر خان (Ḳîr Khân). The latter is also the spelling in the Br. Mu. MS.

13 Written لمیکھر (Lamîkher) in the Br. Mu. MS.

14 In the Br. Mu. MS. this name is written, in one place کبانند (Kabânand), and in another place کننیده (Kanânîdah).

15 The letter is given in full in the text, but there is nothing of importance in it.

Khân's letter reached Kanâbâyand and he understood its contents, he wrote a reply, tendering his submission, and sending a written treaty to that effect : he also expressed a great wish to meet him. Accordingly Sikandar Khân with a large force proceeded towards Telingânâ, and a meeting between the two took place. Kanâbâyand[16] presented many valuable offerings, and was made hopeful of much favour from the king. He sent two elephants and other suitable presents to the king through Sikandar Khân. The latter on arrival at sent the elephants to the Sultân and informed him of the good will of Kanâbâyand. The Sultân wrote a commendatory letter to Sikandar Khân and exalted him to the umbrella :[17] he also conferred royal favours on Kanâbâyand.

Ismâ'îl Mukh, who had resigned the sovereignty, had been granted as an *in'âm* Thânah Akâr (?), which is near Terdaland Jamkhandî ; but after spending some time pleasantly in that country the demon of desire led him astray. The explanation of this is that the cursed infidel **Nârâyaṇa** had deceived him by promises of assistance to regain the sovereignty ; and he, duped by these promises and vows, had raised the standard of rebellion. The end of it was that the perfidious Nârâyaṇa broke faith with him, and imprisoned the foolish Afghân, and after some time poisoned him.

Since the cursed Nârâyaṇa used to show himself submissive to Sultân Muḥammad Tughlak, Khwâjah Jahân, by the Sultân's orders, started from Mubârakâbâd Miraj on a punitive expedition against that man of unworthy actions ; and Kutub-ul-Mulk also from Mundargî, going to the assistance of Khwâjah Jahân, these two prudent ministers joining their forces proceeded to Kalburgâ, surrounded that fortress and with guns[18] and ballistas (*manjanîk*) reduced the garrison to extremities, and destroyed a portion of the tower and wall of the fortress. Puchârparî (?), who was governor of the fortress, falsely gave out that they were in a state of starvation, thinking that this would be the cause of separation and despondency among the royal troops : the result, however, was contrary to his wishes. At last the besieged being reduced to great straits owing to scarcity of water, some of them calling for quarter descended from the fort by tying nooses on ropes. The victorious army then from all sides of the tower and rampart entered the fortress and proceeded to pillage and plunder, and killed a great number of the people. They made Puchârparî prisoner, and sent him together with a despatch announcing victory to the seat of government.

Khwâjah Jahân then assumed the governorship of Kalburgâh, and acted with such justice and kindness towards the inhabitants of the city and surrounding neighbourhood that he rejoiced their hearts. But after some time he received intelligence that a mutiny had taken place in the army at Sagar. Ṣafdar Khân had laid siege to the fort of تنباک [19] or Kanbârî (?) and a countless number of people in that fortress had died from famine and pestilence. By the exertions of Kampras, Muḥammad bin 'Âlam, Nathû 'Almbak and other rascals who excited them, the mutineers after killing Ṣafdar Khân went to **Sagar,** and taking possession of the fortress proceeded to strengthen it. 'Alî Lâjîn and Fakhr-ud-Dîn Muhrdâr (keeper of the seals) by an artifice fled and escaped from the mutineers.

Since Khwâjah Jahân did not think it advisable, without orders from the Sultân, to lead a force against the mutineers to quell this disturbance, he wrote a letter to their leaders, saying : — "Killing a bad man was a very good deed ; but now it is necessary that you should without delay come in this direction, and bring with you whatever you may have in the way of goods, elephants, etc., that they may be sent to the foot of the royal throne, and that you may receive due reward from the king, otherwise you will be deprived of the goods and the fortress, and perhaps of your lives as well."

16 Here the name is written کبانایند, and there being no dot to the second letter it may be read either Kanânâyand or Kabânâyand.

17 اورا بچتر سر افراز فرمود

18 Here is the first mention of fire-arms.

19 Name uncertain. Spelt کنبا in the text.

Muḥammad bin 'Âlam sent Naṭhû 'Almbak to Khwâjah Jahân with a message, saying: — "The story of the goods and riches attributed to us is utterly impossible."

* * * * *

When Naṭhû brought this message Khwâjah Jahân imprisoned him, and sent an account of the circumstances to the Sulṭân, who ordered Khwâjah Jahân immediately on receipt of the *farmân* to cross the river Jahnûr [Bhîmâ] and encamp on the further side, and not to move from there till the Sulṭân should himself arrive in those parts. In accordance with these orders Khwâjah Jahân encamped on the other side of the river, and every day used to send his troops to plunder and devastate the country of the mutineers, and used to put terror into their hearts. The Sulṭân, on account of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ did not think it advisable to leave Daulatâbâd and move to any other part of his dominions.

When the army of Khwâjah Jahân, by the Sulṭân's orders, had been encamped for two months on the bank of the river Bhîmâ one night by decree of the Divine Creator an old man of luminous aspect whose countenance shone with divine knowledge, appeared to the Sulṭân in a dream and informed him of the extinction of the empire of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh and announced the establishment of sovereignty in the Sulṭân's illustrious family. Even in the midst of his dream the Sulṭân determined in his own mind that that old man was Ulwais Karanî. It has been already mentioned that the Sulṭân was a disciple of the saint Shekh Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Auliâ who had promised him the throne; and whenever the Sulṭân was in any difficulty the saint used to reveal to him in a dream the means of getting out of it. When the Sulṭân awoke he related the dream to his assembled troops.

On an auspicious day he moved from the capital Daulatâbâd towards Kalburgâ, leaving Ḳadr Khân, Garshâsb, 'Imad-ul-Mulk, 'Aẓd-ul-Mulk and other nobles in Daulatâbâd. In due time he pitched his camp in sight of Kalburgâ, and the inhabitants of that place hastened out to offer presents and do homage to him, and they prayed for the eternity of his reign. The Sulṭân conferred special favours on the principal inhabitants of Kalburgâ, and gave to each, accord ing to his rank, presents and robes of honour.

When the news of the Sulṭân's arrival reached Khwâjah Jahân, leaving the leaders of his army in the camp, he himself hastened to pay his respects to the Sulṭân, who distinguished him by royal caresses and seated him on a golden chair.

In the midst of these affairs the king was informed that the Sulṭân of Hindûstân, Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, while on his way from Gujarât to Tathah had fallen ill and died near the Indus.[20]

The mind of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh being thus set at rest from the annoyance of his enemies he turned his attention to the conquest of the various districts of the Dakhan. In three days' time the royal army set out, and crossing the river marched stage by stage without halting to rest anywhere. When Muḥammad bin 'Âlam heard of his approach, seized with panic, he threw himself on the mercy of the Sulṭân. The latter spared his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned, and whatever money and goods he possessed to be confiscated in order to prevent his offering further opposition.

After that the Sulṭân marched towards Sagar and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sagar tank; and reducing the district to a state of subjection, tranquillized the inhabitants and ordered compensation to be given for any oppression practised on them by the tyrants. The learned men and *shekhs* of that part, such as Shekh 'Ain-ud-Dîn Bîjâpûrî,[21] 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Jânpûrî and Maulânâ Mu'ayyan-ud-Dîn Harû,î — tutor of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh — paid their respects to the Sulṭân, and he distinguished them by *in'âms* and pensions, each according to his merit.

20 He died near Tathah on the 21st Muharram, A. H. 752 (20th March, A. D. 1351) — *vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, p. 57.

21 Author of the *Mulhakât*, and *Kitâb-ul-Anwâr*, containing a history of all the Muḥammadan saints of India.

He then despatched a force under the leadership of Mubârak Khân and Kuṭub-ul-Mulk to make a predatory incursion into the district of Harîb.[22] When these *amîrs* with a large force reached the fortress of Karabjûr[23] they laid siege to it and reduced the garrison to extremities. The governor of the fortress, who was one of the great men of the infidels, seeing the fury of the assault of the Muḥammadan army, fear and terror shook the foundation of his strength and on the following day he sued for quarter, and waiting on the leaders of the army delivered over to them much goods and countless wealth as a peace-offering. After that victory the *amîrs* sent some of the associates of the governor of Karabjor (?) to the Sulṭân. The latter looked with much favour on the leaders of the army, and rewarded each of them according to his rank.

At that time the royal army being ordered to march from Sagar moved towards **Kanbarî** and **Mudhol**; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kanbarî, Kapras, the chief of that district, hearing of the arrival of the Sulṭân, and dreading attack by his army, sent smooth-tongued messengers with presents of horses, elephants and various goods to the Sulṭân. Through the interest of the courtiers they obtained an audience and presented a petition to the following effect:—

"I am the slave of slaves of the threshold of the royal throne, and I know the power of the conquering army, but from excess of baseness and sins I am debarred from the happiness of making my obeisance: if the royal mercy will wash away the dust of meanness of this slave in the limpid water of pardon, and draw the pen of forgiveness through the registers of crimes of this penitent one, he will assuredly pay two years' revenue into the royal treasury; and after that, obtaining hopefulness of royal favours, he will put away fear from his heart, and hasten with the step of service to the royal threshold."

The Sulṭân having compassion on the weakness and disappointment of Kapras ordered that his offer of tribute should be accepted, and that no further injury should be done to his fortress or country.

The army then set off on the march for the country of the accursed Nârâyaṇa, and when they reached Tâlgirya (?), Dunyâpuk (?) begged for pardon, and he as well as his wife sons and other relatives came out of the fort and threw themselves at the feet of the Sulṭân who received them kindly, and confirmed them in possession of the fort and district.

The Sulṭân then continued his march against the traitor Nârâyaṇa. On arriving within one stage of the place of that ignoble one a petition reached the Sulṭân from Sîn-ud-Dîn[24] Mukṭ'a, who in conjunction with Nârâyaṇa used constantly to assist Sulṭân Muhammad Tughlaḳ Shâh. The letter contained assurances of his submission and loyalty, and said that he would shortly pay his respects to the Sulṭân. The latter was much pleased to hear this, and honoured Sîn-ud-Dîn by sending to inform him of his benevolent inclinations, and wrote him a *farmân* containing many assurances of favour and affection. Mu'în-ud-Dîn had seen Nârâyaṇa as well as the result of the fraudulent conduct of Ismâ'îl Mukh, so he hastened to wait on th Sulṭân and had the honour of making his obeisance to him. The Sulṭân in the plenitude of his favour and kindness embraced him and said:—

"It is the usage of people of sincerity and piety to exert themselves in the business of their lords, and when they obtain knowledge of justice and injustice, leave the service of the tyrant and incline towards that of the just man." Mu'în-ud-Dîn was then distinguished by a special robe of honour.

Next day the Sulṭân marched towards Mudhol, hunting and shooting on the way, and in terror of the troops the country was cleared of lions, tigers and panthers.

[22] Not identified. The word is written "Harîp" in the Br. Mu. MS.

[23] Spelt كرابجور in the text. Probably Kalabgûr is meant, between Golkoṇḍâ and Bîdar.

[24] In the I. O. MS. this name is distinctly written سين الدين (Sîn-ud-Dîn) wherever it occurs; but in the Br. Mu. MS. it is in each place distinctly written معين الدين (Mu'în-ud-Dîn). The latter is most probably correct.

When the royal army passed the river Kistnâ the country of the base infidels became turned topsy-turvy, and the cultivated lands changed into desolation: all the inhabitants took refuge in the four strongest fortresses in that part of the country.

The rebel Nârâyaṇa seeing that it was useless for him to use his claws against a furious lion, being himself a fox, he wished by fox-play to avoid contending with lions; so he sent an eloquent man to the Sulṭân with the following memorial:—

"I am a slave of the ancient servants of the royal threshold, but owing to my many crimes and the awfulness of the wrath of the Sulṭân of the World I cannot have the presumption to kiss the ground before him. If the King of the World would order one of the slaves of the court to come over in this direction in order that this slave may explain his circumstances to him, and if he will briefly bring them to the notice of your Majesty, it will not be far from the perfection of kindness to servants and the application of a remedy."

The Sulṭân, agreeing to the proposal of that accursed, vile one, sent Kâẓî Bahâ-i-Ḥâjib to say to him: — "Your crimes are notorious, and on account of them you are deserving of exemplary punishment; but if you repent and obey the laws of government in future, your former faults will be overlooked, and your life and the lives of your sons and family — several thousand persons — may be spared; otherwise your fortress will be razed to the ground, your dwelling-places will be sacked, and your irreligious body with all your followers will become as a fable."

When the infidel Nârâyaṇa heard these awful words the fear which had settled in his heart was increased; but fortune having turned agains thim and plunged him in misery he could not agree to serve the Sulṭân, but set his heart on opposing him, and took refuge in the fort of Jamkhandî, which was considered one of the greatest of his forts. He sent thiee of his chief nobles to hold three other forts; and of these men he sent one vile one named Gopâl to hold the fort of Mudhôl, and two other infidels to Terdal and Bâgalkot.

When the Sulṭân knew that the impure and fearless Nârâyaṇa had no desire to yield submission, he determined first of all to take the fort of Mudhol, which was the strongest of the forts of that contemptible one, who owing to the strength of that place was beyond the reach of everyone. This fort he determined to take, in order that fear being established in the hearts of the accursed people of that district they would no longer desire to offer any opposition nor engage in war with the Muḥammadan army.

When the Sulṭân, with the intention of attacking the fort of Mudhol, crossed the river and turned in that direction, the traitor Nârâyaṇa deemed it advisable to send a number of his troops to make a night attack on the royal camp, hoping by this manœuvre to avert the fate which threatened them: but destiny was against them. The cursed Nârâyaṇa sent nearly two hundred horse and a thousand infantry on a dark night to attack the royal army; but he was not aware that he who throws a stone at the sky inevitably wounds his own head. This doomed band of infidels reached the corner of the Sulṭân's camp, but only to shut the door of safety in the face of their own fortune. The vile infidels in the fort of Mudhol also, when they heard the tumult of that powerless handful, a number of them rashly came out of the fort and joined that rabble. But since the royal troops, like their own fortune, were awake and on the alert, they suddenly intercepted those worthless infidels and almost annihilated them. Most of them were killed, but some escaped: a few crept like mice into the holes of the fortress, and about twenty of them fled towards Jamkhandî, and with a thousand troubles and perplexities reached that place.

Next morning the Sulṭân sat on his throne and held a public audience; and the nobles and leaders of the army brought before him the prisoners and boot ywhich they had acquired. Some of the prisoners were put to death, and the brave men who on that dark night had shown special bravery were distinguished by royal favours, and the booty which had been gained was

given to them. This signal victory had the effect of greatly weakening the power of Nârâyaṇa and dispiriting his army.

Simultaneously with this affair the Shâhzâdah joined the camp of the Sulṭân, and a number of the nobles and ministers were sent out to meet him. When the Shâhzâdah saw the Sulṭân he hastened to salute him. The Sulṭân called him to him, caught him to his breast, kissed him on the face, and asked him about his journey and the affairs of his army. The Shâhzâdah gave him clear answers, and the Sulṭân was astonished at his shrewdness and sagacity, and presented him with a special robe of honour and many other royal distinctions.

On the following day the Sulṭân ordered an assault on the fortress; but afterwards perceiving that this would entail the loss of many brave men at the hands of the infidels, which was contrary to the laws of religion and manliness, he countermanded the assault and formed a *cordon* round the fortress, and dug a trench completely round it, so that it might more easily be taken.

For four months they were engaged in **the siege of Mudhol**: at last the infidels being reduced to extremities paid two years' revenue into the royal treasury besides promising to pay the future revenue ; and agreed that after the return of the royal army they would be submissive to the court, and endeavour by every means in their power to atone for their past offences.

The army then encamped within sight of **the fortress of Miraj.** The Sulṭân spent two months in pleasure and recreation in that open country; the troops also passed their time in ease and leisure.

After that the Sulṭân determined to conquer the country of the Koṇkan, and started with his army for that district, marching by stages, and hunting and shooting on the way. The soldiers hunted the tiger, and they emptied the face of the country as well as the air of wild beasts, pelicans and cranes.

When the Sulṭân — the cream of the race of Bahman — passed **Khârepatan,** the people of that district on becoming aware of his approach, left their dwellings, and from terror of the army fled to the mountain-tops and hills and interior parts and valleys. The troops plundered all the cattle and pastures of the Hindûs. The camp remained in that place nearly two months, the army resting from the fatigue of the march.

They then moved towards **Sagar** and when they encamped in its neighbourhood, all the feudal lands belonging to those forts and districts having been annexed to the Sulṭân's dominions, were assigned to the agents of the court, each of whom, according to his worth and rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

After that the Sulṭân crossed the river Bhîmâ and taking tribute from Seḍam and Malkaiḍ he advanced towards **Kalburgâ.**

**Kîr Khân,** who in tyranny and injustice exceeded Namrûd and Shidâd, hastened to wait on the Sulṭân and was distinguished by a robe of honour and other dignities; but after three days, by the seduction of the black-faced Kâlah Muḥammad, he fled from the royal army, and the Sulṭân himself went in pursuit of that impure, base one. The army and baggage of Kîr Khân being captured, suddenly a great flood came on the road and drowned most of his followers; but he himself being apart from them at the time, escaped, and with much difficulty reached **Kutûr.**

The Sulṭân having returned from the pursuit of Kîr Khân marched towards the fort of **Kalliâna** which was then occupied by Kâlah Muḥammad, who from his innumerable crimes was nicknamed the "black-faced." The Sulṭân being determined to take the place divided the different sides of the fortress among his troops, who formed a *cordon* round it; and the besieged were reduced to helplessness.

Sikandar Khân, whom on account of his valuable services and sincerity the Sultân had entitled "Farzand" (son), arrived in camp with a large force, and had the honour of making his obeisance. The Sultân treated Sikandar Khân with much courtesy, and further exalted him by the dignity of the Ruby Umbrella, and raised him in rank above all the other *amîrs* and *khâns*. The Sultân ordered him to proceed to Kutûr and lay waste the country of Kîr Khân, also to make him prisoner and bring him before the throne. Sikandar Khân swore by the dust of the Sultân's footstep that he would not return till he brought that promise-breaking old man bound as a malefactor before the foot of the throne.

Sikandar Khân then marched from the Sultân's camp with a large force, and proceeded towards Kutûr. News of his approach reached Kîr Khân; and when the army arrived within a *farsang* of Kittûr, Sikandar Khân was informed that Kîr Khân watching his opportunity had sallied out from the fort with a force of brave men skilled in fight, made his way to the army of Sikandar Khân and in one attack untied the knot of agglomeration of those who, Pleiades-like, were drawn up in a compact formation, causing them to become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, and pursued them as they fled; but suddenly Sikandar Khân rushed out from a place of ambush and attacked Kîr Khân's force. In the midst of this battle Fakhr Sha'bân with some cavalry attacked Kîr Khân, and the latter turned to repulse him. Fakhr Sha'bân, in order to draw him on pretended to run away, and Kîr Khân boldly hurried in pursuit; but in the meantime another party of Fakhr Sha'bân's friends having joined him they turned on their pursuers, and Kîr Khân being unable to cope with them wished to pluck his foot from the net of misfortune and the grasp of fate by taking to flight, but Fakhr Sha'bân caught him, and grasping him by the hair dragged him along the ground. The troops of Kîr Khân endeavoured to release him, but failed, and at last they took to flight, leaving their leader in the net of misfortune. Fakhr Sha'bân then bound Kîr Khân and took him to Sikandar Khân. The latter was much pleased, and having written a report of the victory sent it by Fakhr Sha'bân to the court of the Sultân. Fakhr, in despach outstripping lightning and the wind, reached the camp of the Sultân on the second day, and informed him of the victory and the capture of Kîr Khân. The Sultân was delighted to hear this good news, and Fakhr obtained many marks of royal favour, and the drum of rejoicing was beaten in the camp.

A week afterwards the Sultân marched with his army towards Kittûr and when he arrived on that frontier, Sikandar Khân heard of his approach, and in accordance with his oath, he dragged Kîr Khân in chains to the foot of the royal throne. The Sultân loaded Sikandar Khân with distinctions, and ordered Kir Khân to be denuded of the dress of life (put to death); but Sikandar Khân represented, saying: — "Since this old sinner is given to me, and your Majesty's camp is pitched at the foot of the fortress of Kittûr, if the people of this vile one repent and yield obedience, show regret for their tyranny and injustice, pay the past revenue and agree to pay the future revenue, well and good, but if not it will be perfectly easy to put him to a shameful death." According to the petition of Sikandar Khân the Sultân refrained from putting Kîr Khân to death, and the camp was pitched in sight of the fort of Kittûr.

In the midst of these affairs Kâlah Muhammad leaving Kalliânî went to the fort of Kittûr and fortified himself there: several times he boldly sallied from this fort and attacked the Sultân's army, throwing them into confusion, and when the royal troops tried to intercept them, they, like foxes in fear of the attack of lions, took refuge in a hole in the fortress. But one day Kâlah Muhammad, his fortune having turned against him, according to his past custom, came out of the fort with some of his troops and attacked the Sultân's army; but the latter intercepted them, and in one attack the sedition of that unfortunate, insignificant one was suppressed, his followers dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. According to a certain historian his figure was also relieved from the load of his head.

In this campaign the Sultân obtained two celebrated fortresses which reared their heads as high as heaven, namely, the forts of Kalliânî and Kittûr: in whatever direction he went he used to return victorious.

After these victories the Sulṭân set out on the march for **Kalburgâ**, the seat of government; and in that excellent city erected lofty buildings and giving it the name of **Aḥsanâbâd** selected it as the permanent dwelling-place of the throne. In some histories it is related that Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh took the city of Kalburgâ first of all, and afterwards proceeded to take Daulatâbâd and all the other towns. In any case, when Kalburgâ, Bîdar and Daulatâbâd with all their dependencies came into his possession, he was anxious to take all the other towns of the Dakhan. According to tradition the first victory which he gained was at **Bhokardhan**; as soon as he arrived there the *Râya* of that place presented him with three *laks* of rupees and agreed to pay the revenue into the royal treasury. From that place the Sulṭân marched towards **Mâhûr**, the *Râjâ* of which place also sent countless wealth to the victorious army ,and so obtained immunity from assault. The army then moved towards the celebrated **Mândû**, and the people of that country also agreed to pay tribute and contribution, and were exempted from molestation.

Then the Sulṭân set out for his capital, Aḥsanâbâd, where he spent some time in pleasure and amusement, and the troops rested from the fatigue of the march.

[25][After that, the Sulṭân having conceived the idea of conquering the island of **Goa** as well as **Dâbhol** and all the sea-coast and ports, determined to proceed in that direction. After accomplishing the journey the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and they laid siege to the town, which after five or six months they succeeded in taking, and were gladdened by countless booty. .

After taking Goa the Sulṭân moved towards Dâbhol, and obtained possession of that district also. Thence he crossed over towards **Kalhar**[26] **and Kolhâpûr,** where they also raised on high the banners of Islâm and overturned those of infidelity and error. Then the Sultân returned to his capital, Aḥsanâbâd, and took his ease in the permanent dwelling-place of the royal throne.]

After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he was again desirous of conquering the country of **Tilang (Teliṅgânâ)** and acquiring a name and reputation, [27] [so orders were issued to the army to move in that direction. According to orders the army assembled and marched towards Teliṅgânâ. The Sulṭân sent on in advance a number of his officers with scouts to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he followed in rear of them]. For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Teliṅgânâ, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonâgîr he overthrew the idol-temples, and instead of them built mosques and public schools. When he had completed the conquest of Teliṅgânâ he returned to his capital, and opening the doors of justice and kindness in the face of his subjects and soldiers acted generously towards all the inhabitants of the Dakhan.

At this period the Sulṭân had obtained possession of most of the cities and forts of the Dakhan; so that his dominions extended from the east side of Daulatâbâd to Bhonâgîr and the river Godâvarî — both north and south sides — to the river Gang [Wain Gangâ ?] and the west side of Kalburgâ to the river Kistnâ, and Ganhar (?) and Dâbhol and Goa. And the *râyas* on the further side of the Kistnâ becoming government landholders, agreed to pay tribute; and the Sulṭân assigned on feudal tenure to his ministers and nobles — to each according to his rank — the various districts and towns of Hindûstân which he had conquered. His own old district, which was Hukerî, Belgâon and Miraj, he entrusted to his eldest son Ẓafar Khân, whom he made his heir-apparent; and gave him the name of Sulṭân Muḥammad

[25] This passage enclosed in brackets is entirely omitted in the Br. Mu. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist.

[26] Kalhar (*sic*) is frequently mentioned, and always in conjunction with Kolhâpûr. I am inclined to think that Karâḍ is meant.

[27] This passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., evidently by mistake on the part of the copyist. It is to be found in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 24 *b*.

Shâh. Daulatâbâd he assigned to his sister's son, Bahrâm Khân (Mazindarânî); but when Bahrâm Khân became established in Daulatâbâd, a vicious disposition and evil imagination became embedded in his vitals (and he said to himself): — "Since Daulatâbâd was the coronation-place of the Sulṭân, and has been assigned to me during his lifetime, it is evidently his intention to give me his place." With this idea in his head Bahrâm Khân became antagonistic and hypocritical.

At this time the Sulṭân had been ill for nearly three or four months, but Bahrâm Khân did not go to visit him, lest the Sulṭân should obtain an inkling of his intentions, and by issuing orders counter to his designs, render their accomplishment impossible. Such are briefly the particulars of this matter, which (please God!) will be mentioned hereafter in writing the history of Muḥammad Shâh.

After a reign of eleven years, two months and seven days the Sulṭân died.

* * * * * * * * *

Shortly before his death the Sulṭân summoned his sons to his presence; and four princes like four strong pillars of the state, weeping tears of blood, presented themselves before their illustrious father, who embraced them, and as he looked at them wept bitterly at the thought of leaving them.

The Sulṭân in his will made **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** (who surpassed all the other sons in understanding and intelligence) his heir, and exhorted all his sons, near relations and army and subjects to obey him.

[28][The prince and all the nobles and generals put on clothes of blue and black as a sign of mourning. The lamentation, and cries reached the heavens, and the ceremonies of mourning were duly carried out.]

**Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh**, was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content; and he did much towards propagating the true faith. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Muḥammad Shâh, became his father's heir, and was entitled Ẓafar Khân, which was the title of the Sulṭân himself.

[*The following interesting account of the origin of the Bahmanî Dynasty and the reign of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî is taken from the* **Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.** *It differs considerably from all the other accounts; and is, perhaps, not of much historical value; still I think it would be a pity to omit it.*]

Let it not be concealed from the acute that concerning **the origin of the Bahmanî kings** I have seen many relations, some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandyâr, son of Gushtasb, one of the magnificent kings of Persia.

Another report is that the sovereignty of the Bahmanî kings dates from the time of **Ḥasan Gangû.** Now this Ḥasan Gangû was a youth of high descent, who by reverses of fortune was in very reduced circumstances.

One day he was sleeping in the desert under the shade of a tree. Gangû Pandit Bahman was passing near the spot, and saw the youth asleep. A cobra, the bite of which is known to be more deadly than that of the viper, holding a blade of green grass in its mouth close to Ḥasan Gangû's face, had raised its head from the ground and was driving off the flies from his face. The Brahmin who witnessed this circumstance, by his sagacity discerned that some high dignity was in store for this Ḥasan. The snake remained there till Ḥasan awoke from his sleep, when it lowered its head and went on its way. The Brahmin then went up to Ḥasan

[28] This passage, enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist, but is given in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 25 *b*, last line *et seq.*

and inquired about his origin. Ḥasan told him all about himself. Gangû Pandit then said to Ḥasan: — "A great dignity is in store for you." Ḥasan asked: — "What reason have you for making that statement?" He replied: — "From this circumstance which I have just witnessed, that while you were asleep a large snake came, and holding a blade of green grass in its mouth, drove away the flies from your face; when you awoke, it, servant-like, lowered its head and went away. A very high dignity will come to you since a noxious animal performs service such as that for you. In time to come I hope in all sincerity for some humble situation in your service; perhaps by the happy influence of your favour I may obtain some post of honour; and I humbly petition that you will combine my name with your own, and that you and all your descendants will always sign your *farmâns* with the word "Bahmanî." Ḥasan agreed to this proposal, and used to write himself "Bahmanî," and eighteen of his successors who sat on the throne assumed the same surname.

Ḥasan Gangû held some situation in the service of the *shekh* entitled **Shekh Muḥammad Sirâj Junaidî** (May the blessing of God be on him!), and passed most of his time in his cell. One day the *shekh* was in the act of performing his ablutions in the village of Gangî, a suburb of Miraj, which is now known by the name of Murtaẓââbâd. The *shekh* having taken off the turban to wipe his head, Ḥasan Gangû took it up and placed it on his own head; upon which the *shekh* remarked: — "Ḥasan demands from me the crown of royalty."

When some time had passed in this way, Ḥasan one day complained of being in great want. The *shekh* said: — "*All things are bound to happen in their own time.*"

Since that country was the abode of infidels there was no *masjid* there, so the *shekh* founded one; and the Musalmâns with one accord gave the building to him.

By chance Ḥasan on day filled a large vessel with earth, and lifted it up: the *shekh* said: — "Ḥasan desires to lift the weight of the world."

One day the *shekh* was asleep, and as the sun was shining on him, Ḥasan sheltered him with his mantle. When the *shekh* awoke and perceived this he remarked: — "Ḥasan solicits from me the royal canopy."

Once, when Ḥasan's mother went to the *shekh* and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the *shekh* told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place, and their wishes would be fulfilled. According to the *shekh's* instructions they employed themselves in tilling the ground, and happening to find in it some indications and vestiges of mortar and stone, they gave information of this to the *shekh*. He replied: — "Give thanks to God Most High (glorified be his name!) that our desire is accomplished. '*If you give thanks, I will increase you.*'"

One night when Ḥasan was in his master's presence the *shekh* said: — "O king, collect an army and wage a religious war (*jihâd*) till you bring the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islâm." Ḥasan replied: — "To wage war preparations are necessary, and at present I am poverty-stricken." The *shekh* said: — "God the Most Holy and Most High has bestowed on you a treasure." Then the *shekh*, taking Ḥasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Ḥasan, by order of the *shekh* took awayas much as he required, expended it in raising an army, and then informed the *shekh* of what he had done. Gangû Pandit exerted himself very much in carrying out these services. Then the *shekh* said to Ḥasan: — "Be present on Friday, for it is the predestined day."

As soon as it was night Ḥasan presented himself, and having recited the *Fâtiḥah* with the army of the *shekh*, the latter tied a girdle round Ḥasan's waist, and directed him to proceed towards Miraj.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Miraj the governor of the fort was an infidel woman named Rânî Durkâvatî. Unconscious of their approach she had gone out on a journey, and when they met an engagement ensued.

In this battle the Musalmâns being completely victorious Rânî Durkâvatî was made prisoner, and the brave army of Islâm entered the fort of Miraj. A letter announcing the victory was sent to the *shekh*, who was much pleased at the news, and in reply desired them to call the fort Mubârakâbâd, as it was auspicious to them and the people of Islâm. This victory took place A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347). The *shekh* then said to them: — "Go on, for victory is on your side."

Having gained possession of Mubârakâbâd and the neighbouring districts round it the power and glory of the Musalmâns increased day by day. They quelled all disturbances in that part of the country; and having tranquillized their opponents, by the advice of the *shekh* they proceeded towards Kalburgâ.

When they arrived in that neighbourhood they observed the actions and motions of the garrison of the fort and its governor; and having ascertained the numerical strength of his army and the nature of his warlike preparations, they thought to themselves that their small force was unequal to the task of taking taking the fort; and informed the *shekh* accordingly. He replied: — "On the night of Wednesday Parvan Râ,o will be going on a pilgrimage to his own idol-temple, which is situate at a distance of three *farsakhs*:[29] at that very time you should proceed to the fort, for the victory has already been given to you."

Ḥasan was delighted and kissed the feet of the *shekh*, and on the appointed night he went to the fort. The garrison, thinking it was Parvan Râ,o returning, opened the gate of the fort, and Ḥasan Gangû boldly entered and turned out the people of the fort. When this news reached Parvan Râ,o he was confounded; and returning from the temple engaged the army of Islâm. A fierce battle ensued, and the Muḥammadan troops poured a rain of arrows on the enemy, in the midst of which Parvan Râ,o was slain and the remnant of his army dispersed. They buried Parvan Râ,o's head near the gate of the fort, and the mark of the place still exists.

They named Kalburgâ "Aḥsanâbâd," and Ḥasan Gangû without further dispute being established on the throne of sovereignty in the city of Aḥsanâbâd, assumed the title of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahman Shâh. He made Gangû Pandit pre-eminent, and it was agreed between them that Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn and all his descendants should adopt the surname of "Bahman Shâh." This victory took place in A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347).

He reigned with wisdom and firmness for a period of thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days. He died in the year 761 (A. D. 1359).[30] He was constant in his discipleship to the *shekh*, and his example in this respect was followed by his successors.

His eldest son, Sulṭân Muḥammad, was appointed his successor.

*(To be continued.)*

## MISCELLANEA.

### SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

*(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 308.)*

### XLII.

AT Rajamundry there lived a king, Vishṇuvardhana by name, who, distressed at the misconduct of his sons, requested a Brâhmaṇ to instruct them in the paths of virtue. The Brâhmaṇ thereupon began to tell them the following story of the crow, the turtle, the deer and the rat to prove to them the blessings of harmony.

There stood on the banks of the Godavri a huge cotton tree on which birds of the air used to roost at night. Laghupathânaka, king of the crows, woke early one morning and saw a Kirâta fowler who appeared to him a second Yama and said:—"I have seen this man's face at dawn. Some misfortune is sure to happen. It is not wise to remain near him." As he was flying away as quickly as possible, the fowler approached the

[29] About 10½ miles.

[30] According to all the other accounts he reigned eleven years, two months and seven days, and died in A. H. 759.

tree, scattered a little rice, spread his net, and lay in ambush close by. Thereupon **Chitragrîva, the dove-king**, who was flying afar off, saw the rice and said to his fellow-doves:—"Whence cometh this rice in a desert? We should not crave for this rice. Once upon a time a traveller, through craving a bracelet, was deceived by a tiger and died.

Once upon a time an old tiger bathed and holding sacred grass in its hand stood on the bank of a tank and called aloud to a passer-by to take the golden bracelet which he offered him. The traveller thought to himself:—'This is my luck. Why hesitate?' So he asked the tiger to show him the bracelet, and the tiger stretched forth his paw and said:—'See, here is the bracelet.' The traveller said:— 'You are a cruel beast How can I trust you'? The tiger replied:—'True, I was a very cruel beast in my young days, and slew a host of men and cows. As a consequence I lost my wife and children and have to live alone. But a kind man had mercy on me and advised me to give up killing men and cows and practice good actions. I took his advice, and now I am a poor weak brute. Why can you not trust me? As you are a poor man I wish to give this in charity to you. Go and bathe in the tank close by and you can have it.' The greedy fool fell into the trap, went into the water, and was bogged in the mud. The tiger saw him and said:—'It is a pity you should have fallen into the mire. I will come and pull you out. Be not afraid.' Thus saying he approached him slowly and caught hold of him. The fool as he was dying cried out:—'This is the result of my stupid covetousness.'"

The moral is that we should do nothing in a hurry.

One of the doves answered:—"What's the good of excessive caution? If we are to get our food we must run risks." On this they all flew and were caught in the net.

When they found themselves entangled they turned on their adviser and abused him:—"This is what comes of following your advice." While the other pigeons reproved him Chitragrîva said:—"What is the use of crying over spilt milk? We are in a mess, and must do our best to get out of it. A thought suggests itself to me. Let us all fly up together and take the net with us. When united even weak creatures can do much." Hearing this, the doves soared up into the sky, saying there cannot be any better suggestion. The fowler amazed thought of catching them when they alighted again, and followed them staring at the sky till they disappeared from his view, when he went home in grief.

When the birds saw this they asked Chitragrîva the next thing to be done. He answered:—"I have a friend, **the rat-king Hiraṇayaka**, who dwells at **Vichithravaṇa** on the banks of the **Gandak**. He can save us by biting the net-strings with his strong teeth. Let us go to him." They took his advice and went to Hiraṇayaka. But the rat hearing the noise of their wings was sore afraid and would not leave his hole. Chitragrîva called to him in a loud voice and said:—"Friend why do you not speak to us?" The rat knew his voice and came out at once.

"I am delighted to see my good friend, Chitragrîva." When he saw the pigeons caught in the net, he was startled, and said:—"Friend, what is this?" Chitragrîva replied:—"Friend, this is the fruit of our destiny." The rat began to gnaw at the threads, but Chitragrîva said.:—"Friend, this is not the way to do it. First untie the knots of my subjects, and then mine." Hiraṇayaka replied:—"My teeth are very weak. I cannot cut all the knots. I will try to sever your knots as long as there is strength in my teeth. Then we shall see about the others if I have sufficient strength." To which Chitragrîva replied:—"Do as you please. What can we do beyond our strength?" To which Hiraṇayaka said:—"Have you not heard of the proverb, 'charity begins at home?'" Thereupon Chitragrîva replied:—"Friend, what you say is true enough. But I cannot endure the trouble of my subjects."

Thus pleased Hiraṇayaka and he set to work and freed all the doves, and after entertaining them sent them all home rejoicing.

The *gurû* further said:—Hiraṇayaka then entered his hole. Laghupathanaka, astonished at what he had seen, came and alighted near the hole of Hiraṇayaka, and said:—"Oh, Hiraṇayaka! I desire your friendship. Have mercy on me and fulfil my desire." Hearing this Hiraṇayaka from inside the hole said:—"Who are you?" To which the crow replied:—"I am a crow. My name is Laghupathânaka." Hiraṇayaka laughed at this, and said:—"I am your lawful prey. How can we two be friends? It will be with us as with the deer who was caught in the trap and owed his life to the crow." "How was that?" enquired Laghupathânaka. So Hiraṇayaka went on to say:—

"A deer and a crow once lived in the forest of **Mantharâvatî in the land of Magadha**, and were close friends. The deer throve and grew fat until

a jackal saw him and thought to himself what a dainty meal he could make of him. So thinking the jackal came to the deer and said :—' Let us be friends. ' ' Who are you ?' asked the deer. 'I am **Subuddhi**, the jackal, and I desire your friendship.' So the deer took the jackal to his lair and when the crow who was perched on a tree close by saw them he said to the deer :— ' Who is your friend ?' ' This is my dear friend, the jackal Subuddhi,' he answered. To this the crow replied :—' Can you trust a new-comer ? In days of yore, a kite, **Jarathgava** by name, died through having entertained a cat, which story I shall tell you.

On the banks of the **Bhâgirathi** is a large fig tree. In a hole in its trunk there lived Jarathgava, an old kite. The birds that lived on the tree used to share their food with him and thus he managed to live. One day, **Thirghakarṇa**, a cat, approached the tree noiselessly, intending to eat the nestlings. They cried out when they saw her, and Jarathgava, hearing the noise, looked out and spied the cat. The cat was sore afraid of the kite, and thought to herself :—' I am in evil case, I can only escape by my cunning.' So the cat stood before the kite and bowed to him, whereupon the kite asked her who she was. ' I am a cat, and people call me Thirghakarna.' To which the kite replied :—' Be off at once, or it will be the worse for you.' To which the kite replied :—'Kindly let me explain.' So the kite enquired the cat's errand. To which she replied :—' I have changed my course of life and become a Brahmachârin. I have long wished to meet you, and hospitality is a sacred duty.' The kite, in answer, said :— ' Cats are very fond of meat, and there are many nestlings here. This is why I spoke.' When the cat heard this, she put her paws to her ears, and invoking the Lord Kṛishṇa swore that she had given up animal food, and was now devoted to deeds piety. Hearing these words, the kite requested the cat not to be angry. 'How can a person know the character of a new-comer as soon as he arrives ? Come and go as you please.' So the cat became a crony of the kite and used to live in the same hole in the tree.

By and by the cat used to creep out every night and eat some of the nestlings, which when the birds perceived they began to look about. The cat cleared out at once, and the birds found the bones in the nest of the kite and pecked him to pieces.

Therefore it is that I said that we should not trust a new-comer.'

Hearing this, the jackal looked indignantly at the crow, and said :—'You too were a new-comer when you took up with the deer. Is not a castor oil plant considered a huge tree in a treeless plain ? It is only the ignorant that make a difference between a friend and a foe.' Hearing this, the deer said :—'Why all this wrangling ? Let us all spend our days in one place in peace.' On hearing this, the crow consented. The deer, the jackal and the crow lived together in harmony. After some days had passed the jackal said to the deer :—'Friend ! I have seen in the forest a field fully ripe. Accompany me. I will show you the field ' So saying the fox took the deer with him and showed him the place. After this the deer began to graze there. The owner of the field noticed it and resolved to kill the beast. So he laid a net at a corner of the field and went home. The animal as usual came the next day to the fiel d to graze and was entangled in the meshes and began to think :—'Alas ! I am caught in a net ! What can I do ? Who is there to rescue me ? If my friend the crow chance to come he might save me.' The jackal was pleased at the sight and thought that his object was gained. So he went up to the deer, who said :—'Friend, come quick and cut the net.' The jackal said :—'This is the holy day of **Munîsvara**. How can I touch animal sinew on a fast day ? Any other day I am at your service.' Night came on. The crow missing the deer came to look for him and asked him what had happened. ' This comes,' he answered, 'of trusting a false friend.' Meanwhile the farmer came up, and the crow said :—' He comes like another Yama, and we must act at once. Do as I tell you. Spread out your legs and feign to be dead.' The deer followed his advice, and when the farmer loosed him from the net the crow gave a caw and the deer escaped. Just then the jackal came up in hopes of a meal : but the farmer, vexed at his mishap, killed him with a blow of his cudgel. He that digs a pit for others falls in himself.' "

When he heard this tale, Laghupathânaka said to Hiraṇayaka :—" This is foolish talk. Accept me as your friend like Chitragrîva."

To which Hiranayaka replied :—" You are fickle-minded. It is not advisable to make an everlasting friendship with the fickle-minded. To add to this, you are my enemy. It is not good to be on terms of intimacy with an enemy, however good he may be. I cannot therefore be intimate with you." To which Laghupathânaka replied :— " Why talk so much without understanding my disposition ? Hear my last word. I have seen Chitragrîva enjoying the pleasure of your company. I desire to be on terms of friendship with you. It is well if you fulfil my prayers.

If not, I shall voluntarily starve myself to death and die." Hiraṇayaka hearing this came out of the hole and said :—"Laghupathânaka, I am very much pleased with you. I shall do what you desire me to do."' Thus saying, Hiraṇayaka pleased the crow by his good deeds, let him depart, and entered the hole. From that time forwards, the rat and the crow spent their days in friendly intercourse.

Some time after the crow seeing the rat said: —"Comrade, it is very difficult to eke out a livelihood here. I intend therefore to quit this desert for a suitable abode." Whereupon Hiraṇayaka replied:—"Teeth, hair, nails, and men will not shine if their habitation is gone. The wise person ought therefore to give up the idea of quitting a residence." To which the crow replied :—"Friend, your words are weak. Elephants, lions and good men wander wheresoever they will. Crows, birds and cowards perish in their own place, not being able to quit it." Whereupon Hiraṇayaka said:—"Comrade, where is it that you want to go to?" To which the crow replied:—"We should not quit an old residence without examining a new one. Therefore it is that I have not spoken to you before fixing our new quarters. There is in the forest of **Dandaka** a tank called **Karpuragaura.** In it dwells my friend **Manthara, the turtle-king.** He is a charitable creature. That excellent tortoise will support me with plenty of fish food." Whereupon Hiraṇayaka said:—"What can I do here after you are gone? Take me therefore along with you."

Laghupathânaka hearing this was very much pleased and consented to the proposal. They then began their journey with pleasant conversation on the way and reached the tank in a few days. When Manthara saw them at a distance, he went to meet them, fetched them thither, and feasted them as became their rank.

Laghupathânaka then said to Manthara:—"Comrade, treat this rat king respectfully. He is the foremost among the virtuous, the ocean of good qualities, and is known as Hiraṇayaka. Even Sesha is unable to describe his qualities. How much then am I?"

So saying he narrated Hiraṇayaka's story in detail from the beginning. Manthara then treated Hiraṇayaka with much respect and said :—"Hiranayaka, what is the cause of your living in a desert?" To which he replied:—

"There was a town named **Champakâvatî** which was inhabited by many **Sannyâsis,** among whom was one **Chudakarṇa.** He would eat part of the food fetched and would hang the other portion on a wooden peg fixed in the wall and then go to sleep. I would creep noiselessly to it and would every day partake of the food. Once upon a time he was conversing with his friend **Vinakarṇa** and was constantly looking up and shaking his rattle and terrifying me. Vinakarṇa then asked Chudakarṇa:—'Why is it that you look up and shake your rattle?' To which he replied:—'A rat every day gets up the wooden peg and partakes of the food there. It is a source of very great trouble to me.' Vinakarṇa hearing this said:—'Where is the rat and where the wooden peg? Where did such little creature get the strength to climb such a great height? There must be some cause for this. Sometime ago I went to a Brâhmaṇ's house to eat, when the Brâhmaṇ called his wife and said :—'To-morrow a few Brâhmaṇs must be fed as it is the new-moon day. What provisions have you collected for it?' To which the housewife replied:—'If the men bring home provisions the women can cook them. If they do not bring them what can we do?' Whereupon he grew exceedingly angry and turning to his wife said:—'We must manage with the things we possess and not seek what we have not.' To which the housewife agreed and said:—'I shall manage to-morrow's meal with the little that we have.' So saying she washed, pounded and dried a quantity of sesamum. A fowl then came and scratched away the seed. The Brâhmaṇ seeing this said:—'The sesamum seeds have become impure and unfit for a Brâhmaṇ meal. Go and exchange these for something else and return.' The housewife came the next day into the house to which I was invited to eat, and asked the housewife if she would give ordinary sesamum in exchange for her pounded seed The housewife gladly agreed to her proposal, took some sesamum seed in a sieve and was conversing when the master asked her what it was that she was bargaining about. To which she said that she received pounded sesamum seed in exchange for a smaller quantity of unhusked seed. The Brâhmaṇ hearing this said:—'O fool! would anybody give pounded seed in exchange for unhusked? There must be some reason for her giving it. Do not take this grain.' So this rat cannot have such strength and this fixed abode here without a cause.'

While Vinakarṇa told this tale, Chudakarṇa heard it, searched and found a hole where the rat was residing. 'Why should it reside here? I shall dig it up.' So saying he took up an axe and dug into my hole and took away all the treasure stored up from many a long day. Being sorely vexed, and unable to earn my daily bread, I was creeping sadly about when Chudakarṇa one

day saw me and said:—" Wealth is the root of all welfare. What is the good of life without money? This rat having lost all his wealth has lost with it his original strength.' When the Sannyâsin said this I grew dejected and thought thus within myself:—' It is not right for me to live here any longer. Nor is it proper to communicate my story to others.' Chudakarṇa seeing me not quitting the place aimed a fatal blow at me with his stick which I fortunately escaped. Had it struck me I must have been for long an inhabitant of Yâmalôka. So musing I left the place and came to the jungle where life is easier for us." Manthara hearing this said:—"Wealth is perishable, and it is useless to hoard it, as you will see from the fate of the miserly jackal.

One day a hunter named **Bhairava**, of the city of **Kalyâna Katak**, went into the forest. He slew a deer and was carrying it home when he met a wild pig. He aimed an arrow at the beast, which in his death struggle gored him and a great serpent which lay close by. So all three died then and there. Up came the jackal, **Thirgarava**, and seeing the dead bodies rejoiced at the prospect of having abundant food But in his greediness he thought to himself.—'The meat I will keep for use and meanwhile I will eat the bowstring.' As soon as he began to bite the string the arrow was released and slew him too."

When he heard these words of Manthara he rejoiced and said:—" Now I know the value of a good friend."

One day when they were enjoying themselves in the forest a deer rushed up, pursued by a hunter. The tortoise in his fear shuffled into the water: the rat crept into his hole and the crow flew to the top of a tree. He looked all round, and seeing no sign of danger called to his two friends. They came out and asked the deer what had befallen him. He said:—" My name is **Chitranga**, and I claim your protection." So they took him into their company, and all four lived pleasantly together.

One day the deer went out alone to graze, and when he did not return at the usual hour they feared lest evil may have befallen him.

They debated which of them should go in search of him. At last the crow said:—" I am the swiftest of birds, and will fly off and learn what has befallen him." He flew and flew high up in the air until he came to the place where the deer had fallen into a snare. The deer delighted to see his friend said:— "No time must be lost. Hasten and bring the rat Hiraṇayaka to gnaw the cords of the snare." So the crow went, and placing the rat on his back speedily flew back with him. When the rat succeeded in extricating the deer they asked him how he had fallen into this fresh disaster. " No creature," said he, " can escape his fate. When I was a little fawn one day I fell into a snare, was caught by a hunter and taken to the king's palace. There I was reared as a pet and golden ornaments were hung on my neck. One day when wandering in the city I was chased by boys but the ladies of the royal seraglio found me and tied me up near the chamber of the king. That night a heavy storm of rain came on and I cried out in my joy:—' How delightful is this rain! How sweet the grass will grow for me to eat.' The king wondered to hear a beast talk in the tongue of men, and next day sent for the astrologers and told them what he had heard. They said:—' For a beast to know human speech is an event of ill omen. Your Majesty should perform rites of expiation and send the deer to a distant forest.' So they sent me from that abode of peace and safety and I came to the forest where, as you know, I fell into the snare of the hunter."

Meanwhile the tortoise was anxiously expecting his friends the crow and the rat, and was delighted when they returned after rescuing the deer.

As they were talking the hunter camp up and missing the deer from the snare followed his touches. The crow again espied him and warned his friends. The rat got into a hole, the crow flew away and the deer hid himself in a thicket. But the hunter secured the tortoise and was carrying him off when the rat said to the deer:—" You must repay us for rescuing you by saving the tortoise. Go into this pond, and lie down as if you were dead: the crow will sit on your back and seem as about to peck out your eyes. Then the hunter will put down the tortoise and he can escape."

They did as he planned, and the trick succeeded. The tortoise escaped and the four friends were once again united.

---

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### CRUSE AND GROSSO.

In the days when Jeddah (also Judda and Jidda) on the Red Sea was a great mart for European ships, all goods and payments were valued and stated there in cruse. It was a money of account and was divided into 40 duanees.

The quotations which follow show that the cruse was two-fifths of a commercial dollar or 40 cents, and that the duanee was therefore one cent.

It was also an actual coin, and as such the quotations show that its value was about two shillings sterling or something under, that being evidently also its value in accounts.

The word in its various forms represents the Arabic word ḳirsh and its plural ḳurûsh.

The term duanee, with its Italian variant medini (*medino*), I have not been able to trace. But both forms are *primâ facie* from some identical root like the Arabic دين dain.

Neither *cruse* nor *duanee* are in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, and oddly enough Kelly's *Universal Cambist* makes no mention of Jeddah and its money.

**1739.** "Species of Coins current in Bassora and Bagdat . . . . 1 Croush is 4½ *Mamoodies*." — Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, II., Appx., 4.
**1835.** "At Bassora or Bussorah . . . . the *Mamoudi* = 3⅕ Grains of fine gold, or 40 Grains of fine silver, or 5½*d*. sterling." — Kelly, *Cambist*, I. 30. (Therefore the croush = 24¾ *d*. or a florin.)

**1775.** "Judda weight, 100 dollars at 250 Cruse: . . . . Lump silver (if good), 100 dollars at 250 Ditto: . . . . Bar silver, 100 dollars at 250 Ditto: Venitians, 100 weigh 29 Secar Rup. 13 Annas — 4 Judda Cruse ¼ Pice[1] . . . . A List of Presents given the Bashaw and his Officers at Judda, with the different Assortment of Goods and the Specie they are to consist of . . . Bashaw 42 Pieces, Value as per Judda Sale of Goods 500 Judda Cruse . . . . [total] 281 Pieces Value at Judda Cruse 3000 . . . . To the Bashaw's Guard on-board. 1 Cruse per Day till they have cleared the Ship and 20 Cruse his *Bucxeys*[2] . . . . Charges . . . Paid Packers for packing ditto [old Copper], *viz*, 85 Bales at 14 Duanies per Bale 29 [*Cruse*] 30 [*Duanies*]." — Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, pp. 60-65.

**1813.** "Accounts are kept in cruse and duanees, 40 of the latter making one of the former . . . . Venetians 100 = 22¼ Sicca Rupees [ = ] 4¾ cruse[3] . . . . it would be best, in making your sales, to fix both the price and value of your silver and gold coin (in cruse) with the merchant." — Milburn, *Commerce*, I. pp. 87-94. (Milburn has, after the manner of the time, incorporated the whole of Stevens' information, without acknowledgment.)

[1] This statement does not tally with the rest and there must be something wrong here.

[2] *I. e.*, *Bakhshî* or clerk, see Yule *s.v.* Buxee.

**1835.** "Alexandria in Egypt . . . . Accounts are kept in *Piastres* current of 40 Medini . . . . a Griscio[4] or *Abuquelp* [? *Abukulf*] at 30 . . . . These [Griscio, etc.] are real Egyptian coins." — Kelly, *Cambist*, I. 4. (Apparently the *piastre* of the XVIII. Cent. was about 2 shillings sterling, [Kelly, II. 168 f *s.v.* Turkey,] and so the Griscio would be ¾ *piastre* or about 1s 6*d*. sterling.)

**1884.** "Qirs (قرش) pl. qurûsh, *piaster*." — Steingass, *Arabic Dict.*

The Italian form *griscio* for *ḳirsh* tempts me, under correction, to connect another Arabic expression قرّض ḳurṣ with a well known Italian money of account and coin, grosso. It will be seen from the quotations that both were of the value 1½*d*. to 3*d*. sterling

**1831.** "Grosso, a piece of money worth about three pence English." — Barretto, *Italian-English Dict.*

**1835.** "Venice . . . . Monies of Account . . . . old System . . . . Moneta Piccola has been the general money since the year 1750: Valuta Corrente was that which preceded it: and Banco was the money in which the Bank of Venice kept its accounts: it was 20 per cent. better than Valuta Corrente and 54⅝ better than Moneta Piccola . . . . the Ducato Corrente is divided into 24 Grossi and each Grosso into 12 Grossetti or Denari di Ducato. The Ducat Banco is also divided into 24 Grossi each of 12 Denari."

Padua. — "Accounts are here kept in Ducats of 24 Grossi or 288 Denari."

Bergamo. — "Accounts are also kept in Ducats of 24 Grossi each Grosso being divided into 12 Piccoli or Denari di Ducato." — Kelly, *Cambist*. Vol. I. pp. 31, 274, 344.

Now Kelly tells us (Vol. I. p. 344) that a Venice "6⅕ Lire Piccole equal the Ducat Corrente and 9⅗ Lire the Ducat Banco: hence 31 of the latter equal 48 of the former," and, at Vol. II. p. 153, he tells us that the Lira Piccola in the old coins of Venice equals in silver 5·07*d*. So the Ducat Corrente was worth 2*s*. 7*d*., and the Ducat Banco 4*s*. Hence the Grosso Corrente was worth about 1¼*d*. and the Grosso Banco 2*d*.

In Vol. II. p. 166 we find that at Rome the Grosso or Half Parlo of 1785 was a silver coin worth 2 58*d*.

[3] See above, n. 1. Milburn has not succeeded in correcting Stephen's mistake.

[4] Clearly an Italian form of *ḳirsh*.

This term **grosso** seems to be the same that, under the forms **gros, grosche, (groschen), groschel** has spread itself, for both a coin and a money of account worth a penny to three pence, in former days into **France, Switzerland, Prussia, parts of Germany, Poland, Hungary and Russia** : *vide* Kelly, *Cambist, passim.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

In honour of **Marbaut,**[3] the ruler of evil spirits, fiends, ghouls or *ghûls*, and vampires, a worship is performed at night on the day following the Pola feast, by the Marâṭhâs. They set an idol representing him, made of cow-dung; and present the accustomed offerings with rejoicings. When the day dawns, the ceremony is repeated. This done, a man from each house, with a bough in one hand and the idol in the other, goes on shouting at the top of his voice, "O Marbaut, eradicate all sources of ill health and molestations of devils." On going a little distance he throws away what he took with him and then brings back in lieu branches of trees with a view to frightening the devil and avoiding fortuitous dangers.

A ceremonial rite which takes place either on the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 11th, 13th, or 15th day after a child's birth, is generally superintended by adult women. First they bring a bitch and bathe it, anointing its face and four legs with ground turmeric and dry vermilion. A garland of flowers is then wrapped round its neck. And finally, after incensing it, they fall at its feet, utter these words: "Bless the mother with healthy progeny like yours."

To propitiate a god or goddess, to procure revenge a man who has offended another, or to be victorious in an enterprise, animals are sacrificed. The satisfaction of the god in such cases is ascertained by the animals brought to sacrifice shaking their bodies when the water is sprinkled thick and fast over them.[4]

M. R. PEDLOW.

BITTERU AND BARIKA.

IN the very interesting inscription at Managôḷi published by Dr. Fleet (*Epigraphia Indica*, Part I. Vol. V. January 1898) there occur the terms **biṭṭêṟu** (p. 22) and **bârika** (p. 23).

The passage in which **biṭṭêṟu** occurs, I translate as follows —

. . . . of Maningavaḷḷi's southern fields in (the hamlet of) Mŏgĕvâḍa (*viz.*) on the west of the road to Kallanguṟukĕ, on the east of the cultivable land of (the man called) Hŏnnŏḷĕyavaru, on the north of the cultivable land of the goddess Kĕnganavvĕ of (the shrine of) the mûlasthâna god, on the south of the fertile (yellowish) soi. (mŏgĕ) of Chĕnnagêsimayya Biṭṭêṟu (*i. e.*, Chĕnnal gêsimayya with the surname of biṭṭêṟu or javelin-he gave fifty mattars (of land) of forty spans of the established (size of the) blade (or the tip of a missile) to the pole of the hog's savage extent (? agaḍimbada = agaḍu-imbada ?).

The term '**bârika**' is explained in Bhaṭṭâkalankadêva's *Śabdânuśâsana*, edited (A. D. 1890) by B. Lewis Rice, C. I. E., etc., as follows :— bârikan | bâri iti vâraniyataṁ garhyaṁ karma | tatra niyuktaḥ || a bârika | bâri 'a turn-fixed low business' | a man engaged therein || Thus *bârika* probably means 'a man who obtains a meal daily according to rotation from the houses of charitable people,' or 'a sponger.'

*Tübingen,*
*5th May* 1898.

F. KITTEL.

CARAFT.

HERE is a delicious *Hobson-Jobson* from that veritable well of curious Anglo-Indianisms, the *Madras Manual of Administration,* Vol. III.

**1893. Caraft** ( قرابه **karâbah, Hind.**) **From karabah, Ar.** [ ? ḳirba قربه ] **water-bag, stitched** on one side. **Jar: carboy.** Page 128.

**1893. Carboy** ( قرابه **karâbah,** Hind.) Leather water jar : **caraft.** Page 129.

Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, sv.v.*, gives both **caraffe** and **carboy** as European words derived from قرابه Persian.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KUKI.

How has this epithet or name come to be applied by Bengalis to the Lushâi tribes? To what other distinct tribes to the east of Bengal is it applied? The derivation and use of the term, with some notes on the tribes known as Kuki, and references to fuller sources of information, would be an acceptable paper to some readers of the *Indian Antiquary.*

BONGO is a term in what may be called Santal Mythology. A paper descriptive of the Bongo, —

[3] [ ? a corruption of Maliku'l-maut, the Lord of Death. — ED ]
[4] Narrated by the writer's friend, N. Ramlingum Maduray, Pillay.

its representations, ideas associated therewith, and on related matters in Santal beliefs, — would be an interesting contribution to aboriginal ideas of religion.

J. BURGESS.

## SEPOY.

### Earliest known instance of the Word.

YULE, *Hobson-Jobson, s v.*, says:— "We have found no English example in print older than 1750, but probably an older one exists. The India Office record for 1747, from Fort St. David's, is the oldest notice we have found in extant MS."

In his *Diary of Sir William Hedges*, Vol II. p. 359 f., he says in a note on a Bombay Consultation, dated 24th January 1717/18, containing the expression "a Company of Sepoys" and several references to sepoys in a procession of January the 29th, and also to "Government Sepoys in Liveries":—"This is an occurrence of the word Sepoy in its modern signification 30 years earlier than any I had been able to find when publishing the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. I have one a year earlier and expect now to find it earlier still."

But in the same book, Vol. I. p. 55 f., Sir William Hedges writes, under date, December 12th, 1682:—"As soon as these letters were sent away I went immediately to Ray Nundiloll's to have had ye Seapy, or Nabob's horseman, consigned to me with order to ye *Perwanna* put in execution." And then follows a good deal more about "the Seapy."

R. C. TEMPLE.

## MARRIAGE CUSTOM AMONGST MARATHAS.

THE bride and bridegroom are made to stand in baskets filled with unhusked wheat. Behind them stands the maternal uncles of each (*or* any other fit persons) with naked swords in their hands, surrounded by the friends of the bride and bridegroom. The origin of the basket custom is supposed to be derived from the Kshatriyas of old, and to mean that no man shall marry a woman until he can maintain her. The custom of the naked sword is also probably of Kshatriya descent.

A legend is told to account for it thus:—A Râjâ was engaged in marrying his son, when the evening before the final ceremony, Satwâî, the goddess who presides over the destinies of new-born children, warned him of danger to the pair to be wedded next day, and advised his taking unusual precautions. Sentries were accordingly posted round the place where the marriage was taking place, but the figure of a tiger painted on a soldier's shield suddenly became animated, and leaping up from the shield, killed the bride and the bridegroom before any one could interfere.

It is clear, I think, that the ceremony of the naked sword is a relic of the times when it was necessary to protect the marriage party from violence from outside.[1]

The late B. V. SHASTRI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## THE MATERNAL UNCLE IN NORTH INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

THE maternal uncle takes a very important part in Hindû marriages. On the day the *tewâ* or letter announcing the auspicious date for the marriage is sent to the father of the girl, a present of sweetmeats (the proper amount of which is 10 *sers*) is sent to the maternal uncle. The wedding crown for the bridegroom and the wedding dress of the bride and bridegroom are presented by their respective maternal uncles. In other ways also he takes a prominent part in the wedding ceremonial. I would suggest that this is a survival of the primitive institution of the matriarcat, whereby legitimate succession was confined to the mother's side. For instances of this in various countries, see Letourneau's *Sociology* translated by Trollope. Where the marriage tie is loose the father of the child would be, as a rule, unknown, and naturally the woman's representative would not be the putative father of her child, but her brother. This is a point which might be elaborately worked out.

W. CROOKE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## TRANSFER OF CATTLE-DISEASE, A FORM OF SCAPE-GOAT.

RORA means any contagious or epidemic disease of cattle. Foot-and-mouth disease is *munkhôr*.

The village to which the disease is transferred must be to the east of that which transfers it. The transfer must be made on a Sunday; and no field work must be done, grass cut, corn ground, food cooked, or fire lighted on the Saturday or Sunday.

All these precautions were observed by the people of Pur Khâs, who also had a Brâhman with them and fired off a gun three times to scare the disease.

[1] [See *Mookerjee's Magazine* and *Orient*. — ED.]

Some say that there was a pig, not a lamb, and that it was carried by a sweeper.

Saturday and Sunday seem in some way to be sacred to horned cattle, as on those days neither cattle, nor leather, nor *ghî* must be bought or sold; and all cattle that die on those days must be buried, instead of being eaten by the *kamîns* (village menials).

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MUSALMAN TOMBS.

IT is my impression that the symbols on Muslamân tombs vary considerably according to their locality I think I can give an explanation of the question, regarding the oblong hollows on the top of certain Muhammadan tombs which I believe to be the tombs of women, but I do not think these hollows are filled with earth as is there supposed, but with the accumulated sediment of pounded sandal wood. In the year 18 78 we spent some days at Fatehpûr Sîkrî, about 22 miles from Agrâ. In the large court-yard of the mosque at this place is the tomb of Salîm Chishtî, the great saint of the time of Akbar. It was no doubt esteemed a very high privilege to be buried near him. Several tombs close by were pointed out to me by the guardian of this tomb as the last resting places of some of the ladies of, and female attendants at, the court of the Mugha Emperors On Thursday evening, just about sunset, I was sitting near the saint's tomb, when a well dressed native (Musalmân of course) came by me, carrying a basin in his hand, which held perhaps a pint of a thick-looking liquid, the colour of cocoa. He proceeded to pour a small quantity of this on several tombs, into hollows similar to those described. After he had finished his pious duty, I accosted him, and learnt that these were all women's tombs on which he poured the libation, and that he was in the habit of pour ing this mixture of pounded sandal wood and water on them every Thursday at that hour.

The late Mrs. MURRAY-AINSLIE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

RUSTIC DIVISIONS OF THE DAY.

WITH the Panjâbi *niddá roṭî* compare the Mathurâ expression *komara chhâka*, which means easy noon — *i. e*, not quite time for the midday collation, *komara* or *komala* being equivalent to *narm*, soft or easy; while *chhâka* probably represents the Sanskrit *chashaka*, a drinking vessel, and corresponds with what a Suffolk harvester calls his "beaver" (the French *boire*), a snack between breakfast and lunch.

The late F. S. GROWSE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN GROUP OF TRIBES. By M. V. PORTMAN. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1898).[1]

THIS is a heavy quarto, 390 + 191 pica pages, printed in a type easy to read, but in a confused manner for a work of this kind, which requires the judicious use of varied founts to bring out the points clearly for the reader. The blame for this fault no doubt does not lie with the author, from what one knows of the vagaries of a Government Press.

It is a work of exceeding interest to myself for many reasons, and perhaps I ought not to have undertaken to notice it for this *Journal*, as it frequently alludes to my own work on the subject, and is based on my own suggestions as to the form it has taken. But the thought that the Andamanese languages are of necessity known to a few only, has overruled personal considerations and induced me to agree to do so. The labour involved in the production of this elaborate work, spread over nearly twenty years, must have been very great, and every page shows the minute knowledge and painstaking accuracy of the author. In addition, the information given is mostly original, and all of it is at first hand. The whole, therefore, forms a volume of great intrinsic merit and value to philologists. Its pages contain, perhaps, the most thorough examination to which any 'savage' language has yet been subjected. Mr. Portman has, in truth, by this book added considerably to the debt of gratitude that science already owes him for his long-continued, patient, and intelligent studies of the Andamanese.

His peculiarities are, of course, now well known, including his defiant adherence to expressed views, and accordingly we have again his old trick of assuming that the public understands, without assistance, references to obscure and scarce books. Indeed, in one place he refers to "My History of our relations with the Andamanese," which is not yet out, so far as I know; at any rate, I have never been favoured officially or otherwise with a printed copy thereof. And then he enters into a long criticism of details of Mr. Man's invaluable monograph on the Andamanese

[1] First printed in the *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1899.

by means of references merely to the pages of the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute. This will certainly serve only to puzzle, the reader, as, unfortunately, subscribers to the Institute are not very numerous, as possibly they might be with advantage to themselves. We also find trotted out repeatedly Mr. Portman's favourite theory, as an established fact, of the probable disappearance in the early future of the Andamanese as a people, a theory which naturally may or may *not* be true. Let us all hope it is not, as I most certainly do.

With this notice of blemishes, which are after all not of much importance, let me turn to a very brief examination of the contents of this most laborious and valuable publication.

Like all true teachers, Mr. Portman begins with an admirable map, taken from the **Marine Survey of the Andamans** The only fault that could be found with this is that it does not embody the latest fruits of that Department's splendid work. But for this Mr Portman is not to blame, as it was not possible for him to have included them. For the purposes of his book the map is complete, clear, and quite trustworthy.

We are also favoured with a short chapter on **the five tribes of the Southern Andamanese**, with their septs and divisions, replete with new and minute knowledge of the subject. These tribes are the **Aka-Beada, Akar-Bale, Puchikwar, Aukau-Juwoi,** and **Kol**. Aka-Beada is a more 'correct' form of the Bojig-ngijida of former works In addition, all Andamanese are divided into **long-shore men and forest men— Aryauto** and **Eremtaga** in the Aka-Beada language, which is that spoken about the great Penal Settlement at Port Blair. Each tribe speaks its own language, or rather variety, not dialect, of the general South Andaman language, of which Mr Portman thinks the Puchikwar to be probably nearest the parent tongue, whatever that was He notices, too, both generally and specifically, that the Andamanese freely use gestures to eke out the sense of their speech, and remarks on the richness of the languages in concrete terms and their poverty in abstract expressions. All this is natural in a group of savage tongues.

The bulk of Mr. Portman's book is taken up with well-chosen and well-presented **specimens of the languages** as actually used, and most careful analyses of typical sentences and words, a full explanation of the manner in which, and the plan on which, the words are built up, an attempt to translate a portion of the Bible into one of them, **a comparative vocabulary**, and an excellen **analysis of the words** therein. The book has, however, no vernacular index, a want that every student thereof will at once feel.

The object of the work is "to give a general idea of the languages and mental attitude, of the people," and with the help of "a comparative vocabulary and its analysis to show how the words are constructed and how the different languages compare with each other." To assist him in achieving this, Mr. Portman has utilized a small privately printed pamphlet of my own, which was "A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal Grammar," specially designed, some sixteen years ago, to meet the very difficulties with which he had found himself face to face, when he commenced the work under review. That pamphlet arose out of the practical impossibility of using the usual inflexional system of grammar taught in Europe for the accurate description of a group of languages constructed after the fashion of the Andamanese. The book under notice is consequently of exceptional interest to myself, as a means of watching how my theory has stood the first practical test which has been applied to it Mr. Portman has hardly used the Theory as I should myself have used it, still his use of it is such as to give an idea of its working in a stranger's hands.

The Theory I propounded had its immediate origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, public and private, on my former work on the Andamanese speech, in which he pointed out that, in order to adequately represent, for scientific readers, such a form of speech, "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation," and he asked me accordingly if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." This and the further consideration that, since every human being speaks with but the object of communicating his own intelligence to other human beings, the several possible ways of doing this must be based on some general laws applicable to them all, if one could only find them out, led me to make the attempt to construct a general theory on logical principles, which should abandon the inflexional treatment, its conceptions, and its terms. Now, my efforts led me not only to abandon the accepted grammatical terms, but also to reverse the accepted order of teaching them, to alter many accepted definitions, and while admitting much that is usually taught, both to add and omit many details. Taken all round, the Theory was a wide departure from orthodox teaching. But it is always difficult for human beings to take quite a

new departure. The instinct of continuity — of evolution — is generally too strong in them to admit of a complete break with the past, and so Mr. Portman, while accepting my theory and using my terms in his laborious and remarkable pages, really does violence to both by adhering to the time-honoured plan of putting accidence before syntax, in addition to the indiscriminate employment of the old terms side by side of my novel ones, in a confused and puzzling, but from the point of view of the evolutionist, a most interestingly naive style. I am also, I regret to say, otherwise far from feeling assured that he has understood aright either the theory or the terms, which by the way does not look well for my exposition! *E. g*, he says that one of the functions of the prefixes in Andamanese is to indicate the genders of the roots. But I purposely and expressly left 'gender' out of the Theory, because it is merely a clumsy mode of explaining a certain kind of inflexion. Again, while informing us that the prefixes are used to modify the meanings of the roots, he says, "in short the prefixes are qualitative affixes," a term I employed to signify that class of affix which is used to denote the inherent qualities of a word. *E g*., to use the familiar terminology, audi-*re*, verb; audi-*ens*, part.; audi-*tor*, noun: — laugh-*ter*, noun; laugh-*ing*, part.; laughing-*ly*, adv. This sort of affix is quite a different thing from what I called a radical affix, used for modifying the meaning of the root into that of the stem deriving from the root, defining a stem to be root plus a modifying affix. This can be seen from the last word analyzed, 'laughingly,' where *ly* classifies the word, *laugh* is the root (in pedantic strictness a stem, because it is an amplification of a simpler root), and laugh-*ing* the stem, *i. e.*, the root modified by the affix *ing*. So in *willingness* and *willingly*, *ness* and *ly* would be qualitative affixes and *ing* a radical affix, as defined in the Theory.

Indeed, Mr. Portman's treatment of the Theory is throughout such a compromise between the system under which he was brought up and that I proposed — is such "fine confused feeding" in fact — that I cannot attempt to follow it further in a brief notice of his book, and in order to see how far the Theory is applicable to its purpose, *viz*., the adequate explanation of a novel savage tongue, I will, in a future issue of this *Journal*, put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman's sixth chapter on the **Andaman Fire Legend**, which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andamanese.

With these remarks, I will take leave for the present of Mr. Portman's last book, congratulating him on producing for scholars on the whole so fine an example of patient and intelligent study, combined with straightforward honest presentation.

R. C. TEMPLE.

---

MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS. By ALEXR. REA Madras: 1897.

To Prof. Kielhorn of Göttingen University I owe my acquaintance with this splendid volume, No. 25 of the New Imperial Series of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India.

The interest I take in matters connected both with India and with Holland induced me to examine the work with some care, and I now venture to offer a few remarks on a portion of it, *viz*., on the copies of the inscriptions and some of the accompanying translations, as well as on the Plates reproduced at the end of the book.

The work consists of three Parts, together with an Index and the Plates just mentioned. Part I., 'Historical Memoir," pp. 1-43, gives an account of the development of the Dutch power in India, and of the gradual transference of their settlements to the English. Of this section it will suffice to say that the author's statements are supported by numerous authorities quoted at the foot of the pages.

Part II., pp. 44-64, deals with the **Monumental Remains**. It is from this section that the work takes its title, and the inscriptions may therefore be considered to form the most important part of the book. To these we will now turn our attention. Of the first inscription the author gives "a copy and interlined translation" on page 47. None of the copies on pp. 47-54 are represented among the Plates, so that the book affords no means of comparing the transcripts with the originals. In translated copies, however, one would expect some indication of a proper division of the letters into words, as well as a *complete* translation. The first inscription is deficient in both respects. Only three lines out of the seven are translated, while some of the words cannot be correctly given; *e g*., "iufer" should read "iuffer;" "ceniuny" must mean the month of June with the day indicated by the three letters "cen," which cannot be explained without a trustworthy facsimile; for "mandenen" we should read "maanden en;" "jydagen" may stand for "IX dagen." The last four lines of the inscription may then be translated: "book-keeper in the service of the honourable (?) company; died the ——th of June, Anno 1703, (at the age of) 21 years, 2 months

(and) 9 (?) days." The inscription is taken, as are also the following, from other sources, so that the author may not be originally responsible for the mistakes and omissions.

In the next "copy" the words "raetvan in dierst" make no sense, and "Councillor in the service" does not translate them. In the last two lines (p. 49) "haer lyven rotten hier" does not mean "their lives lie here," but "their bodies decay here;" while "de twee geleven" (read "gelieven") means "the two lovers," not "these two persons."

In the following inscription (p. 49), in the translation of the second verse, we should read: "had I misery ("ellende," not "ellinde) as my lot."

On p. 50, for "administratevor" read "administrateur;" "systorf" = "sy storf," "she died;" "voor-of tegenwinden" means "favourable or adverse winds," not "winds to and fro," which is nonsense. Of what use the following translation of the last three verses can be, is difficult to see: "there she was brought up, here dead, she in God happily." The correct version should be: "there she was brought up, here she died happy in God."

In the next copy (p. 50), for "coppercoopman" read "oppercoopman;" the Dutch form for "elevated" is certainly not "geeliefert;" for "gemelten" read "gemelden;" for "genoemdem" read "genoemden." On p. 51 for "alheir" read "alhier;" "lyven" again translated by "lives," instead of by "bodies."

The following copy (p. 51) is a very bad one with several mistakes. For "roow" read "rouw" for "be weend" read "beweend;" for "pranen" read "tranen;" for "warde" read "waarde."

On p. 53, line 1, for "liye" read "leyt."

The worst specimen of all is found on p. 54 It is impossible to correct all the mistakes without a facsimile, but such forms as the following will show the worthlessness of the reproduction: "miju" for "mijn;" "mign" for "mijn;" "geroin" for "gervin;" "gemalume" for "gemalinne." Four of the verses are thus copied:

"Dus stern be dekt het rif man molder dochters zoon haar zielen zign om livog by God ins hebuels froon wil zalig is de mensh wens leven heir zoo eendi met uoorsmaak van God's vrengd bevrijd vanal elendi."

These verses should read:

"Dees steen bedekt het rif van moeder, dochter, zoon.
Haar zielen zijn omhoog by God in 's Hemels troon.
Welzalig is de mensch wiens leven heeft zoo'n ende,
Met voorsmaak van Gods vreugd, bevrijd van al ellende."

The translation is as follows:

"This stone covers the remains of mother, daughter, son.
Their souls are on high with God on Heaven's throne.
Full blessed is the man whose life has such an end.
With foretaste of God's joy, freed from all misery."

The remaining dozen lines (p. 54) swarm with mistakes, which it will be unnecessary to point out or correct.

As far as these so-called copies of inscriptions are concerned (pp. 47-54), the work might as well have been left unpublished. If the transcriptions were worth reproducing at all, they should have been given accurately, and the task of copying and translating them should have been entrusted to a scholar possessing a competent knowledge of Dutch. As it is, this part of the work is almost valueless.

Of Part III., "Indo-Dutch Coinage," pp. 65-72, I am not competent to speak with authority.

We will now briefly refer to the Plates at the end of the volume. They number 63, of which 52 are inscriptions on tombstones. Of these 29 are facsimiles, the others are drawings. All of them are finely reproduced, especially the ornamentations, but some of the drawings labour under the same disadvantages as the copies on pp. 47-54. They have been faultily executed, apparently by one imperfectly acquainted with the language, but most of them (15, 18, 24, 26, 29, 30, etc.) are quite correct Curiously enough, Plate 23, which represents a Latin inscription, also contains an error, whether found in the original, or only in the copy, cannot be ascertained from the Plate.

On p. 57 *sq.* are given some translations of Plates by Dr. J. Burgess, all from drawings. These translations are mostly correct, but a few remarks suggest themselves.

In Plate 15 the words round the monogram have been misunderstood and hence mistranslated. "When me to life brought I numbered ten and eight years" makes no sense. The Dutch is plain enough, and reads: "When death brought me into life," etc.

Plate 21 (translation, p. 58), for "Pieteren" read "Pietersen."

Plate 22 (translation, p. 58), for "Ceertruijdt" read "Geertruydt;" for "Al Monde" read "Almonde."

In Plate 25, line 4, there must be a mistake of the copyist. I suspect that the proper name "Gules" should read "Gilles," not an uncommon Dutch Christian name. In the next line, for "Capieyn" read "Capteyn" or "Capiteyn." In the translation, p. 58, the word "skeleton," in brackets, is superfluous, the Dutch "lichaem" (now "lichaam") having only the meaning "body."

The verses on Plate 31 make no sense. Line 3 should perhaps begin "die" instead of "des." The 6th verse is wrong in the translation; it means literally: "where celestials inherit joy."

On Plate 32, and in the translation on p. 60, we find a biblical text from Daniel 19. v. 13. I am not sufficiently versed in theological matters to decide whether the Book of Daniel ever contained 19 chapters, but the text is from Chap 12. In the same inscription we are told that Dirk Both was in his lifetime "merchant and chief," which dual capacity perhaps accounts for the translation of the first verse, in which we are informed that "The cold bones of both lie under this slab." This is intelligible only on the supposition that Dirk kept one set of bones for his functions as a merchant, and another when he acted as chief. Although the drawing has the word "both," the translation might have supplied the capital letter to the word.

The translation of the verses on Plate 33 is misleading. The first verse should read:

"Here lies De Munt's pleasure, enjoyment, delight, and all."

The third verse:

"He mourned in bitter sorrow."

The facsimile plates are well reproduced, and are almost entirely legible. As, however, none of them has been transcribed or interpreted, I give a copy and translation of what is perhaps the most curious one, *viz.*, of Plate 45.

Neemt Ghij Acht?

Wiens Rust-Stee ditte moge sijn,
Weet dan! 't is Pieter Hemsinckx Fijn,
Eenen Bloem! van Yonge Geesten
Seer ge-acht bij de minst' en meesten,
Door Deugden! die de Faem droeg vert!
Hier lijt sijn Romp! maer blijft in 't hert
Gegrift, wiens oogn dees Bloem besat
Oock in sijn Wandel Vreughden hadt.
Soodat Lof, Vreed' en Goedigheijt,
Noijt vergeet Heijd' of CHRISTENHEIJT.
Hy! wien 't Vernuft scheen hoog gestelt,
Leght lag'! O Doodt! te Vroegh gevelt.
Sodat het Lichaem hier beneen,
Met Moeder, Suster, rust bij een.
Wiens Zielen drie sijn opgegaen,
Om 's HEMELS Croon van GODT t' ontfaen.

WAT IS DEN-MENSCH?

Hier legt begraven Pieter Hemsinck Jongman geboren ten desen Contoire Zadrangapatnam den 13en Augusti: 1665. Overleden den 24en Februarij: 1682. Out zijnde: 16: Jaren, 6: Maenden, 21: Dagen:.

Translation.

Takest Thou Heed?

Whose Resting-Place this may be,
Know then, it is that of Pieter Hemsinck,
A flower of youthful spirits[1]
Much esteemed by the lowest and the highest
For virtues which Fame carried abroad!
Here lies his body! but (his name) remains in the heart
Engraved of him whose eyes possessed this flower
And who had joy in his career.
So that (his) praise, peace, and kindliness
Are never forgotten by Heathen or Christendom.
He whose reason seemed placed high
Lies low! O Death! too early felled.
So that his body here below
With (those of) mother, sister, rests together,
Whose souls three have gone on high
To receive Heaven's crown from God.

What is Man?

Here lies buried Peter Hemsinck a youth born at this Factory of Sadras the 13th of August 1665, died the 24th of February 1682, aged 16 years, 6 months, 21 days.

As the chief object of the publication of the volume seems to have been to present to the reader the Monumental Remains of the Dutch in Madras, it would have been more satisfactory if, together with the copies on pp. 47-53, the originals had also been given. If this had been done, the numerous errors both in the copies and in the translations might be better controlled. Nor does it appear why only some of the plates have been translated.

*Göttingen,* G. J. TAMSON.
*August* 1898.

[1] This verse makes no sense in Dutch either, "geesten" being apparently used for the sake of rhyme with "meesten."

THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA, from the Earliest Times to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. By C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W. R. RICKMERS). (Archibald Constable and Co., 1899.)[1]

THIS remarkable compilation possesses the qualities which such a book should possess — a clear and well-considered plan steadily adhered to, a matured presentment of the matters entered, an informed selection of the authorities. A work on Chronology to be of use must, on its own merits, command respect and confidence as to general accuracy, and to my mind there is no doubt that Miss Duff's book (to give the author her best-known name) is entitled to both. The methods adopted for ensuring accuracy are unimpeachable, and the sources of information as nearly so as existing conditions admit. The references to the authorities are ubiquitous and of the highest value. The list of those who have actively assisted the author is of itself a guarantee of the care, knowledge, and research brought to bear on the subject.

The general plan of the work is "a table of events in chronological order" of ascertained facts and dates only, supplemented by an extremely valuable **Appendix**, consisting of **Lists of Indian Dynasties**, in which are included all the known names of the kings, with the dates of those only, as to whom positive information is available. There are also **collated lists of the Pauranic Dynasties — Saisunâga, Maurya, Suṅga, Kaṇva, Andhrabhṛtîya.** These Lists and Tables are made to work in together, so as to form a kind of index of dates to each other, in a highly commendable manner. In addition, there is a very long, complete, and most laborious index to the whole work.

To say that such a book supplies a need, and will be of assistance to students, is to put the case too mildly, as it will, on account of its carefulness and completeness within its limits, be of inestimable value to those whose studies take them into matters connected with Indian history, and will save them an infinite amount of troublesome and thankless search in the verification of details; for Miss Duff's admirable industry and patience have not only now placed the desired facts within easy reach, but have also supplied the necessary references to the authorities, by which her statements can be readily verified. One student, at any rate, of things Indian, tenders her his hearty thanks in anticipation for much future trouble saved.

The preface hints at the present work being intended only as a preliminary edition, and, though no one could wish to compel an author to undertake so great and so careful a labour, as is involved in the book before us, more than once in a lifetime, one cannot but hope that should research, current and to come, cause, as it ought, another edition to early succeed the present one, the work will fall to the competent hand so successful on this occasion. But whenever the time comes such another edition, it is to be hoped that, just as the Sinhalese Chronology has been now introduced as germane to the Indian, circumstances will have rendered it possible to introduce the Burmese also. The connection of the various Burmese and Peguan Dynasties with, at least, Buddhist India was much closer than many suspect, and the present writer feels convinced that an intimate study of Burmese Chronology will serve to throw light on that of early India. The epigraphic data available for the purpose are quite as numerous and trustworthy as those for India, and the vernacular literary data are also very many and far from untrustworthy. Unfortunately, both these sources of correct information still await the attention of competent students.

This is one direction in which Miss Duff's labours might in future be enlarged with advantage, should the state of research permit. Here is another. **The Chand Dynasty of Kumaun, the Kâṅgṛâ Dynasty, and some Nêpâlî Dynasties** are given in the Appendix. There are genealogies existing in MS., which should be procurable through the political agencies, of Chambâ, Jammûṅ, Nâhan, and many another Himâlayan 'kingdom,' the value of which, when historical inquiries are necessary, can be demonstrated by a reference to the prefaces of the various semi-historical tales from the Hills to be found in the *Legends of the Panjab*. I once had, even if I have not now, put away in some forgotten place of safety, authentic vernacular copies of several of these in my own possession: and if I recollect rightly, some of them found a corner in *Panjab Notes and Queries*. All such lists require a good deal of verification, of course, but, though the facts they purport to relate truly might never find their way into the Tables, they might be usefully included in the Lists of the Appendix.

As to the limits that the author has imposed upon herself, personally I should like to see the work continued on to the year 1700 A. D. or thereabouts, so as to include the chief facts of the earlier European struggles in India.

With these remarks and hints, thrown out for what they may be worth, I take leave of one of the most praiseworthy efforts at the compilation of a good book of reference it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] First printed in the *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1899.

# ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.*

(*Continued from p.* 93.)

## C. PRONOUNS.

### I. Personal Pronouns.

**227.** The Accusative is the same as the Nominative. I find, however, that the Dative is generally used for the Accusative in the 1st and 2nd person singular, and in the 1st person plural; *e. g.*, مِیہ وُچھن *wuchhan me* (dat.), they will see me; مِیہ وُچھِو *me wuchhiu*, you will see me; تراو اسہ *trâv asi*, leave us; but تِم تراوِت *tim trâvit*, after he had left them; تِم تراویوک *tim trâvyûk*, leave ye them.

The genitive is wanting, and its place is supplied by the Possessive pronouns, as will be subsequently explained.

### 228. Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd Persons.

Singular.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. / Acc. | بُہ *bo*, I ... ... ... ... ... ... | چہ *tsa*, thou |
| Instr. / Dat. / Abl. / Loc. | مِیہ *me* ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | چِہ *tse* |

Plural.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. / Acc. | اَسِ *asi*, we ... ... ... ... ... ... | تُہ *tohi*, you |
| Instr. / Dat. / Abl. / Loc. | اَسِہ *ase*[21a] ... ... ... ... ... ... | تُہِہ *tohe*[21a] |

### 229. Pronouns of the 3rd Person.

Singular.

| | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. / Acc. | سُہ *su*, he ... ... ... | سۄہ سَہ *so, sa*, she ... | تِہ *ti*, it |
| Instr. | تَمِ *tami* ... ... ... | تَمِہ *tami* ... ... | تَمِ *tami* |

[21a] In the earlier part of this work I have transliterated these words *asi* and *tohi*. *Ase* and *tohe* give the pronunciation better.

| | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Singular.** | |
| Dat. | تمس *tamis*[22] ... ... ... | ... تمس *tamis*[22] ... ... | تتھ *tath*[23] (Dat., Abl., Loc.) |
| Abl. | تمہ *tami* ... ... ... | ... تمہ *tami* ... ... | |
| Loc. | تمس *tamis*[22] ... ... ... | ... تمس *tamis*[22] ... .. | |
| | | **Plural.** | |
| Nom. and Acc. | تم *tim* ... ... ... ... | ... تمہ *tima* ... ... | تم *tim* |
| Instr. | ... ... ... ... | ... تمو *timau* | |
| Dat., Abl., Loc. | ... ... ... ... | ... تمن *timan*[24] | |

## 2. Possessive Pronouns.

**230.** میون *myôn*, my.[25]

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| | **Singular.** | |
| Nom. | میون *myôn* ... ... ... ... ... ... | میان *myôñ* |
| Voc. | میانہ *myáni* ... ... ... ... ... ... | میانی *myání* |
| Acc. | میون *myôn* ... ... ... ... ... ... | میان *myôñ* |

[22] Dative also تس *tas* and امس *amis*. The instrumental is also آم *ạm* (properly a Demonstrative) [note that the fem. is تمس *tamis*, and not تمہ *tami*].

[23] I also find تتھ *tath* used in the masculine and feminine; *e. g.*, تتھ کرو سلام *tath kariu salâm* (Matth. x. 12), salute it (sc. گرہ *gara*, masc., the house); تتھ نکھہ گیٔشت *tath nakha gaishit* (Matth. xxi. 19), having gone near it (sc. کل *kul*, masc., tree); یم تتھ چھہ لبان *yim tath chhi labân* (Matth. vii. 14), who find it (sc. وت *wat*, fem., the way); as a locative تتھ (اندر) منز *tath* (*andar*) *manz*; تتھ پیٹھ *tath peth* (Matth. xxviii. 2), on it (sc. کن *kañ*, stone). [The explanation is that the Neuter Pronoun refers to things without life, whatever their grammatical gender may be. The Masculine only refers to Masculine things with life, and similarly the Feminine.]

[24] Regarding the suffixes which represent the personal pronouns, see § 47.

[25] Cf. Declension of مول *môl*, a father, and ماج *môj*, a mother, §§ 213, 2, *b* and 214, 2, *a*.

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| | **Singular.** | |
| Instr. | میاٰن *myôn*$^{i}$ ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| Dat. | میاٰنس *myônis* ... ... ... ... ... | میانہ *myâni* |
| Abl. | میانہ *myâni*... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| Loc. | میاٰنس *myônis* ... ... ... ... ... | |
| | **Plural.** | |
| Nom. | میاٰن *myôn*$^{i}$... ... ... ... ... ... | میانہ *miâne* |
| Voc. | میانِیو *myânyô* ... ... ... ... ... | میانِیو *miânyô* |
| Acc. | میاٰن *myôn*$^{i}$... ... ... ... ... ... | میانہ *miâne* |
| Instr. | میانو *myânyau* ... ... ... ... ... | میانو *miânyau* |
| Dat. Abl. Loc. | میانن *myânen* ... ... ... ... ... | میانن *miânen* |

231. سۆن *sôn*, our.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Singular.** | |
| Nom. | سۆن *sôn* ... ... ... ... ... ... | ساٰنِ *sćn̄* |
| Voc. | سانہ *sâni* ... ... ... ... ... ... | سانی *sânī* |
| Acc. | سۆن *sôn* ... ... ... ... ... | |
| Instr. | ساٰن *sôn*$^{i}$ ... ... ... ... ... ... | ساٰن *sôn̄* |
| Dat. | ساٰنس *sônis* ... ... ... ... ... ... | سانہ *sâni* |
| Abl. | سانہ *sâni* ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| Loc. | ساٰنس *sônis* ... ... ... ... ... ... | |
| | **Plural.** | |
| Nom. | ساٰن *sôn*$^{i}$ ... ... ... ... ... ... | سانہ *sâne* |
| Voc. | سانِیو *sânyô* ... ... ... ... ... | سانِیو *sânyô* |
| Acc. | ساٰن *sôn*$^{i}$ ... ... ... ... ... ... | سانہ *sâne* |
| Instr. | سانو *sânyau* ... ... ... ... ... | سانو *sânyau* |
| Dat. Abl. Loc. | سانن *sânen* ... ... ... ... ... ... | سانن *sânen* |

### 232. چوٗن *chôn*, thy.

**Singular.**

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | چوٗن *chôn* | چآن *chôñ* |
| Voc. | چانه *châni* | چانی *chânî* |
| Acc. | چوٗن *chôn* | چآن *chôñ* |
| Instr. | چآن *chôn*$^{i}$ | چانه *châni* |
| Dat. | چآنس *chônis* | چانه *châni* |
| Abl. | چانه *châni* | چانه *châni* |
| Loc. | چآنس *chônis* | چانه *châni* |

**Plural.**

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | چآن *chôn*$^{i}$ | چانه *châne* |
| Voc. | چانیو *chânyô* | چانیٛو *chânyô* |
| Acc. | چآن *chôn*$^{i}$ | چانه *châne* |
| Instr. | چانو *chânyau* | چانو *chânyau* |
| Dat. | چانن *chânen* | چانن *chânen* |
| Abl. | چانن *chânen* | چانن *chânen* |
| Loc. | چانن *chânen* | چانن *chânen* |

### 233. تُهند *tuhond*, your.

**Singular.**

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | تُهند *tuhond* | تُهنز *tuhanz* |
| Voc. | تُهنده *tuhandi* | تُهنزی *tuhanzî* |
| Acc. | تُهند *tuhond* | تُهنز *tuhanz* |
| Instr. | تُهند *tuhandi* | تُهنزه *tuhanzi* |
| Dat. | تُهندس *tuhandis* | تُهنزه *tuhanzi* |
| Abl. | تُهنده *tuhandi* | تُهنزه *tuhanzi* |
| Loc. | تُهندس *tuhandis* | تُهنزه *tuhanzi* |

Plural.

| | Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | تُھَنْدِ *tuhandi* ... ... ... ... ... | تُھَنْزَہ *tuhanza* |
| Voc. | تُھَنْدِیو *tuhandyô* ... ... ... ... ... | تُھَنْزو *tuhanzô* |
| Acc. | تُھَنْدِ *tuhandi* ... ... ... ... ... | تُنزَہ *tuhanza* |
| Instr. | تُھَنْدو *tuhandyau* ... ... ... ... .. | تُھَنْزو *tuhanzau* |
| Dat. Abl. Loc. | تُھَنْدن *tuhanden* ... ... ... ... ... | تُھَنْزن *tuhanzan* |

تَسُند *tasond*, his, her, its.

Sing. Nom. تَسُند *tasond*, fem. تَسنز *tasanz*

Pl. Nom. تَسَند *tasandi*, fem. تَسنزہ *tasanza*

Declined throughout like تُھُند *tuhond*.

234. تھِند *tihond*, their.

Sing. Nom. تھُند *tihond*, fem. تھَنز *tihanz*[26]

Pl. تھَند *tihandi*,[26] fem. تھَنزہ *tihanza*[26]

Declined throughout like تُھُند *tuhond*.

**235. Remarks on the Possessive Pronouns.**

(1) The possessive pronouns also act as the respective representatives of the genitives of the personal pronouns. بوزن *bôzun*, to hear, with a genitive means to listen to a person, to obey; thus, چون نی بوزہ *chôn nay bôzi*, if he do not hearken to thee; تھند نی بوزہ *tihond nay bôzi*, if he does not follow them; آس یوان زہ تُھند بوزن *ösi yiwân zi tahond* (see below) *bôzana*, they came to hear him. If the verb is compounded with a substantive, the possessive pronoun is similarly put in the place of the personal pronoun; *e. g.*, میون اقرار کرہ *myôn iqrâr kari*, he makes my confession, he confesses me; so with تُھند *tuhond*, your; بہ چھس چون تعریف کران *bo chhus chôn ta'rîf karân*, I thank thee; چانن خبردار کران *chôn khabardâr karan*, they will guard thee.

[26] N. P. has تھند *tihind*, تھنز *tihinz*, throughout; thus, Dat. sg. m. تھندس *tihindis*.

(2) **Additional forms**:—

(*a*) For تَسُنْد *tasond* may also be used تَهُنْد *tahond*, تَمِسُنْد *tami-sond* (also written تَمِ سُنْد), اَمِسُنْد *ami-sond*, and تَمْیُك *tamyuk*. The first three are exactly declined like تَسُنْد *tasond*; تَهَنْدِس *tahandis*, تَمِسَنْدِس *tami-sandis*, اَمِسَنْدِس *ami-sandis*; تَمْیُك *tamyuk* follows the declension کُلْیُك *kulyuk* (§ 2(8); *e. g.*, nom. pl. masc. تَمِك *tamik*[26a]; تَمِچَن لَنْجَن پیٹھ *tamichen lanjen peth*, under its (the tree's) branches.

(*b*) تَسَنْز *tasanz* may also be تَهَنْز *tahanz*, تَمِسَنْز *tami-sanz*, اَمِسَنْز *ami-sanz*, and تَمِچ *tamich*. The first three follow تَسَنْز *tasanz*, *e. g.*, تَهَنْزِ *tahanzi*, تَمِسَنْزِ *tami-sanzi*, اَمِسَنْزِ *ami-sanzi*. تَمِچ *tamich* follows the declension of the feminine of کُلْیُك *kulyuk* (§ 208).

[(*c*) For تِهُنْد *tihond*, تِمَن هُنْد *timan-hond* may be used throughout; *e. g.*, تِمَن هَنْدِس *timan-handis*.]

(3) **Cases**:—

**236.** The **Genitive** is expressed by the Dative, according to rule v., § 209); *e. g.*, میانِس خُداوَندَ سُنْد گَرَ *myônis Khudâwanda-sond gara*, the house of my Lord.

According to some, the Locative, Ablative, and Instrumental do not occur in an attributive sense; but they do occur in this sense when used elliptically, or in the sense of 'mine' (*cf.* Matth. xxvii. 24, میانِ سیت *myâni sût*, with mine); *e. g.*, 'In whose house was he?' میانِس مَنْز *myônis manz*, in mine. 'By what father was this said?' سانِ *sôni*, by ours. I also find چانِ اِعتقادَن چھیك بَلرآوِمَژ چھَ *chôni i'tiqâdan chhek balrôv-mats tsa*, by thy faith hast thou been made whole (instr., Matth. ix. 22): چانِ اَچھِ اَنْدَر *châni achhi andar*, in thine eye (loc., Matth. vii. 3); چانِ پادشاہَژ اَنْدَر *câni pâdshâhats andar*, in thy kingdom (loc., Matth. xx. 21): چانِ گَرِ *châni gari* [*sic*] (sc., اَنْدَر *andar*), at thy house (loc., Matth. xxvi. 18); چانِ ناوَ سیت *châni nâva-sût*, in thy name (here apparently a Dative, for چانِس ناوَس *chônis nâvas*, Luke, x., 17); چانِ کَتھِ اَنْدَرَ *châni kathi andara*, out of thy speech (abl., Matth. xxvi. 73); میانِ خاطرَ *myâni khôtra*, for my sake (abl.).

**237.** Before Adjectives in ُك *uk*, which represent the Genitive, also before infinitives, and those prepositions which are properly substantives, such as خاطرَ *khôtra*, سَبَبَ *sababa*,

[26a] [We should expect *tahond* to be used only when the pronoun is feminine, but N. P. frequently uses it as the equivalent of *tasond*. *Tamyuk* is only used when the pronoun refers to inanimate things. Similarly *tahanz* and *amich* below].

مکھہ *mukhạ*, etc., and also before the comparative particle کھتہ *k͟hotạ* (= than), we find the form in ہ *i*; *e. g.*—

تھندہ رٹنك ارادہ کورك *tahandi raṭanuk irâda koruk*, by them was it intended to seize him.

تھندہ کلك وال تہ چھہ گنزرت *tahandi kalạkⁱ wôlⁱ ti chhi ganzarit*, yea, the hairs of his head are numbered.

تھندہ ونتہ بونٹھی *tahandi wananạ bôṅṭhay*, before his speech, before he spoke; تھندہ خاطرہ *tahandi k͟hôṭrạ*, for him (often equivalent to a Dative), concerning him (*de eo*); so also سیت *sṻt*.

تھندہ کھتہ یچھ چھہ *tahandi k͟hotạ yachh chhi*, they are worse than he.

تلہ فرزند تھندہ اتھہ ازا *tuli farzand tihandi athạ izâ*, the son will be cruelly treated by them.

ساند دھچ چٹ *sâni dohạch tsoṭ*, our daily bread.

تمکہ ننہ خاطرہ *tamiki ninạ k͟hôṭrạ*, in order to catch him.

(4) As regards his, her, in the sense of the Latin *suus*, see below under the Reflexive Pronoun ( § 239 ).

(5) These pronouns can also be used as Possessive Adjectives, meaning 'mine,' 'thine,' etc.

### 3. پانہ pânạ پانی pânay, self.

**238.** (1) پانہ *pânạ*, self, indeclinable; examples :—

تم ھتسہ پانہ سانہ ساری کھالچ *tạmi hetsạ pânạ sâne sârey kahâlạts*, by him himself were all our infirmities taken (*i. e.*, He took upon Himself, etc.)

پانہ چھنہ یہ کرن یچھان *pânạ chhinạ yi karun yitshân*, they themselves do not wish to do this.

نہ چھوہ پانہ اچان *nạ chhiwạ pânạ atsân*, ye enter not in yourselves.

ون بوزوہ تہہ پانہ امسند کفر *wöñ bûzvạ tohe pânạ ạmⁱ-sond kufr*, now there has been heard by you yourselves his blasphemy.

(2) پانی *pânay*, this is an intensive form of پانہ *pânạ*; *e. g.*—

پگہ کرہ پننن چیزن ھنز پانی فکر *pagạ kari pananen chîzan hạnz pânay fikr*, the morrow will itself take thought for the things of itself.

چہ ونت پانی *tse wonut pânay*, it was said by you yourself.

### 4. The Reflexive Pronoun.

**239.** (1) پان *pân*, self ; *e. g.* —

(*a*) Dative پانس *pânas ; e. g.*—

محبت پانس چهه کران *muḥabbat pânas chhu karân*, he loves himself.

پانس چهنه هکان بچرآوِت *pânas chhuna hekân bachrôvit*, he cannot save himself[27] (dat. instead of acc., as often occurs).

(*b*) Locative, with prepositions, such as سِت *sût*, پٹھ *peṭh*, نش *nish*, نشه *nishi*, اندر *andar*, انه انه *ạndi ạndi*, کیت *kyut*, etc.

(2) پنن پان *panun pân* (lit., my, thy, etc., body) :—

(*a*) Myself, thyself, etc. (*me ipse*, and *ipsum*).

(*b*) (= *mea*, *tua*, etc., *sponte*) of one-self, voluntarily (Matth. xxvii. 40) : From this is formed an adjective پننه پانك *panani pânuk*. Examples,—

پنن پان هاو کاهنس *panun pân hâv kâhinas*, show thyself to the priest.

پنن پان دیتن پهانسه *panun pân dyutun phânsi*, he hanged himself.

پنن پان بچراو *panun pân bachrâv*, save thyself.

(3) پنن *panun*, fem. پنن *panạñ*, is used in a possessive sense, — mine, thine, his, our, etc. The meaning is to be referred to the subject of the sentence, which it represents. The masculine is in the 2nd declension, پننس *pananis*, پننه *panani ;* pl. پنن *panạnⁱ*. Fem., 3rd declension — Nom. sg. پنن *panạñ ;* Nom. pl. پننه *panani*, and so on.

With the suffix ی *y*, it means mine (thine, etc.) own ; *e. g.*, پنني پلو چهنهس نال *pananiy palau tshunihas nôli*, they put his own clothes on him ; پننوی کتهو سِت *pananiway katha sût*, by thine (his, etc.) own words.

### 5. The Reciprocal Pronoun.

**240.** پانوآن *pânawôñ* (properly an adverb), between each other, mutually ; amongst selves ; also اك اك *ak ak*. Examples,—

پانوآن دپك *pânawôñ dupuk*, they said amongst each other.

تم آس پانوآن خیال کران *tim ôsi pânavôñ khyâl karân*, they were thinking amongst themselves.

پانوآن کیازٕ چهوٕ فکر کران *pânavôñ kyâzi chhiwạ fikr karân*, why think ye among yourselves.

---

[27] Also پننس پانس *pananis pânas*, his own self, himself ; *e. g.*, یُس اکه پننس پانس چهه لکٹ گنزران *yus-akạ pananis pânas chhu lokuṭ ganzạrân*, whoever counts himself as little.

اک اکس پٹھ آس پوان *ak akis peṭh ôsi pewân*, they fell one upon another.

تم لگ پانوآن دلن اندر فکر کرنہ *tim lạgi pânavôn dilan andar fikr karanạ*, they began to think by themselves (*i. e.*, in their hearts); also پننن دلن اندر *panạnen dilan andar.*

### 6. Demonstrative Pronouns.

241. (1) یہ *yi*, this.

| | Masculine. | Feminine. | Neut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Singular.** | | | |
| Nom., Acc. ... | یہ *yi* | یہ *yi* | یہ *yi* |
| Instr. ... ... | یم *yimi*[28] | یمہ *yimi* | یم *yimi* |
| Dat., Abl. ... | یمس *yimis* (masc. and fem.) | | یتھ *yith*[29] |
| Gen. ... ... | یسند *yisond*, or یم سند *yimi-sond*[30] (masc. and fem.) | | یمیک *yimyuk*, or یتیک *yityuk*[31] |
| Loc. ... ... | یمس *yimis* (masc. and fem.) | | یتھ *yith* |
| **Plural.** | | | |
| Nom., Acc. ... | یم *yim* | یمہ *yimạ* | یم *yim* |
| Instr. ... ... | یمو *yimạu* (all genders) | | |
| Dat., Abl., Loc. ... | یمن *yiman* (all genders) | | |
| Gen.... ... | یہند، یمن ھند *yihond*, or *yiman-hond* (all genders) | | |

[28] [Wade, in the singular, has یم *yemi*, یمہ *yemi*, یمس *yemis*, یتھ *yeth*, یتیک *yetyuk*, etc. Notice has several times been drawn to the frequent confusion between ـِ *e* and ـٖ *i*.]

[29] I also find یتھ *yith* used in the masculine or feminine; *e. g.* یتھ رہ اندر *yith rihi* (fem.) *andar*, in this flame: یتھ لایق زہ *yith* (neut.) *lâiq zi*, worthy of this, that (لایق *lâiq*, with a dative means 'worthy of.')

[As before explained, the neuter is always used when referring to inanimate nouns.]

[30] *E. g.*, یمسنز لکو شکایت ون *yimi-sạnz lukau shikâyat wạn*, by the people complaints were spoken about this.

[31] *E. g.*, عمانوایل یمیک ترجمہ *'imánúél yimyuk tarjumạ* (m.), Immanuel, of this the translation is.

242. [The following additional form of this pronoun is often used, especially by villagers:—

Singular.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nom. Acc. | یِہ *yi*; fem. نُہ *no*, this. |
| Instr. | نَمِ *nomi*; fem. نَمہ *nomi*. |
| Dat. Abl. | نَمِس *nomis*; neut. نَتھ *noth*. |
| Gen. | نَمِ سُند *nomi-sond*. |
| Loc. | نَمِس *nomis*; نَمِس *nomis*. |

Plural.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nom. Acc. | نَمِ *nomi*; fem. نَمہ *noma*. |
| Instr. | نَمَو *nomau*. |
| Dat. Abl. Loc. | نَمَن *noman*. |
| Gen. | نَمَن ہُند *noman-hond*, or نَہُند *nohond*.] |

243. (2) سُہ *su*, that.

The author declines this in full. This is unnecessary here, as this pronoun is the same as the personal pronoun سُہ *su* of the third person, of which the declension is given in § 229.

The Genitive singular is:—

Masc. and fem. تَسُند تَمِسُند *tasond* or *tami-sond*.

Neut. تَمیُک تَتیُک *tamyuk* or *tatyuk*.

Example گَرٕ تَمیُک کَن *gara tamyuk kan*, a house, of that the foundation.

The Genitive Plural for all three genders is تِہُند تِمَن ہُند *tihond* or *timan-hond*.

For تَمِس *tamis* (Dat. and Loc. sing., masc. and fem.), تَس *tas* is also used; *e. g.*, وَنِو تَس لَہِس *waniv tas lahis*, say to that fox.

تَتھ *tath*, which is given as Dat., Abl., Loc., sing., neut., is used with all inanimate nouns, of whatever gender; *e. g.*, تَتھ جایہ اَندَر *tath jâyi* (fem.) *andar*, in that place.

This Pronoun is also declined as follows :—

| | Masculine. | Feminine. | Neuter. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Singular.** | |
| Nom. Acc. ... | سه *su* | سه ، سه *so, sạ* | ته *ti* |
| Instr. ... | ام *ạmi* | امه *ami* | ام *ạmi* |
| Dat. Abl. ... | امس *amis* | | اته *ath* |
| Gen. ... | ام سند *ạmi-sond* | | امیُک *amyuk* |
| Loc. ... | امس *amis* | | اته *ath* |
| | | **Plural.** | |
| Nom. Acc. ... | ام *ạmi* | امه *amạ* | ام *ạmi* |
| Instr. ... ... ... | امو *amau* | | |
| Dat. Abl. Loc. ... ... ... | امن *aman* | | |
| Gen. ... ... ... | امن هند *aman-hond.* | | |

(In the Singular, the Instr. forms of Masculine and Feminine are bracketed together, and the Dat./Abl., Gen. and Loc. forms are common to Masculine and Feminine; in the Plural, the Nom./Acc. forms of all three genders are bracketed together.)

**244.** هه *hu*, that (within sight), also occurs. Most of the following forms are given in the original :—

Nom. sing. masc. هه *hu*; fem. هه *ho*; neut. هه *hu*.

Instr. sing. masc. هم *humi*.

Dat. sing. masc. fem. همس *humis*; neut. هته *huth*.

Nom. plur. هم *hum*.

Dat. plur. همن *human*.

Example.— یم کرِهو ته هم ته ترا وهونه *yim karihiv tạ hum ti trôvihiv nạ* (Luke, xi. 42), these should ye have done, and not left the other undone (sc. with یم *yim* and هم *hum*, چیز *chiz*, things).

Regarding the suffix ی *y* added to these pronouns, see below (§ 259).

(*To be continued.*)

# HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

*(Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.)*

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 155.)

## CHAPTER II.

## Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.

AFTER the death of Sulṭân Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh and the completion of the mourning ceremonies, the royal crown was placed on the head of **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** in accordance with his father's will; and the nobles and grandees presented their congratulations and good wishes.

As soon as he was established on the throne, Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh turned his attention to the interior economy of his army and his subjects in general, and distributed valuable presents.

When he had finished inquiring diligently into the affairs of his soldiers and subjects, being desirous of conquering countries and cities, he conceived the idea of conquering the country of **Vijayânagar**, and accordingly marched towards that place with a large and well-equipped force.

The Râya of Vijayânagar, hearing of his approach, and being determined to oppose him assembled a numerous army and went out to meet the Sulṭân's force. When the two forces encountered one another the troops on both sides fought bravely, and a battle took place such that the eye of Heaven was bewildered and became clouded, and the face of the sun was obscured by the dust of battle. After much fighting the breeze of victory at last blew on the arms of the royal army, and the other side took to flight; but being pursued a great number of them were sent to hell. The Sulṭân plundered most of the country of the infidels, levelling their idol-temples with the ground, and much booty in rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Muḥammadan force.

After this victory the Sulṭân proceeded towards Fîlampatan (?), and by the aid of God having conquered that country also, he set out on the march to his capital with immense booty. On arriving there he was informed that **Bahrâm Khân, governor of Devagîr (Daulatâbâd)**, was in a state of rebellion, and as soon as he heard this the Sulṭân proceeded to oppose him. When the Sulṭân arrived near Devagîr Bahrâm Khân, being afraid to meet his attack, repented of his actions. At the intercession of Shekh Zain-ud-Dîn (hallowed be his grave!) the Sulṭân spared the life of Bahrâm Khân, but ordered him to be banished from the kingdom: this was done, and he afterwards, with a hundred griefs and disappointments, perished in the desert of desperation and regret.

In the *'Ayûn-ut-Tawârîkh* it is stated that Sulṭân Muḥammad during his reign did not leave a single place in the Dakhan in possession of the infidels, and consequently ruled without competition.

The Sulṭân had two sons, Mujâhid Khân who was the heir-apparent, and Fatḥ Khân.

In the latter days of his reign being seized with the desire of conquering Teliṅgânâ the whole of the country came into the possession of the agents of his government.

On returning from that campaign the Sulṭân, after having reigned seventeen years and seven months, showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness; and after making Prince Mujâhid Shâh his heir, he obeyed the summons of God.[31]

---

[31] According to the *Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk*, Sulṭân Muḥammad reigned 18 years, 7 months and 9 days, and died in the year 780 A. H.

## CHAPTER III.

## Reign of Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh, son of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh died in A. H. 775 (A. D. 1373), in accordance with his will, he was succeeded by his son, **Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh,** who bestowed presents and various honours on the nobles and officers.

While thus engaged the Sulṭân took it into his head to exterminate the infidelity of **Bîjânagar** (Vijayânagar), and to wage a religious war against the infidels; so with a numerous army and elephants, and placing his confidence in the Beneficent King he proceeded towards Vijayânagar.

When the Râya, Kapazah,[32] who was the leader of the lords of hell, heard of the approach of the Sulṭân's army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terrified, and shut himself up in the fort. He acted towards the infidels of that country with such helplessness and perturbation that to small and great, young and old, in that calamity the road of management was blocked, and the truth of the saying that "an earthquake is a great thing though it lasts but a little while," became a stern reality to the inhabitants of that part of the country. As a matter of necessity the above-mentioned **Râya, Kapazah,** sent to the court of Mujâhid Shâh a number of his most intelligent and distinguished officers; and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission, agreed to pay a large sum as *na'l-bahâ*[33] into the royal treasury; also to deliver over to the agents of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of hostilities and dispute. They also presented on behalf of the Râya, a written agreement to the following effect: — "To the Lord of happy conjunction I am a mean slave, and devote myself heart and soul to his service as long as I live." This agreement was made on condition that the Sulṭân should have pity on those helpless ones, and by his royal favour would insure their country against plunder and devastation by the troops.

After this the Sulṭân being encamped on the bank of the river Kistnah, and indulging in his favourite pursuits, drank cups of ruby-coloured wine; but suddenly Fortune poured the unpalatable *sharbat* of martyrdom into the goblet of his life. The particulars of this are briefly, as follows: —

Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh had a younger brother, or — according to one history — a cousin,[34] named **Dâ,ûd Khân** who cherished a desire of usurping the throne; and though outwardly loyal he was secretly intriguing and watching his opportunity. This man with a number of seditious persons one night entered the inner apartment of the Sulṭân when the latter was asleep in bed, and stabbed him with a dagger. The nobles and the troops, on hearing of the assassination of the Sulṭân, rent their clothes with grief.

The duration of the reign of Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh was one year, one month and nine days. This event happened on the 18th of the month Ẕî-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 779 (17th April, A. D. 1377), but God only knows with accuracy!

### Note to Chapter III.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh given in the *Tazkarat-ul Mulûk.*]

[32] According to the genealogy of Vijanagar dynasty given by Mr. Sewell in his *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 103, the Râya of Vijayânagar at this period was Bukka or Bukka Mahîpati, *alias* Râjendra, who reigned from A. D. 1350-1379. The word Kapazah is very distinctly written in the MS.: even the vowel marks are supplied. According to Firishtah the name of this Râya was Krishna. — *Vide* Briggs, Vol. II. p. 331 *et seq.*

[33] Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

[34] The latter appears to be the correct relationship, as we shall see a little further on. According to Firishtah, Dâ,ûd was Mujâhid's uncle.

### Reign of Mujâhid Shâh Balwant Bahmanî.

After his father's death **Mujâhid Shâh** ascended the throne. In the idiom of the Dakhan he was called "**Balwant**," that is, *strong-bodied :* he used to eat at one meal thirty *sêrs*, each *sêr* being equal in weight to seventy-two *dirhams*,[35] and he used to eat three meals a day, which makes ninety *sêrs* a day; but God only knows the truth !

Now the custom of the kings (of the Dakhan) was this, that at the time when they ascended the throne of sovereignty **Shekh Muhammad Sirâj-ud-Dîn** used to present a *pîrâhan* and turban which they put on, and then in an auspicious hour took their seat on the throne; and the same custom was observed at the ascension of Mujâhid.

Mujâhid used daily to repair to the monastery of the *shekh*, and discuss with him the affairs of state. One day he told the *shekh* that he contemplated waging a *jihâd* against the infidels in order to add splendour to the faith of Islâm. The *shekh* recited the *fâtihat* and expressed his approval. Mujâhid daily busied himself in organising his army, and then proceeded against the fort of **Adonî** with a large force, and laid siege to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter; and the governor of the fort came out and after obtaining a written treaty, returned to the fort with Mujâhid Shâh's deputy in order to evacuate and surrender the fort.

It is said that one of the servants of the *shekh* said to the latter: — "Mujâhid Shâh has taken from you an assurance of victory, and from others also has obtained the glad tidings of victory." The *shekh* replied : — "I have withdrawn my assurance of victory." This servant then took a letter from the *shekh* to this effect to Mujâhid Shâh, and repeated to him what the *shekh* had said. When Mujâhid understood the contents of the letter he produced it in court and said:— "My ancestors were void of understanding when they gave regal power to these *fakîrs* who are always hungry and thirsty: what affinity have we with them ? Ask the *shekh* what he means by this presumptuous talk. I shall teach him better manners." The servant replied:— "If this be your intention you will never attain this victory."

On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made peace, and applied themselves to strengthening the fort. They cut off the head of Mujâhid Shâh's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fired it towards the army of Mujâhid Shâh.

When Mujâhid heard of the resistance of the garrison he returned to the city of Ahsanâbâd, and encamped outside in order that he might enter it on the following day at an auspicious hour. He uttered many threats against the followers of the *shekh ;* and there were many Habshîs in the trains of the nobles and others, and they having done something which roused the anger of Mujâhid, he uttered threats against them also, and they were in much fear of him. Next day Mujâhid was found on the throne without his head, and it was believed that this deed was perpetrated by *jinns*. The disciples of the *shekh* would not allow the body of Mujâhid to be buried in the tomb of the kings, but he was buried near it.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Reign of Dâ,ûd Shâh.

According to the most authentic accounts **Sultân Dâ,ûd Shâh** was son of Mahmûd Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan Shâh Bahmanî.[36]

After the martyrdom of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh, the *amîrs* and ministers and officers of the army *nolens volens* plighted their fealty to Dâ,ûd Shâh, and accepted him as their sovereign; but the widow, or (according to one history) the foster-sister of Mujâhid Shâh, was determined upon revenge; so she bribed one of the Sultân's slaves with a thousand *huns* and a promise of

[35] A *dirham* = 48 grains.

[36] According to Firishtah Dâ,ûd was son — not grand-son of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan.

more, to assassinate the king. Enticed by the bribe, he agreed to undertake this dangerous affair, and was watching his opportunity till on a Friday when the Sulṭân went to prayer in the *masjid* and the people were crowding on one another, that fearless shedder of blood and devoted slave approached the Sulṭân and caused him to taste the same *sharbat* as Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh.[37]

**Muḥammad Khân, son of Maḥmûd Khân,** and younger brother of the **Sulṭân,** was present in the crowd, and he felled the murderer to the ground with one blow of his sword, and despatched him from the world. He then returned to the palace, and seated himself on the throne in his brother's place. The nobles, ministers, learned men and *shekhs* hastening to wait on him, saluted him as king and were all liberally rewarded.

This event happened in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 780 (May, A. D. 1378),[38] but God only knows the truth of the matter.

## Chapter V.

### Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[39]

The nobles and military officers having acknowledged **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** as their sovereign, placed the royal crown on his head and seated him on the throne. The ministers of state, great men of the court and those learned in the law, all obtained honours and rewards suitable to their rank and circumstances.

He was a king adorned with the ornament of intelligence and understanding and decorated with the jewel of justice and equity. In his time the people were at rest on the reclining-place of safety and security. In his age the dagger of tyranny and the sword of injustice rotted in their scabbards. In his reign there was no vestige of unlawful things; and habits of iniquity and impiety were removed from his time. He founded *masjids*, public schools and monasteries, and never permitted any receding or swerving from the straight road of rectitude and justice and the highway of the divine law. He held fast all the country which had come into the possession of his illustrious grandfather and his paternal uncle; and from partisans or friends in those parts no rebellion or sedition showed itself, and they never swerved from the road of obedience and subjection. The Sulṭân did not lead any army in any direction, but spread the carpet of justice and liberality, and so engaged himself in the requisites of self-evident duty and prohibiting unlawful things that no one had an opportunity of deviating from the beaten path of the divine law.

It is related that during the reign of this just king a certain woman, being charged with the disgraceful act of adultery, was taken for trial to the *ḳâẓî's* court. On the way there an artifice occurred to the woman's mind, and when she was presented before the *ḳâẓî*, being questioned as to her reason for committing that disgraceful act, she replied: — "O *ḳâẓî*, a doubt has occurred to me on this point: Is each man permitted by the precepts of religion to have four wives? My opinion was that women might act in the same manner: now that I am aware of its impropriety, I am ashamed of the deed, and repent." The *ḳâẓî*, astonished at her answer, remained silent; and that sinful impostor being freed from punishment hastened to her house.

[37] Assassinated him.

[38] According to Firishtah it happened on the 21st Muḥarram, 780, which corresponds to the 20th May, 1378, A. D. The author of the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* says he reigned one year, one month and three days, which exactly agrees with the *Burhân-i M'âsir*; but Firishtah only gives him a reign of one month and five days.

[39] There is here a serious discrepancy between our author and Firishtah. According to the latter, the fifth king of the dynasty was Maḥmûd, son of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn I.; but Firistah must be wrong, for the coinage shows that the name of the Bahmanî king reigning at this period was *Muḥammad*. Histories written quite independently of Firishtah — such as the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* and *Târîkh-i-Jahân Ârâ* — also corroborate the statement of our author. Dr. O. Codrington has recently written about this in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (3rd Series, Vol. XVIII. pages 259-278), and quotes a letter of mine on the subject.

During his reign Sultân Muḥammad promoted Khwâjah Jahân — who was one of the *amîrs* of his illustrious grandfather — to the rank of Vakîl and Amîr-ul-Umrâ; and Saiyid Tâj-ud-Dîn Jakâjût, son of Saiyid Raẓî-ud-Dîn Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, after his father, obtained from the Sultân the title of Kuṭb-ul-Mulk.

After a reign of nineteen years and nine months, or — according to another account — nineteen years and six months, this just king died.

This event occurred on the 26th of the month Rajab, A. H. 799 (25th April, A. D. 1397).[40]

Sultân Muḥammad Shâh had two sons — Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Shâh and Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn Dâ,ûd Shâh, both of whom reigned in their turn.[41]

## CHAPTER VI.

### Reign of Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn wa ud-Dunyâ Bahman Shâh, son of Sultân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Maḥmûd, son of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.

After the death of Sultân Muḥammad Shâh, the generals, the *amîrs* and *wazîrs*, the learned men and the suite and servants of the court having consented to the accession of **Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn**, who had travelled but twelve stages of his life,[42] they raised the regal umbrella over his head, and all joined in the honour of pledging their loyalty and tendering their congratulations. The Sultân, notwithstanding his tender age, distinguished the nobles and grandees by royal courtesy, and presented them with robes of honour and various gifts; and having renewed for the nobles the *farmâns* under which they held their feudal lands, and bestowed on them countless dignities, confirmed them in their former possessions in the country. He then busied himself in the arrangement of various important affairs of the country and nation.

Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn busied himself in improving the position of his father's slaves, and gave them too loose a rein. One of these, named **Tughalbakhî**,[43] he exalted above all the nobles; consequently he turned the reins from the side of rectitude; and as the Sultân had removed some of his father's nobles, it occurred to this man that the Sultân might do the same to the slaves; he therefore took steps to remedy the eventuality before its occurrence. Under the pretext of an entertainment he took the Sultân to his own house, and there with a red hot skewer deprived him of his sight. He then deposed the Sultân, and raised to the throne the younger brother of the latter, named Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn.

This event happened on the 17th of the month Ramaẓân, A. H. 799 (14th June, A. D. 1396), and the duration of the Sultân's reign was one month and eight days; but God Almighty alone knows the truth of things!

## CHAPTER VII.

### Reign of Sultân Shâms-ud-Dîn Dâ,ûd Shâh, son of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[44]

When the faithless Tughalbakhî, with the concurrence of the nobles, deprived Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn of his sight by means of a skewer, he — with the approval of the nobles and

[40] According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* he died in A. H. 801 after a reign of nineteen years, six months and five days.

[41] I cannot understand the name *Dâ,ûd* being added to Shams-ud-Dîn's name.

[42] *I. e.*, he was twelve years old. According to Firishtah he was in his seventeenth year at his accession.

[43] It is difficult to say what is the correct spelling of this name. In some places it looks like *Baghaljî*.

[44] This heading is evidently wrong. It should be, — "Reign of Shams-ud-Dîn Shâh, son of Muḥammad II., son of Maḥmûd Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî." Mujâhid does not appear to have had any son.

ministers, *shekhs* and learned men and grandees of the country and nation — seated on the throne of sovereignty **Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn**, who had not yet travelled seven stages on the journey of life;[45] but he kept the reins of power in his own hands, so that Shams-ud-Dîn was Sultân in name only.

**Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân**, grandsons of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan Shâh, who were worthy of the sovereignty, and eventually in their own persons added ornament and beauty to the crown and throne were faithful in their allegiance to Sultân Shams-ud-dîn; but Tughalbakhî and all the slaves of the Sultân, who were inimical to them, were always plotting to remove them in order to usurp the sovereignty for themselves. In consequence of this the two princes were obliged to fly to the fort of **Sâgar.** The *kotwâl* who had charge of this fort received the princes in a friendly manner and promised them all the assistance in his power. He joined them with a large number of retainers of those parts, and they proceeded against Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn. But when the two parties met, the Kotwâl of Sâgar proved faithless.

The nobles of Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn, deeming it advisable by promises of aid to the princes to endeavour to sprinkle extinguishing water on the fire of rebellion and contention which was fiercely burning, sent a trustworthy person to Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân with a written treaty of peace; and since the princes saw that the most prudent course was to abandon contention and submit themselves they waited on the Sultân and folded up the carpet of strife.

When some time had thus passed, the idea of getting rid of the two princes again occurred to the minds of the slaves. The heart of the mother of the Sultân still burned with the remembrance of the fate of Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn, and the slaves persuaded her that Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân were the cause of that base action. On this account the Sultân's mother conceived hatred against the two princes and set herself in opposition to them. The foster-sister of the Sultân, who was called Makhdûmah Jahân, was the wife of Fîrûz Khân, and she having obtained information of this plot immediately hurried home and informed her husband. Fîrûz Khân and his brother then held counsel together; and most of the principal *amîrs*, such as Khwâjah Jahân, Azhdar Khân, Malik Shahâb, Saiyid Tâj-ud-dîn Jakâjût, Kutb-ul-Mulk and others who were vexed and distressed by the despotic power of the slaves, united together, and arranged that on the following day they were to go to the palace with a number of armed men, and before the slaves should hear of it, to seize and imprison the Sultân and seat Sultân Fîrûz on the throne.

Next day Sultân Fîrûz and Sultân Aḥmad with a multitude of followers mounted and proceeded to the court; and after posting a number of their adherents at each door went on till they found the Sultân, whom they seized and imprisoned, and Sultân Fîrûz took his place on the throne.

In most histories it is stated that this event occurred on the 23rd Safar, A. H. 800 (14th February, A. D. 1397). Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn reigned for the space of five months and seven days.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## Reign of Sultân-i Ghâzîân Tâj-ud-Dunyâ wa ud-Dîn Abû-l-Muzaffar Sultân Fîrûz Shâh, son of Aḥmad Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahmanî.[46]

After the deposition and imprisonment of Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn, on the same day **Sultân Fîrûz** placed the royal crown on his head and seated himself on the throne. The *amîrs*, *wazîrs*, *saiyids*, *shekhs* and learned men hastened to salute him, and obtained the felicity of kissing his feet; and his companions in adversity were eloquent in their congratulations and praises.

[45] According to Firishtah he was in his fifteenth year.

[46] According to Firishtah, Fîrûz and Ahmad were sons of Dâ,ûd.

Sultân Fîrûz Shâh having imprisoned Tughalbakhî and the other conspirators, honoured the nobles and generals with sumptuous robes of honour and numerous presents, and promoted his adherents. He conferred on his brother, **Aḥmad Khân**, the title of **Khân Khânân**; and **Khwâjah Jahân**, who previous to this held an office under government, he confirmed in the same employment. For the *amîrs* and those holding lands on feudal tenure he sent *farmâns* and robes of honour, and the revenue affairs were carried on as formerly. He behaved with justice, kindness and liberality towards his troops and subjects, and being determined to use his best endeavours in the suppression of infidelity and the strengthening of the Faith, he contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayânagar; so in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts.

**Devadâr** (Devarâja ?), who was the chief (*muḳaddam*) of those infidels, sent a person to the Sulṭân's court, and representing their weakness and despair, penitently asked for pardon, and stated that if the Sulṭân would draw the pen of forgiveness through the pages of their offences, and secure them against his royal displeasure and wrath they would pay into the public treasury the sum of thirty-three *laks* of *tanka*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts. The Sulṭân having washed with the limpid water of forgiveness and condonation the registers of offences of those penitent people, took from the Râya of Vijayânagar the sum agreed upon, and then quickly returned in triumph to his capital, where he spent nearly a year in enjoying himself.

After that, the desire of waging a *jihâd* against the cities and towns of the infidels having entered the Sulṭân's mind, in the beginning of the year 802 (A. D. 1399), he ordered a large army to be assembled, and on an auspicious day he marched towards the fort of **Sâgar.** When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sulṭân's approach they tendered their submission and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army.

[Since the Sulṭân in the neighbourhood of Sâgar, by his good fortune and the influence of his fresh and numerous victories obtained the submission of the *zamîndârs* and *Râyas* of those parts, **he gave to Sâgar the name of Nuṣratâbâd.**][47]

When he had received the thirty-three *laks* of *tankah* — which was the sum fixed for payment by the Râya of Vijayânagar — his desires being accomplished, and his important affairs carried to a successful issue, he returned towards his capital; and having encamped for some time on the bank of the **river Jahnûr**[48] **which is near Kalburgah, and is commonly known as the Bhanûr he founded a city there, and that city was commonly known as Fîrûzâbâd.**

In this year (A. H. 802 = A. D. 1399) **Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz** (long locks),[49] with a number of disciples and darvîshes came from Dihlî to the Dakhan, and by his honoured presence made Kalburgah the envy of heaven.

---

[47] This passage in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS.

[48] Evidently the river Bhîmâ.

[49] This famous Muḥammadan saint was born at Dillî on the 4th Rajab, A. H. 721 (30th July, A. D. 1321). His proper name is Ṣadr-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Ḥussainî, but he was commonly called Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz, on account of his having long ringlets. He was a disciple of Shekh Naṣîr-ud-Dîn Chirâgh of Dillî, who sent him to the Dakhan in A. H. 802 (A. D. 1399) during the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh Bahmanî. The latter received him with much honour and respect, but afterwards quarrelled with him, and to this disagreement with the saint the author of the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* attributes the subsequent misfortunes of Sulṭân Fîrûz.

Firishtah tells us that Sulṭân Aḥmad, in the early part of his reign, showered favours on the venerable *saiyid*; and as the people generally follow the example of their king, the inhabitants of the Dakhan chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The king withdrew his favour from the family of Shekh Sirâj-ud-Dîn, and conferred it on that of the holy *saiyid*, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages and extensive lands near Kalburgah, and built for him a magnificent college and monastery not far from the city. The people of the Dakhan had such a respect for the saint that a Dakhanî, on being once asked whom he considered the greater personage, the Prophet Muḥammad or the *saiyid*, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz was a far superior order of being.

The Sulṭân was rejoiced to hear of the *shekh's* arrival, and sent some learned men to wait, and requesting information about him, to inform the Sulṭân of the truth of the matter. They visited him according to the Sulṭân's orders, and found him perfect in all kinds of sciences and miracles; so they hastened to the Sulṭân and informed him of what they had found. This being the means of increasing the Sulṭân's belief he hankered after the society of that perfect instructor, and in ceremonious and respectful treatment neglecting not the smallest trifle, he assigned several cultivated lands to him as reward. Some have said that in the first interview between the Sulṭân and Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz an altercation occurred which used to increase day by day up to the time when, according to the revolution of fate, the Sulṭân was deposed; and that it was owing to his want of attention to that cream of his race that he experienced the misfortunes which he did, as will presently be related.

The Sulṭân again conceiving the idea of waging a religious war against the infidels of the country of Vijayânagar, despatched an army in that direction. When they arrived there the troops opened the hand of slaughter and plunder, and threw the fire of chastisement among the infidel inhabitants of that country. By force of arms they conquered several of the districts of Bhanûr and Musalakal. The Sulṭân having appropriated the fixed sum of thirty-three *laks* returned to his capital with immense booty; and after spending nearly a year there, liberally bestowing largess, he again assembled his army and moved towards Mâhûr; but finding that fortress excessively strong and surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle, he was obliged to make peace with the Râya of that place, and after exacting from him a large sum by way of tribute and contribution, returned to his capital.

At this time two slaves named Hûshyâr and Bîdâr who by royal favours and rank were distinguished above all the courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them and most of the important affairs of government and the army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bîdâr was given the title of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, and Hûshyâr that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

In the midst of these affairs Khwâjah Jahân, to whom, owing to his sagacity, the affairs of government had been committed, bid farewell to this perishable world, and his rank also was conferred on Bîdâr and Hûshyâr.

The Sulṭân being determined to conquer Teliṅgânâ proceeded in that direction till having got near Râjâmundrî he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital.

It is related that this sovereign during the period of his reign, which was twenty-five years and a fraction, made twenty-three (or twenty-four, according to other accounts — but God only knows secrets accurately!) expeditions against the districts and cities of the infidels, and plundered and devastated the countries of those accursed ones; and every year exacted from the infidels of Vijayânagar the sum of thirty-three *laks* of *tanka*, as originally fixed; and from Teliṅgânâ to Râjâmundrî and from Vijayânagar to Râ,ichûr the whole country was conquered by his army. In the latter days of his reign, the Sultân, who was nearly seventy years of age, and apparently much reduced in strength, was still strong in guarding the religion of Islâm and the Faith of the Prophet; and notwithstanding his weakness, he had sufficient strength to undertake *jihâds* against the infidels.

---

He died at Kalburgah on the 16th of Ẕî-ul-Ḳa'dah, A. H. 825 (1st November, A. D. 1422) at the age of a hundred years. His *dargâh* (shrine) is still to be seen at Kalburgah, and a chronogram recording the date of his death is inscribed on it. The verses are translated as follows by Professor Eastwick (*Madras Handbook*, 2nd edition, p. 359):—

"Like that of Gîsû Darâz the Dakhan boasts no shrine!
"Gîsû Darâz! the empire of Islâm and of this world are thine!"

The date of the saint's death is given in the symbolical letters which compose the words

مخدوم دين و دنيا

Lord of the Faith and of the World.

A much longer *târîkh*, giving the day of the month as well as the year of his death and ending in the same words, is given in the *Miftaḥ-ut-Tawârîkh*, p. 114.

Towards the end of his reign he was compelled once more to march against Vijayânagar; and was determined to take the fort of **Pângal**, which is one of the strongest and most celebrated of that district; but while he was on the way there, a body of troops of the accursed devils opposed the royal army with much bravery, and did not fall short in the fight; but after a severe struggle the Sulṭân's army was victorious: the infidels were defeated, and the world was cleared from the pollution of their impure existence, and immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. The Sulṭân sent to his capital despatches announcing the victory, and then marched against the fortress of Pângal which he besieged; but the garrison bravely sallied out and made a night attack on the Sulṭân's camp. In this fight fortune turned against the arms of the Muḥammadans, and many of the true believers lost their lives. The army of Islâm being completely defeated the Sulṭân marched from that place, halting nowhere till he reached the village of Ittakûr and those accursed impious people made *chabûtaras* with the (dead bodies of the) Musalmân leaders. Owing to this defeat the physical weakness of the Sultân was increased; and many people believed that the defeat was due to the change of feelings of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz.

When the Sulṭân having halted for some time at Ittakûr had somewhat recovered from his vexation he turned towards his capital; and settling down there went on no more expeditions, but spent his time in prayer, charity and good works and promoting the happiness of his people; and resigned the affairs of government to Bîdâr Niẓâm-ul-Mulk and Hûshyâr 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

Whoever sees authority in his hands is sure some day to rebel and aim at supremacy; and great men have said that the foundations of service of low-born people are fear and hope: when they lose fear and feel themselves secure they make turbid the fountain of loyalty; and when, by the acquisition of their desires, they become independent, the fire of ingratitude and sedition is kindled. It behoves a king, therefore, not to so exclude them from his benevolence that being without hope they should side with his enemies; and at the same time not to give them so much favour and power that they should conceive the idea of independence and rebellion; and sages have said that to cherish an ignoble person is to demean one's self and to lose the thread of one's own actions.

* * * * * * *

Such was the case with **Bîdâr and Hûshyâr**, who owing to the natural blackness and envy of their dispositions as well as by their elevation had injured the good fortune of Sulṭân Fîrûz.

These two inconsiderate *wázîrs* used always to be hypocritical towards **K͟hân K͟hânân** and wished to exclude him from the succession. K͟hân K͟hânân was the Sulṭân's brother, and owing to his understanding, mildness of disposition, generosity, bravery, and other good qualities the hearts of all the nobles, ministers and subjects, and most of the army were inclined towards him, and were anxious to make him Sulṭân; but Hûshyâr and Bîdâr persuaded the Sulṭân — who never failed to follow their advice — to make his eldest son, Ḥasan, the heir and present him with the royal canopy and give him the title of **Ḥasan Shâh.** But not content even with this, they formed a plot, and represented to the Sulṭân that until the kingdom was free from the power of K͟hân K͟hânân, Ḥasan Shâh could never sit on the throne; also that K͟hân K͟hânân was always currying favour with the subjects and the army, and that all the courtiers and populace were his well-wishers. Having no other resource Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh countenanced the plot against K͟hân K͟hânân; and though, on account of his near relationship he was unwilling to put him to death, yet he consented to have him blinded. But Shîr K͟hân, who was son of the Sulṭân's sister, having gained intelligence of this scheme, hastened to K͟hân K͟hânân and represented to him the position of affairs. K͟hân K͟hânân promised to fly, and with his eldest son Ẓafar K͟hân — who, after his father, aspired to the sovereignty — waited on Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz to ask his aid in attaining his objects and desires. The Saiyid received them with much honour and respect, and ordering food to be brought gave them to eat. He then with the hand of blessing himself tied turbans on their heads and predicted

sovereignty for both of them. Khân Khânân, assisted and inspired with hope, then took leave of that illustrious man, went to his house and with a number of trustworthy attendants prepared for flight. Just then a merchant from Laḥsâ called Khalf Ḥasan (who afterwards in the reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad obtained the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr, and who was celebrated for his great bravery and generosity), having this year brought Arab horses for sale to the government and having received a portion of the price of them, paid a visit to Sulṭân Aḥmad. When by his shrewdness he became aware of the contemplated flight of Aḥmad Shâh, he reminded him of the days of their friendly companionship as well as the requirements of sincerity and fidelity, and vowed to serve him at the risk of his life.

On the night when the Sulṭân (Aḥmad) intended going forth, Khalf Ḥasan was present at the door of Sulṭân Aḥmad's house. Suddenly the latter with four hundred faithful and fully-equipped attendants issued from the house with the intention of flight. Khalf Ḥasan coming forward saluted him with the title of "Sulṭân." Aḥmad gathered a good omen from this salutation, and said to Khalf Ḥasan :—" Go to your house with all speed, for you are a merchant and a stranger, and if anyone sees you with me your property may be plundered and even your life sacrificed on account of me." Khalf Ḥasan replied :— " At the time of ease and leisure to be a companion and confidant, and in the days of adversity to sprinkle the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of manhood and turn one's back on one's benefactor is contrary to the requirements of religion and manliness and is abhorrent to the disposition of an Arab or Persian : as long as there is life and breath in my body Heaven forbid that I should ride far from your stirrup! Kings, in their numerous important affairs have need of ministers, so it is possible that eventually some business needing the assistance of inferiors may ensue. For the work done by the weak needle the head-exalting spear after all is inferior to it; and the sword is amazed at the work accomplished by the slender pen-knife; and a servant, however worthless and untrustworthy he may be, is not without his uses in averting injury and blows."

Sulṭân Aḥmad, highly approving of the sincerity and faithfulness of Khalf Ḥasan regarded this also as a proof of his own future good fortune, and said to Khalf Ḥasan :— " If the sovereignty comes into my grasp you shall be a partner in my good fortune, and be requited for the fidelity and kindness which you have shown towards me."

Sulṭân Aḥmad with his adherents then left Kalburgah and proceeded towards Telingânâ.

When the news of the flight of Sulṭân Aḥmad was noised abroad in the city, Hûshyâr and Bîdâr awaking from the sleep of negligence,[50] in a state of perplexity and helplessness waited on the Sulṭân, and asked permission to pursue Khân Khânân. The Sulṭân, owing to his near relationship and the bonds of fraternity, was unwilling to do so, and said:— " Wherever Khân Khânân through fear of his life may have hidden himself, it seems best to leave him alone." The unhappy Hûshyâr and Bîdâr having gained over some of the nobles again represented to the Sulṭân, saying :— The departure of Sulṭân Aḥmad will be the cause of endless rebellion and sedition; it is therefore advisable to send people in pursuit of him, and prevent his assembling a force, and to throw the stone of separation among his adherents, so that the idea of rebellion may not enter his mind; for if he succeeds in collecting a large force it will be difficult to deal with him."

Since the power of Hûshyâr and the senseless Bîdâr[51] had arrived at such a stage that the Sulṭân had no choice in the matter, he maintained silence. Hûshyâr and Bîdâr with thirty elephants and 20,000 horse went in pursuit of Sulṭân Aḥmad, and by doing so, injured the reputation of Fîrûz and made themselves the butt of the arrows of the accidents of the time.

[50] A clever play on words:—

هشیار و بیدار از خوابِ غفت بیدار کشتم

[51] Another clever pun :—

هشیار و بیدارِ نا هشیار

For every affair of consequence founded upon deception and treachery inevitably ends in destruction and regret; and the sages have said : — "The most foolish of men are those who awaken sleeping tumult."

* * * * * * * *

Sulṭân Aḥmad had stopped two days in **Ni'matâbâd,** when at the middle hour between sun-rise and meridian[52] a cloud of dust arose on the road and a portion of the royal army with the elephants came in view, upon which Sulṭân Aḥmad purposed retreating without offering any opposition; but Khalf Ḥasan went up to him and said :—

"To leave the battle-field without a wound is shabby; let his Highness wait a little till his slave exposes himself in battle and strives his utmost."

It fortunately happened that a band of cattle-hirers (*mukariân*) — called Banjârahs in the dialect of Hindûstân — had halted in the neighbourhood of that place, having with them a great number of bullocks. Sulṭân Aḥmad, on the principle that "War is fraud,"[53] having thought of a stratagem, purchased the whole of their bullocks at a high price, and after tying cloths on their horns, arranged a troop of these bullocks facing the enemy, while he himself advanced with 400 well-equipped cavalry. The plan was, fortunately, as successful as he anticipated. A portion of the Sulṭân's force, which fell upon the bullocks, at sight of them being completely overcome with terror, stood still and then fell back on the others as Sulṭân Aḥmad and Khalf Ḥasan attacked them. An elephant of mountain-like body and demon-like aspect was foremost in the royalist force; Khalf Ḥasan threw a spear and hit it in the trunk, upon which the elephant turned on its own ground and took to flight, and the royalists seeing this, also turned and fled. Sulṭân Aḥmad pursued them, and the generals seeing that their only resource was submission, came forward from their troops, and throwing themselves from their horses, respectfully kissed the ground before Sulṭân Aḥmad in token of submission. The Sulṭân treated them courteously and made them hopeful of his favour. He took possession of all the elephants, horses and baggage of Hûshyâr and Bîdâr; and those two men — unsuccessfull and discomfited like their own fortune — were soon put to death by the troops.

After that, Sulṭân Aḥmad with a large army set out on the march for Kalburgah; and at every stage — nay, even at every step — *amîrs* with their horsemen and retinue vied with one another in hastening to pay their respects to him, and were rendered happy by kissing the ground in submission to him, and were enrolled among his adherents.

When the news of the approach of Sulṭân Aḥmad was passed on, the sons and slaves of Sulṭân Fîrûz made him *nolens volens* mount and go out of the city to give him battle. Historians have related that one day Sulṭân Fîrûz having collected 7,000 cavalry went out of Kalburgah with the intention of fighting Sulṭân Aḥmad, but next day, on investigation, only 3,000 remained, the rest having hastened off to join Sulṭân Aḥmad. When Sulṭân Fîrûz saw the state of affairs, abandoning all idea of opposition, he returned to Kalburgah, and with the tongue of inspiration uttered these words: — "When my good fortune was in the ascendant, each time that I rode forth from the city such an army used to assemble at my heaven-like court that calculators, through inability, used to abandon the attempt to compute its numbers; but to-day, when fortune has turned against me and the throne of sovereignty has become the prize of another, seven thousand horse become one thousand."

When the news of the return of Sulṭân Fîrûz to the city reached Sulṭân Aḥmad, hastening to traverse the intervening distance, he alighted near a place of prayer of Kalburgah, and Sulṭân Fîrûz sent the *saiyids* and learned men of the state to him with the keys of the fortress.

In an hour's time Sulṭân Aḥmad of fortunate aspect — like his own auspicious fortune — arrived at the court; and acting in the same ceremonious and respectful manner which had been his former habit, he alighted at his brother's door, and in his accustomed manner saluted

[52] *Chásht-gâh*, breakfast time.

[53] الحرب خدعة *i. e.*, stratagem is necessary in war.

Sultân Fîrûz who was seated on the royal throne, and then stood in his old place; but Sultân Fîrûz descended from the throne and caught his brother to his breast, and they wept together for some time. Sultân Aḥmad pleading excuses made many apologies, saying: — "This boldness was due to fear of my life." Sultân Fîrûz said: — "Praise be to God that the sovereignty has fixed its residence in its own house: I have been to blame in that while having a brother such as you, I nominated another for the sovereignty; but since the Creator of the World has willed that it is to remain in our family, I now desire that you should treat your nephew Ḥasan Khân kindly, and that according to approved usages you should settle Fîrûzâbâd upon him and his heirs for ever, and make no change in this arrangement; for it is fitting that the fruit of the friendship which has always existed between me and you should show itself in our posterity."

When Sultân Fîrûz had finished the expression of his testamentary wishes he took the sword from his waist, and binding it on that of Sultân Aḥmad, took him by the arm and seated him on the throne.

Shortly after his abdication Sultân Fîrûz Shâh died, and this event happened on the 11th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (28th September 1422 A. D.).

As to the cause of the death of this monarch of exalted dignity various accounts are related; but the most authentic is that Shîr Khân, son of the Sultân's sister, convinced Sultân Aḥmad that the existence of Sultân Fîrûz would give rise to sedition; and that since it is impossible for two swords to be in one scabbard, so also it is imposible for two kings to exist in one place. Led astray by the arguments of Shîr Khân, Sultân Aḥmad consented to have Fîrûz Shâh put to death, and on the date above mentioned he employed some men to strangle him, but God only knows the truth of the matter.

Sultân Fîrûz was an impetuous and a mighty monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and he took much pleasure in the society of *shekhs*, learned men and hermits. His reign lasted twenty-five years, seven months and eleven days.

After the death of Sultân Fîrûz, Sultân Aḥmad sent Ḥasan Khân and all the other sons of the late king, in accordance with his will, to Fîrûzâbâd, and assigned that city to them; but in a short time Ḥasan Khân also bid farewell to this transitory world and joined his illustrious father.[54]

## Note to Chapter VIII.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultân Fîrûz Shâh given in the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.*]

### Reign of Sultân Fîrûz Shâh,

### son of Aḥmad Khân Bahmanî.

He was a good, just, generous and pious king: he supported himself by copying the *Kur,ân*, and the ladies of his *ḥaram* used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them. As a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time. One is a city which he built on the bank of the river Krishṇa;[55] he erected a lofty building in that city, and completed it, and constructed fortifications one *farsakh*[56] in extent round it, made of cut stone; and for a long time he lived in that city in enjoyment and the gratification of his desires. It chanced that at one time heavy rain fell,

[54] According to Firishtah (Briggs, Vol. II., p. 400) Ḥasan Khân lived till after the death of his uncle, Aḥmad Shâh, when he was blinded and kept a prisoner in his palace at Fîrûzâbâd.

Here ends the first *Ṭabakah* of the *Burhan-i Ma,âsir.*

[55] This should be the Bhîmâ, a branch of the Krishṇa.

[56] 6,000 yards.

and the water of the river overflowed to such an extent that the country round for three or four *farsakhs* was flooded, and much damage was caused. In the streets and *bâzâr* of the city the water rose so high that the Sulṭân and his family for seven days and nights had to live in the upper storey of the palace. The fortifications and the city still remain, but that building has not remained: the city is known by the name of **Fîrûzâbâd.**

* * * * * * * * *

He took Bâbâ Kamâl as his spiritual adviser, and became his disciple. Facing his own dome (tomb) another of elaborate construction was built for the saint, and beneath it a reservoir which the Sulṭân built during his lifetime : the dome and reservoir are still in existence.

* * * * * * *

The affairs of state, both great and little, he entrusted to Sulṭân Aḥmad, whilst he himself only attended to his devotions; and Sulṭân Aḥmad's power being very great in the government he gained over to his side the nobles and ministers and the whole of the army, and meditated opposition to the Sulṭân.

One day someone informed Sulṭân Fîrûz that Sulṭân Aḥmad was plotting against him, and contemplated carrying him off and becoming king in his place, and advised the Sulṭân to be on his guard; he only replied: — "What remedy is there against the decrees of Fate? It is certain that he will be king after me."

It is well known that seventy of the troops had mutinied against Sulṭân Fîrûz, and he had sentenced them to death, but at the intercession of Sulṭân Aḥmad their lives were spared and they were promoted. These men joined Sulṭân Aḥmad in plotting to kill Sulṭân Fîrûz. There were many Habshî slaves in the service of the Sulṭân as personal attendants: one of these Habshîs who was in charge of the royal wardrobe, used every morning to bring the Sulṭân's clothes into his private apartments, and dress him. When Sulṭân Aḥmad's power increased he wished to establish himself in the sovereignty; and deceiving the Habshîs and soldiers by false promises, persuaded them to join him in putting Sulṭân Fîrûz to death.

One day Sulṭân Aḥmad after making elaborate preparations came to the door of Sulṭân Fîrûz's palace with the intention of assassinating him. When the sentries saw this they began fighting with the followers of Sulṭân Aḥmad, and many were killed on both sides. At last the Habshî *jâmah-dâr*,[57] who was a confidential servant, told the guards that he would go and acquaint the Sulṭân with the attack of Sulṭân Aḥmad; but he had previously promised the latter to assassinate the Sulṭân at the time of the fighting. Watching his opportunity he entered the private apartment of Sulṭân Fîrûz, who at the time was engaged in reading the word of God. That unfortunate Habshî killed Sulṭân Fîrûz with a dagger, and then informed the people of the fact.

When the troops of the Sulṭân became aware of the murder, they retired from the fight, and each one hid himself. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Sulṭân Fîrûz to the throne, but at the same moment Sulṭân Aḥmad put him to death, and seated himself on the throne.

The duration of the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz was twenty-five years, seven months and twelve days; and the period of the sovereignty of the eight Bahmanî kings in the city of Aḥsanâbâd was eighty-two years, five months and eighteen days; but God only knows!

*(To be continued.)*

[57] Keeper of the wardrobe; a servant who hands the clothes to his master.

# FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI, M.R.A.S., OF NAGPUR.

## *No.* 12. — *The Fulfilment of a Curse.*

THERE was a certain ascetic practising austerities in a forest. An emperor's son, while riding there with his friends and followers and with bows and arrows to shoot at birds, saw a dead snake lying on the ground, and an ascetic close by. "This fellow is performing a great penance," said the prince, and, taking the dead snake, hung it round the neck of the holy man, and moved on. It was the height of the rainy season, and the dead snake got wetter and wetter, became putrid, and thousands of creatures engendered in it. When the sun rose one morning after some days the worms showed themselves to be very active by creeping about the body of the ascetic; and when he scratched his body the discomfort caused thereby was indescribable. Enduring it no longer he opened his eyes and found myriads of worms creeping about his body and a putrid smell emanating therefrom, and the snake though decayed and in pieces still hanging on to him.

"Who put this on to my neck?" said the ascetic, and cursed the man, saying: — "May the very same snake bite him, and suck his life's blood."

His penance being thus vitiated, the ascetic went to the river-bank to clean himself and renew it.

Now in the emperor's country his *purôhit,* his priest and his astrologer, said to him one morning on their usual visit to the palace: — "O emperor, your son will be bitten by a snake on such and such a day and at such and such an hour. The prince has disturbed the austerities of an ascetic. The catastrople cannot be averted, do what we may."

With a heavy heart the emperor heard the prophecy, and, saying within himself, "let us see how this shall come to pass," got the palace thoroughly swept and cleaned from the ceiling to the ground, inside and out; and the fissures or chinks in the walls cemented with *chunam* and the holes of the running drains covered up with masonry, and took every precaution so that no snake should be harboured there, and on the day on which the snake was to bite the prince he had fires burning brightly around the palace, and permitting no egress or ingress even to a bird, waited for the worst. The whole population on the other hand, upon whom a gloom had been cast, poured into the palace-yard with deep sorrow, many wailing and all wishing that the evil hour might pass away without mishap to their emperor's son.

The news of the misfortune that was to happen to the prince on such and such a day and at such and such an hour was not confined to his country, but spread like wild fire in the seventy-six subsidiary kingdoms over which the emperor held sway, and every subject, the high and the low, sympathised with the emperor. And so popular was he that in one of the subject countries a mother said to her son, reputed to be a very great doctor: — "You who know so much that every drug yields to you its virtue! You who know so well incantations, messengers from Hanumân[1] to the *daityas,*[2] that every one of them seem to be at your beck and call! The emperor's son is in danger of death by a snake-bite. Will you not go and cure him?"

So saying, she rolled up a bundle containing the remains of the precious evening's food in his hands and bid him go to the capital. As he was going, the snake, in the guise of an old man, was also going there. It entered into conversation with the medicine man and asked: — "Where are you going?"

"I am going to cure the king's son, who is going to be bitten by a snake!"

"Can you cure him?"

"Yes, I can."

"Really," interrogated the old man (i. e., the serpent in disguise).

"Yes, or else I shall make a sacrifice of my medical books and incantation books to the fire."

"Well, I am the serpent. I am going to bite the prince. You will see my power."

---

[1] Hanumân is the patron of sorcerers.

[2] Demons.

So saying the old man went to a bush, and, coming out as a *âdhisêsa*,[3] with hood expanding, bit a "green" tree of twelve branches, blossoming with flowers and fruits, when, lo and behold! the tree burned itself up in an instant, the stump only remaining. Seeing this the doctor entered the forest hard by and bringing a leaf in his hand, extracted juice from it and poured it on the remains of the burnt tree, and immediately the tree came to life with its branches, flowers, fruits and all, flourishing as before.

Whereupon the serpent advised the man saying: — "Go by the way you came. Do not cure the prince. He has disturbed the austerities of an anchorite, who in consequence has cursed him. The anchorite's curse should not be made of no-effect."

Hearing which the doctor returned home only to receive his mother's curse for not carrying out her wish.[4]

Meanwhile, the evil hour drew nigh. An old *purôhit* of the king, full of years, who had been left at home, desired to see the prince once again and started for the purpose, and while going he saw a fresh lime lying on the path. Going along it he reached the palace and greeted the prince reverentially from behind the fires. The prince returned the greeting, and, seeing the lime in the *purôhit's* hand, he asked for it. Taking it he smelt it, when at once it became a snake, sticking to his nose with a long tail, and sucking the prince's life's blood. Thus was the anchorite's curse fulfilled, and nothing could avert it. And **this is in accordance with the decrees of fate.**

## *No.* 13. — *The Clever Wife.*

There was once a miserly Kômatî who used to give a *sêr* of *jowârî* every day for making three cakes. Of these he would eat two and a half and leave the rest to his wife, and half a cake is certainly not sufficient to keep any one's body and soul together, so it is not strange that the Kômatî's wives, whom he married one after another, left him on the ground of insufficient food.

At last the Kômatî got a wife who had a will of her own, and was a fit person to control him, though like the others she used to bake three cakes and place them before her husband. She stood her share of half a cake for three days, but on the fourth day she reserved a cake and a half for herself, and placed the rest before her husband.

"Where's the rest?" said the husband; "fetch it."

"Why?"

"I want it."

She would not bring it, and he refused to eat anything. So she ate all the cakes. The next day also she baked three cakes and entreated her husband to eat his share.

"How many cakes?" said he.

"One and a half."

"Say two and a half."

But she would not, and again ate them all. This went on for three or four days, and the consequence was that the husband became unwell, nearly died, but still remained obstinate.

Then the wife called some of her people and said:—"My husband is dead. Prepare a bier." They came and prepared the bier, and when they were about to bathe the corpse she went up to it and said: — "Consent now."

"Say two and a half."

[3] The first serpent upon whose head the world is said to rest. Earthquakes are caused by the shaking of its head. [A most interesting instance of the form in which the old iterary legends about Dhanvantara, the leech, and the humanised Nâga serpents, have survived among the people. — Ed.]

[4] The curse stands to this day — medicines showing their effect only in a few cases of snake-bite and failing as a rule.

He would not yield, and the woman on her part remained inexorable. The bathing over the relations laid the corpse on the bier and carried it to the cremation ground and placing it there they piled on the stacks of firewood and cowdung cakes, when the wife under the pretence of seeing her husband for the last time went near him and said gently in his ear: — "Now consent and say one and a half."

"No. Say two and a half," retorted he.

The next moment the pile was lit, when the dead man broke loose from the pyre, and exclaimed in a loud distracted tone: — "I consent, I consent. One and a half."

The people were frightened out of their wits, but when they came to know the story they laughed heartily and went to their homes. The miser also returned home with his wife, and henceforward divided the cakes equally.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### DEDICATORY NECKLACES.

In the country lying in Lat. 30° 15′ N., and Long. 73° 30′ E., when a Muhammadan male child is born he is dedicated to Pîr-i-Dastagîr ['Abdu'l Qâdir Jîlânî], for 6, 9, or 12 years. On his completing his first year a silver necklace, somewhat lighter than a Norse torque, is put on his neck, and another is added on the completion of each year up to the termination of the dedicatory period, when all the necklaces are taken off and presented at the shrine of Pîr-i-Dastagîr. I have seen children wearing as many as seven of these necklaces, the state of the skin of the neck proving that they had never been taken off. Should the child die the necklaces are reserved for other possible children.

M. Millett in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### SOME INDIAN MUSALMAN BIRTH CUSTOMS.

So long as the mother is confined to her bed a barber's wife (*nâin*) cooks the food of the whole family in the presence of the women, and during the seven days of defilement the nurse and her husband supplies the water, and a brother's wife the earthen vessels required. But this last custom exists only in the villages, and does not extend to the large towns and cities. During the whole term of the confinement the Hinduized Musalmâns will give nothing away out of the house — not even fire — nor will they allow the house sweepings to be thrown outside, nor is any woman, except one of their own caste, allowed to enter the house.

Gulab Singh in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### SOME BIRTH CUSTOM IN BIHAR.

In Bihâr, when a child is born whose elder brothers have died, and who is hence called *marâchh* or *marâchh'wâ*, the navel cord is thrown away. But if he is an ordinary child, whose brothers and sisters are alive, a portion is cut off and buried in the floor of the lying-in-chamber; over it the lying-in-fire, *pasanghî*, is lighted. This fire is kept in all cases burning night and day, till the mother leaves the chamber.

G. A. Grierson in *P. N. and Q.* 1883

### KHWAJA KHIZAR AND HIS AFFINITIES.

Wanted: the various names of this god of the flood. The common ones are Khwâjâ Khizar, identified with Ilyâs (Elias); Khwâjâ Khâsâ; Durmindr; Dumindo; Jindâ Pîr. See Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, xxiv. — Compare also the Russian myth of the Vodyany or water-sprite being mixed up with Ilyâ (Elijah), who Ralston says, *Songs of the Russian People*, 2nd ed., p. 152, is properly Perun, the Slavonic Thunder God.

R. C. Temple.

### CEREMONIAL COLORS.

Are there any instances known among the non-Aryan tribes of India or Burma of particular colors being associated with the various directions or points of the compass? The colors may be used in ceremonials, or may be referred to in myth or story, as in the case of Mt. Meru in Aryan mythology with its four sides of different colors.

If so, what reasons, if any, are given for the selection of the colors? And what is the general symbolic significance of the colors so used? If, for example, red is used as symbolic of some point of the compass, is red in its general symbolism connected with heat, or with war, or with anything else?

If green, blue or black are used symbolically of any of the directions, do the people have any knowledge of the sea; and what color do they use in describing it?

The foregoing queries are printed in hopes that a considerable body of material may be found to exist in various parts of Southern Asia in regard to this interesting branch of symbolism, the study of which in America has brought to light some curious points, which, however, require corroborative evidence from other parts of the world before they can be regarded as settled. The Chinese, Corean, and Japanese symbolism has been often recorded, as has that of the Vedas and Buddhism, but no material seems to be available from the many other peoples in Southern Asia.

ROLAND B. DIXON.

CALICO AND MUSLIN.

HERE is a contribution of some importance to the history of both these Indo-European words. *Cf* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. vv.*

1775. "*N B*—**Calicoes, commonly called Muslins, or white Calicoes**, are to pay, besides the above duty, 15 per Cent. to be computed according to the Gross Value of the Sale." — Stevens, *Guide to the East India Trade*, p. 120.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CALAMBAC.

HERE are two good quotations in addition to those given by Yule, *s. v*

1775. "Price Current | of | Sundry Goods at Judda | . . . . **Callumbeck**, 42 Bombay Rupees per Candy." — Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, p. 63.

1813. "Lignum Aloes, **Agallochum or Calambac** is the wood of a tree growing in some parts of the Malay Peninsula, Cochin China, etc. It is described as resembling an olive, and the wood being so much esteemed among the Asiatics is carefully watched. The trunk is of three colours, and distinguished by different names in commerce, *viz*, . . . . III. **Calambac** is the heart, or centre part of the tree, and is the wood so much esteemed in all parts of India . . . . It should have an agreeable fragrant smell and a bitter aromatic taste. . . . . . The true **Calambac** is generally in flat bits. . . . . This wood [Eagle Wood. — R. C. T.] is never brought to Europe, being of little value." — Milburn, *Commerce*, II., p. 312 f.

R C. TEMPLE.

BITT.

HERE is a contribution towards the spread of this obscure nautical term.

1685. "The fourth [Beam] taken quite out and a new one pu[t] in its place to secure the **Bitpins**." — Report on the repairs necessary to "the Pink *John and Mary*," 7th July, 1685, in Pringle's *Madras Consultations* for 1685, p. 96. To this Mr. Pringle's note is: — "Bitpins, 'two upright pieces of oak, called Bittpins when the bitts are large, or Knees when the bitts are small.' The word is in several European languages, but its origin is unknown" (p. 192).

1811. "**Bitts, Habeet, abit.**" — Roebuck, *Eng.-Hind. Naval Dict.* p. 9.

1882. **Bitts. — Habit, abit** (Portuguese, abitas). — Small, *Lascari Dict.* p. 6.

There is no doubt then that the lascar's form of the word has been borrowed from the Portuguese.

R. C TEMPLE.

SOME RUSTIC DIVISIONS OF TIME AND MEASUREMENTS.

HERE are some instances.

*Jhallângê* and *waddê vêlê*, early in the morning.

*Airoṅ ghnairoṅ*, and *ghussâ mussâ*, twilight.

*Sargî vêlê*, an hour before dawn (Musalmâns).

Should not *bhattâ vêlâ* be just before noon? Is not *nîddâ* for *nikkâ?* Similarly I think *landâ vêlâ* should be *lahudâ vêlâ*.

It may be stated generally that in the absence of clocks the peasant notes the time of day by reference to the position of the sun, or the time for feeding, or other daily habits. The hungry man's stomach serves him for a watch; *e. g*, he will say "the sun has risen a reed's height in the sky," or "the sun was in and out" (*din andar bâhar thâ*) — *i. e.*, was just rising, or "*din dhalliâ hoiâ*, the sun had begun to wester," or "*din leh piâ*, the sun had set." Again, at night he refers to the position of the stars, their appearance, etc. Other expressions are "*dunghî shâm hogai*, the evening (shades) had deepened," or "what time were we getting the second pair of bullocks to the well," or "what time we began to plough," or "when the lights (*dîwâ*) were being lit," or "some were in bed and some not," and so on.

In measuring space a peasant will say "as far as the voice can carry" (*sadd paindâ*), or "as far as a musket ball will go," rather than use artificial measurements. Asked the depth of a well, he will say so many scores of pots (*tind*, the earthen pots of a Persian wheel) to reach the water

Similarly the time of year is "the hot or cold or rainy weather," or is noted by the state of the crops more readily than by a specified month. The clout of the Panjâb keeps his shepherd's calendar.

R. W. TRAFFORD in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

# A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, AS APPLIED TO A GROUP OF SAVAGE LANGUAGES.[1]

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

IN reviewing lately for the Royal Asiatic Society Mr. Portman's **Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes**, I pointed out that he had used a pamphlet of my own, privately printed in 1883, entitled "**A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal Grammar**," which was specially designed to meet the very difficulties he had to face in giving a general idea of languages constructed on lines at first sight very different from those on whose structure modern European Grammar is based.

I also pointed out that the pamphlet in question arose out of **the practical impossibility of using the usual inflexional system of Grammar, as taught in Europe, for the accurate description of a group of agglutinative languages**, and that it had its immediate origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, public and private, on an old work of 1877 and certain MSS. by myself and Mr. E. H. Man on the Andamanese speech. Mr. Ellis explained that in order to adequately represent for scientific readers such a form of speech as the Andamanese, "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation," and he asked me accordingly if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." This, and the further consideration that since every human being speaks with but the one object of communicating his own intelligence to other human beings, the several possible ways of doing this must be based on some general laws applicable to them all, if only one could find them out, led me **to make the attempt to construct a general theory on logical principles, which should abandon the inflexional treatment, its conceptions and its terms.**

Such an attempt involved a wide departure from orthodox grammatical teaching, and I found that Mr. Portman, while adopting the theory, had been unable to clear himself of the teaching in which he had been brought up, and had consequently produced a work which was a compromise between the two. His laborious and praiseworthy efforts to adequately represent the Andamanese languages had failed in point of clearness, and my theory was not properly represented in his pages. I have therefore determined to revert again to the subject, and to give a more extended view of the theory than was then possible.

With these few introductory remarks I will proceed at once with my subject, commencing with **a general statement of the argumentation on which the theory is based**, testing it as a method of clearly presenting a savage group of tongues constructed after the fashion of the Andamanese by an explanation thereby of the linguistic contents of an entire story, as given by Mr. Portman, *viz.*, **The Andaman Fire Legend**, and concluding by a skeleton statement of the theory itself.

Premising that I am talking of the conditions of sixteen years ago, I found myself, in building up the theory, compelled, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars ended, *viz.*, **at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making that the unit of language.** Clearly, then, a sentence may consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or 'words,' which I defined as single expressions of a meaning. It can also consist of two separate parts — the subject, *i. e.*, the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, *i. e.*, the discussion or communication. And when the subject or predicate consists of many words it must contain principal and additional words.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal

[1] From *J. R. A. S.*, 1899.

and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions of the principal words are to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words to illustrate the predicate, or to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form that part of a sentence recognized in the Grammars as 'the object.'

This completes the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms; but speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the following in any specified sentence: — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information.

Now, purpose can be indicated in a sentence by the position of its components, by variation of their forms, or by the addition of special introductory words. Also, connected purposes can be indicated by connected sentences, placed in the relation to each other of principal and subordinate, which relation can be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of special words of reference. And a word of reference can act in two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Further, the inter-relation of the words in a sentence can be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form.

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, *i. e.*, incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses, and periods. But to keep our minds fixed for the present only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word is either —

(1) An *integer*, or a sentence in itself.

(2) An *indicator*, or indicative of the subject or *complement* (object) of a sentence.

(3) An *explicator*, or explanatory of its subject or complement.

(4) A *predicator*, or indicative of its predicate.

(5) An *illustrator*, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.

(6) A *connector*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words).

(7) An *introducer*, or explanatory of its purpose.

(8) A *referent conjunctor*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of conneceted sentences by joining them.

(9) A *referent substitute*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

These, then, are the terms I concocted and the arguments out of which they grew. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and I will now explain why I consider that it is far more important to study function than form as essential to the correct apprehension of words, and how to my mind accidence arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as we have all been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes

as there are functions which it can fulfil. The functions a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein without or with variation of form, and, because of this, the form which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms, *i. e.*, the words, so connected being that of parent and offshoot. Form, therefore, can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong.

This is the induction that leads me to argue that form grows out of function, or, to put it in the familiar way, accidence grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or **stem**, and an additional part or functional **affix**. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess **inherent qualities**, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes.

Thus it is that the affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognized methods of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind.

Such is the line which I have long thought inductive argument should take, in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from **the base argument** that speech is a mode of communication between man and man, expressed through the ear by talking, through the eye by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech.

The grammar, *i. e.*, the exposition of the laws, of any single language seems to me to stop at this point, and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of **Comparative Grammar.** In doing so one must start at the same point as before, *viz.*, the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i. e.*, of **a language.**

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position or forms or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, words are the components of sentences, and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created **classes of languages.** Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words.

Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative, or those that infix them; and (3) post-mutative, or those that suffix them.

Thus does it seem to me that the inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, *i. e.*, by languages. But as is the case with every other natural growth, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of **connected languages**, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective forms and positions, but not the meanings, of their words. And since the variation of form is effected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into **groups**, or those whose stems are common, and into **families**, or those whose roots are common.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its **genius** or peculiar constitution, *i. e.*, it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others.

I have always thought, and I believe it could be proved, that every language must conform to some part or other of the theory above indicated in outline, and in that case the theory would be truly what I have ventured to call it — "A Theory of Universal Grammar." That such a theory exists in nature and only awaits unearthing, I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by 'teaching,' acts on an instinctive assumption of its existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its rules of grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book knowledge of the language, which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from and inferior to the practical or true knowledge. I use the term 'true' here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

But it seems to me that if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by the untutored man, and to do no violence to what he feels to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge — between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye — would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages would consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly, and more easily learned, both by children and adults, than is now practicable. Looked at thus, the matter becomes one of the greatest practical importance.

This is what I have attempted to achieve in stating **my theory**; but, assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it will be observed that it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many accepted definitions, and, while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details. Taken all round, it is **a wide departure from orthodox teaching**. Hence the interest that Mr. Portman's efforts possess for myself.

But, as I have already pointed out in my review of his book, he has not strictly applied the theory, and has mixed it up in his application with the accepted teaching. I will therefore now put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman's sixth chapter on "The Andaman Fire Legend," which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andaman group.

The story is in each case a very short one, and is given by Mr. Portman as follows: —

## THE ANDAMAN FIRE LEGEND.

### Aka-Beada Language.

#### Interlined Text.

Taul-l'oko-tima — len Puluga — la mami — ka | Luratut — la chapa tap — nga omo —
(a Place) — in God asleep-was | (a Bird) fire steal — ing bring —

re | chapa — la Puluga — la pugat — ka | Puluga — la boi — ka | Puluga —
did | fire God burning — was | God awake — was | God

la chapa eni — ka | a ik chapa — lik Luratut l'ot — pugari — re | jek
fire seizing — was | he taking fire — by (Bird) burn — t | at-once

Luratut — la eni — ka | a i — Tar-cheker l'ot — pugari — re | Wota-Emi — baraij —
(Bird) taking—was | he (a Bird) burn — t | Wota-Emi — village —

len Chaoga-tabanga oko — dal — re | Tomolola |
in The-ancestors made-fires | Tomolola |

#### Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping at Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God God woke up. God seized the fire; He took the fire and burnt Luratut with it. Then Luratut took (the fire); he burnt Tar-cheker in Wota-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were the) Tomola.

### Akar-Bale Language.

#### Interlined Text.

Dim-Daura — le rita Keri-l'ong-tauwer — te Puluga l'i toago choapa l' —
(a Man) long-ago (a Place) — by God his platform fire

omo — kate | ong ik akat-paura puguru — t l' — a — re | Bolub ka Tarkaur
bringing — was | he taking all-men burn — t di-d | (a Man) and (a Man)

ka Bilichau ongot oto — jurugmu — t — ia | ongot at — yaukat mo — nga |
and (A man) they in-the-sea-wen — t — did | they fish becom — ing |

ongot oaro — tichal-ena — te Rokwa-l'ar-tonga-baroij — a oko — dal — nga l' — a — re-
they carry-taking— by (a Place) - village-in fire-mak-ing di — d.

#### Mr. Portman's Rendering.

Dim-Daura, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tauwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkaur and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

### Puchikwar Language.

#### Interlined Text.

Taul-l'oko-tim — an Bilik l'ong — pat — ye | Luratut | l'ong at ab — lechi — nga |
(a Place) — in God sleep — did | (a Bird) | he fire bring — ing |

Luratut l'ong — di — ye | kota ong Bilik l'ab — biki — ye | kota Bilik l'ong — konyi —
(a Bird) seiz — ed | then he God burn— t | then God awaken—

ye | Bilik | l'ong at li — ye | ong e Luratut l'ŏto — toi-chu — nga | kota kol ong
ed | God | he fire seiz — ed | he then (a Bird) (with) fire-hitt — ing | then again he

e Tarchal l'ote — toi-chu — ye | Chalter l'ong — di — ye | ong Lao-Cham — len
then (a Man) (with) fire-hit — did | (a Bird) seiz — ed | he ancestors — to

da — nga | Wauta-Emi — en ota Lao-cham | n'ong o — kadak — nga.
giv— ing | Wauta-Emi — in then ancestors | they fire-mak — ing.

**Mr. Portman's Rendering.**

God was sleeping in Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wauta-Emi.

AUKAU-JUWOI LANGUAGE.

**Interlined Text.**

Kuro-t'on-mik — a Mom Mirit — la | Bilik l'aukau — ema — t | peakar at — lo
(a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | God slep — t | wood fire — with

top — chike | at laiche Lech — lin a | kotak a auko — kodak —chine at — lo
stealing — was | fire the-late (a Man) — to he | then he fire-make —did fire-with

Karat-tatak-emi — in |
(a Place) — at |

**Mr. Portman's Rendering.**

Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t'on-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

KOL LANGUAGE.

**Interlined Text.**

Taul-l'oko-tim — en Bilik — la pat — ke | Luratut — la Oko-Emi — t at kek — an |
(a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) (a Place) — in fire too — k |

Kaulotat — ke | lin l' — a — chol — an Min-tong-ta — kete | Min-tong-ta — kete-lak l'—ir
(a Man) — was | by (he) — wen — t (a Place) — to | (a Place) — to - by (it)

—bil — an | Kaulotat l'ir — pin l'ir — dauk — an | k'irim — kaudak — an |
—out-wen — t | (a Man) charcoal break) — did | fire-make— did |

n'a n'otam — tepur — an | at — ke n'ote — tepur — an | Min-tong-tauk-
they alive — became | fire — by (they) — alive — became | (a Place)-

panroich — in Jangil | n'a l'oko — kaudak — an |
village — in ancestors | they fire-make — did |

**Mr. Portman's Rendering.**

God was sleeping at Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kaulotat went to Min-tong-ta, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kaulotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tauk village.

In making an analysis of the language in which the above story is couched, it is at first all plain sailing, and it will be seen at a glance from any of these sentences that the Andamanese sentence is the expression of a complete meaning, capable at once of being divided into subject and predicate. This can be seen as under, making S. mean that the word is in the subjective, and P. that it is in the predicative, part of the sentence.

Aka Beada.

Taul-l'oko-tima-len (P.) Pulugala (S.) mamika (P.). Luratutla (S.) chapa-tapnga (S.) omore (P.). Chapala (S.) Pulugala (P.) pugatka (P.). Pulugala (S.) boika (P.). Pulugala (S.) chapa (P.) enika (S.). A (S.) ik (S.) chapalik (P.) Luratut (P.) l'ot-pugarire (P.). Jek (P.) Luratutla (S.) enika (P.). A (S.) Itarcheker (P.) l'ot-pugarire (P.). Wota-Emi-baraij-len (P.) Chaoga-tabanga (S.) oka-dalre (P.). Tomola (S.) (P. wanting).

Akar-Bale.

Dim-Daurale (S.) rita (P.) Keri-l'ong tauwar-te (P.) Puluga (P.) l'i (P.) toago (P.) choapa (P.) l'omokate (P.). Ong (S.) ik (S.) akat-paura (P.) pugurut-l'are (P.). Bolub (S.) ka (S.) Tarkaur (S.) ka (S.) Bilichau (S.) (P. wanting). Ongot (S.) otojurugmutia (P.). Ongot (S.) atyaukat (P.) monga (P.). Ongot (S.) oarotichal-ena-te (S.) Rokwa-l'ar-tonga (P.) baroij-len (P.) oko-dal-nga-l'are (P.).

Puchikwar.

Taul-l'oko-tim-an (P.) Bilik (S.) l'ong-patye (P.). Luratut (S.) (P. wanting). L'ong (S.) at (P.) ab-lechinga (P.). Luratut (S.) l'ong-diye (P.). Kota (P.) ong (S.) Bilik (P.) l'ab-bikiye (P.). Kota (P.) Bilik (S.) l'ong-konyiye (P.). Bilik (S.) (P. wanting). L'ong (S.) at (P.) liye (P.). Ong (S.) e (P.) Luratut (P.) l'oto-toi-chunga (P.). Kota (P.) kol (P.) ong (S.) e (P.) Tarchal (P.) l'ote-toi-chuye (P.). Chalter (S.) l'ong-diye (P.). Ong (S.) Laocham-len (P.) danga (P.). Wanta-Emi-en (P.) ota (P.) Laocham (S.) (P. wanting). N'ong-o-kadaknga (P.).

Aukau-Juwoi.

Kuro-t'ou-mik-a (P.) Mom-Miritla (S.) (P. wanting). Bilik (S.) l'aukau-emat (P.). (S. wanting) peakar (P.) at-lo (P.) topchike (P.). At (P.) laiche (P.) Lech-lin (P.) a (S.) (P. wanting). Kotak (P.) a (S.) auko-kodakchine (P.) at-lo (P.) Karat-tatak-emi-in (P.).

The whole narration in this language is extremely elliptical, and what Mr. Portman defines as the first 'phrase' seems to me to be three elliptical sentences.

Kol.

Taul-l'oko-tim-en (P.) Bilikla (S.) patke (P.). Luratutla (S.) Oko-emit (P.) at (P.) kekan (P.). Kaulotat-ke (S. and P.). Lin (P.) l'a-cholan (S. and P.) Min-tong-ta-kete (P.). Min-tong-ta-ketelak (P.) l'ir-bilan (S. and P.). Kaulotat (S.) l'ir-pin (P.) l'ir-daukau (P.). (S. wanting) k'irim-kaudakan (P.). N'a (S.) n'otam-tepuran (P.). Atke (P.) n'ote-tepuran (S. and P.). Min-tong-tauk-pauroich-in (P.) jangil (S.) n'a (S.) l'oko-kaudakan (P.).

There are instances in these languages of combining the subject and predicate in one expression, which are an indication of grammatical growth. *E. g.*, *Kaulotat-ke* is really an indicator (noun) with a predicative (verbal) suffix, and signifies some such expression as: 'Now, there was one Kaulotat.' In *n'ote-tepuran* we have the subject and predicate again combined into one expression — *n'* (they) *-ote-tepuran* (became alive).

The next point for consideration, *viz.*, that the components of the sentences are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part, needs no special illustration, and one may pass on to the functions of the words, using the abbreviations given below in the illustrations exhibited. To make these clear to the reader, I will recapitulate the explanations given in the Theory.

Functionally a word is either —

(1) An integer, or a sentence in itself. *Int.* (Interjection, vocative, etc.)

(2) An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence. *In.* (Noun.)

(3) An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement. *E.* (Adjective.)

(4) A **predicator**, or indicative of its predicate. *P.* (Verb.)

(5) An **illustrator**, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement. *Ill.* (Adverb.)

(6) A **connector**, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words). *C.* (Conjunctions, pre- and post-positions, etc.)

(7) An **introducer**, or explanatory of its purpose. *Intd.* (Conjunctions.)

(8) A **referent conjunctor**, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them. *R. C.* (Relative adverbs, pronouns, etc.)

(9) A **referent substitute**, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. *R. S.* (Pronouns.)

**By 'complement' is meant the 'object,'** and hence the indicators, explicators, and illustrators belonging to the 'objective' or complementary part of the sentence are marked as 'complementary indicators, etc.,' thus: *C. Ind.*, *C. E.*, *C. Ill.*

**The various sentences in the Legends can therefore be analyzed as follows:—**

AKA-BEADA.

Taull'okotimalen (Ill.) Pulugala (In.) mamika (P.). Luratutla (In.) chapa- (C. In.) -tapnga (P. E. phrase) omore (P.). Chapala (In.) Pulugala (C. In.) pugatka (P.). Pulugala (In.) boika (P.). Pulugala (In.) chapa (C. In.) enika (P.). A (R. S.) ik (E.) chapalik (Ill.) Luratut (C. In.) l'otpugarire (P.). Jek (R. C.) Luratutla (In.) enika (P.). A (R. S.) Itarcheker (C. In.) l'otpugarire (P.). Wota-Emibaraijlen (Ill.) Choaga-tabanga (In.) okodalre (P.). Tomolola (In., P. wanting).

AKAR-BALE.

Dim-Daurale (In.) rita (Ill.) Keril'ongtauwerte (Ill.) Puluga- (In.) -l'i- (C.) -toago- (In.) (E. phrase) choapa (C. In.) l'omokate (P.). Ong (R. S.) ik (E.) akatpaura (C. In.) pugurut- (P.) -l'- (C.) -are (P. phrase). Bolub (In.) ka (C.) Tarkaur (In.) ka (C.) Bilichau (In., P. wanting). Ongot (R. S.) otojurugmutia (P.). Ongot (R. S.) atyaukat (C. In.) monga (P.). Ongot (R. S.) oarotichal-enate (E.) Rokwal'artonga-baroija (Ill.) okodaluga- (P.) -l'- (C.) -are (P. phrase).

PUCHIKWAR.

Taull'akatiman (Ill.) Bilik (In.) l'ongpatye (P.). Luratut (In., P. wanting). L'ong (R. S.) at (C. In.) ablechinga (P.). Luratut (In.) l'ongdiye (P.). Kota (R. C.) ong (In.) Bilik (C. In.) l'abbikiye (P.). Kota (R. C.) Bilik (In.) l'ongkonyiye (P.). Bilik (In., P. wanting). L'ong (R. S.) at (C. In.) liye (P.). Ong (R. S.) e (R. C.) Luratut (C. In.) l'ototoi-chunga (P.). Kota (R. C.) kol (Ill.) ong (R. S.) e (R. C.) Tarchal (C. In.) l'otetoi-chuye (P.). Chalter (In.) l'ongdiye (P.). Ong (R. S.) Laochamlen (Ill.) danga (P.). Wauta-Emi-en (Ill.) ota (R. C.) Laocham (In., P. wanting). N'ong (R. S.) okadaknga (P.).

AUKAU-JUWOI.

Kurot'onmika (Ill.) Mom (E.) Miritla (In., P. wanting). Bilik (In.) l'aukauemat (P.). (In. wanting) peakar (C. In.) atlo (C. Ill.) topchike (P.). At (C. In.) laiche- (E.) -Lech- (In.) -lin (Ill. phrase) a (R. S., P. wanting). Kotak (R. C.) a (R. S.) aukokodakchine (P.) atlo (Ill.) Karattatak-Emi-in (Ill.).

KOL.

Taull'okotimen (Ill.) Bilikla (In.) patke (P.). Luratutla (In.) Oko-Emit (Ill.) at (C. In.) kekan (P.). Kaulotat- (In.) -ke- (P., the whole expression being an Integer). Lin (Ill.) l'- (R. S.) -acholan- (P. P. phrase) Mintongtakete (Ill.). Mintongtaketelak (Ill.) l'- (R. S.) -irbilan (P. P. phrase). Kaulotat (In.) l'irpin (C. In.) l'irdaukan (P.). (In. wanting)

k'irimkaudakan (P.). N'a (R. S.) n'otamtepuran (P.). Atke (Ill.) n'- (R. S.) -otetepuran (P. P. phrase). Mintongtauk-pauroichin (Ill.) jangil (In.) (P. wanting). N'a (R. S.) l'oko-kaudakan (P.).

The above method of syntactical analysis shows that **all the languages** arrive at a complete meaning, *i. e.*, **construct their sentences, in precisely the same way.** In other words, they are all the outcome of the same habit of thought. It shows further, that that habit of thought is the simplest possible. Complications or extensions of ideas barely arise, and then only in the most direct form. *E. g.*, *Puluga-l'i-toago-choapa* (God-his-platform-fire, *i. e.*, the fire from God's platform) and *Ongot atyaukat monga*, *ongot oarotichal-enate Rokwa-l'artonga-baroija okodalnga-l'are* (they fish becoming, they carrying-taking-by Rokwa-l'artonga-village-in fire-lighting-did, *i. e.*, they became fish and taking (the fire) to the village of Rokwa-l'artonga lit a fire). The only signs of old habit or use in the languages are the frequent ellipses, indicating familiarity with them. The analysis also shows the languages to be purely colloquial, and therefore to have never been subjected to the modifications necessary when communication by signs, *i. e.*, by writing, is resorted to. In short, the analysis seems to prove that **the languages are the outcome of minds capable of but a very limited range of thought Here, then, is one measure of the "Universal Theory" as a working hypothesis.**

Leaving the syntax here and passing on to the accidence according to the Theory, it will be best to state for the sake of brevity of exposition, that an analysis of the words composing the Andamanese sentences shows that all **the languages are agglutinative**; *i. e.*, the words are formed by means of affixes to roots and stems without alteration of the radical forms of the affixes. It will also show that, like all other languages, they have not developed solely on one principle, and that **rudiments of synthesis**, or the attachment of affixes to roots and stems with alteration of form, are also present.

Andamanese words are, therefore, as a rule, easily dismembered, and further examination will show that all the forms of affixes, *i. e.*, prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, are present in them by agglutination. The use of the infixes is to modify the root or stem, and so they are what I have called **radical affixes**. The use of the prefixes is principally as radical affixes, but also to indicate the functions of the words or their relation to other words. They can, therefore, also be **functional affixes**. The use of the suffixes is likewise twofold: as **functional affixes**, or to ndicate the inherent qualities of the words, *i. e.*, to show which class they belong to. They are, therefore, either functional or qualitative affixes.

With this preliminary information let us set to work **to analyze the words in the Legend**, omitting proper names for the present, and premising that in the following analysis R. = Root, S. = Stem, P. F. = Functional prefix, P. R. = Radical prefix, I. = Infix, S. F. = Functional suffix, S. Q. = Qualitative suffix.

Aka-Beada.

(1) Mami (R.) — ka (S. Q.). So also pugat — ka: boi — ka:
sleep(ing) — was emi — ka.

(2) Chapa (R.).
fire

(3) Tap (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
steal — ing

(4) Omo (R.) — re (S. Q.).
bring — did

(5) Chapa (R.) — la (S. Q.).
fire — (hon. suf.)

(6) A (R.).
he

(7) Ik (R.).
tak(ing)

(8) Chapa (R.) — lik (S. F.).
fire — by

(8) L' (P. F.) — ot (P. R.) — pugari (R. or S.) — re (S. Q.).
(ref. pref.) — — burn — t

(10) Jek (R.).
at-once

(11) Baraij (R. or S.) — len. (S. F.).
village — in

(12) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — re (S. Q.).
— fire (light) — did.

AKAR-BALE.

(1) Rita (R. or S.).
very-long-ago.

(2) L' (P. F.) — i (R.).
(ref. pref.) — he (ref. subst.) = his

(3) Toago (R. or S.).
platform

(4) Choapa (R.).
fire

(5) L' (P. F.) — omo (R.) — kate (S. Q.).
(ref. pref.) — bring — was.

(6) Ong (R.).
he

(7) Ik (R.).
tak(ing)

(8) Akat (P. R.) — paura (R. or S.).
all (men)

(9) Puguru (S.) — t (S. Q.).
burn — t

(10) L' (P. F.) — a (R.) — re (S. Q.).
(ref. pref.) — di — d

(11) Ka (R.).
and

(12) Ongot (S.).
they

(13) Oto (P. R.) — jurugmu (S.) — t (S. Q.) — ia (S. F.).
sea-wen — t — was

(14) At (P. R.) — yaukat (S.).
fish.

(15) Oaro (S.) + tichal (S.) + ena (R.) — te (S. Q.).
carry + hand + take — did = carried

(16) Baroij (R. or S.) — a (S. F.).
village — in

(17) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
fire (light) — ing.

PUCHIKWAR.

(1) L' (P. F.) — ong (R.).
(ref. pref.) — he

(2) Pat (R.) — ye (S. Q.). So also di — ye : li — ye.
slep — t

(3) At (R.).
fire

(4) Ab (P. R.) — lechi (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
bring — ing

(5) Kota (R. or S.).
then

(6) Ong (R.).
he

(7) E (R.).
then

(8) L' (P. F.) — oto (P. R.) — toichu (S.) — nga (S. Q.).
(he) with-fire-hit — ting. Cf. l'oto-toichu-ye, (he) with-fire-hit-did.

(9). Kol (R.).
again

(10) Da (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
giv — ing

(11) Ota (R.).
then

(12) N' (P. F.) — ong (R.).
(plu. ref. pref.) ≑ he = they

(13) O (P. R.) — kadak (R. or S.) — nga (S. Q.).
fire-mak — ing.

AUKAU-JUWOI.

(1) Mom (R.).
Mr.

(2) L' (P. F.) — aukau (P. R.) — ema (R.) — t (S. Q.).
(he) — slep — t

(3) Peakar (S.).
wood

(4) At (R.) — lo (S. F.).
fire — with

(5) Top (R.) — chike (S. Q.).
steal — was

(6) Laiche (S.).
Deceased

(7) A (R.).
he

(8) Kotak (S.).
then

(9) Anko (P. R.) — kodak (S.) — chine (S. Q.).
fire-make — did.

KOL.

(1) Pat (R.) — ke (S. Q.).
sleep — was

(2) Kaulotat (S.) — ke (S.Q.).
(male-name) — was To use the current grammatical terminology, this is a most interesting instance of a verbal termination to a noun.

(3) At (R.).
fire

(4) Kek (R.) — an (S. Q.).
take — did

(5) Lin (R.).
by

(6) L' (P. F.) — a (P. R.) — chol (R.) — an (S. Q.).
(he) — wen — t

(7) L' (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — bil (R.) — an (S. Q.).
(it) out-wen — t

(8) L' (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — pin (R.).
(he) charcoal-(getting)

(9) L' (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — dauk (R.) — an (S. Q.).
(he) break — did

(10) K' (P. F. or P. R.) — irim (P. R.) — kaudak (S.) — an (S. Q.).
fire-make — did

(11) N' (P. F.) — a (R.).
(plu. ref. pref.) — he = they

(12) N' (P. F.) — otam (P. R.) — tepur (S.) — an (S. Q.).
(they) — kindle — d Cf. n'ote-tepur—an, they-kindle-d.

(13) At (R.) — ke (S. F.).
fire — by

(14) Pauroich (S.) — in (S. F.).
village — in

(15) L' (P. F.) — oko (P. R.) — kaudak (S.) — an (S. Q.).
(he — fire-make — did.

Now the above mode of verbal analysis shows how few of the possible 'parts of speech' these Tribes require to use in order to express the ideas contained in a complete narration, how very simple is the mental mechanism employed, how extremely limited the development of the ideas when started. It shows that we are, in fact, dealing here with savage languages. Here, then, is another measure of the "Universal Theory" as a working hypothesis.

*(To be continued.)*

# HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(*Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.*)

BY J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 192.)

## CHAPTER IX.

## Ṭabaḳah II.

### Account of the Bahmanî Rulers of the Dakhan whose capital was Bîdar.

THE period of their rule, which began on the 5th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (22nd September, A. D. 1422) and ended on the 18th Sha'bân, A. H. 926 (4th August, A. D. 1520) was one hundred and one years, two months and eleven days.[58]

### Reign of Abû-l-Ghâzî Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh, son of Aḥmad Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[59]

On the date already mentioned **Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh** took his seat on the royal throne of Kalburgâ, assuming the above-mentioned excellent titles. The great men and *saiyids*, the *shekhs*, learned men, nobles and grandees plighted their fealty to the Sulṭân, rubbing the forehead of profound reverence on the dust of humility, and were eager and eloquent in their congratulations and praises. The Sulṭân distinguished them all with ungrudged favours, and they obtained honours and rewards. The nobles who had suffered much from the ascendancy of the worthless Hûshyâr and Bîdâr gave thanks night and day, and cheerfully submitted to the Sulṭân's irresistible mandates: the army and all the subjects, from the copiousness of their sovereign's liberality and justice were happy and free from oppression.

Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh had seven sons, and on the elder ones he bestowed special tokens of affection. The eldest of his sons, who was **Ẓafar Khân**, he honoured with the title of Khân Khânân; to another he gave the title of **Maḥmûd Khân**, and to another that of Muḥammad Khân; and **Khalf Ḥasan**, the cream of sincerity, fidelity and bravery, received many marks of favour and kindness, and was distinguished by the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr (king of the merchants).

In the midst of these affairs the bird of the spirit of **Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz** took flight to the realms of bliss. May the Most High God hallow his grave![60]

Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh, who took great pleasure in the society of *shekhs* and holy men, and had himself attained a high degree of perfection in the external sciences, did not put much faith in the *shekhs* of the Dakhan; but having heard that there resided in the city of Kirmân a most eminent saint named **Shâh Ni'mat-u-Llâh**, celebrated for his miracles and his profound knowledge, the Sulṭân therefore ordered Shekh Khûjan — who was one of the disciples of that saint — in conjunction with Ḳâẓî Mûsâ Nûlkîhî — who was the tutor of Prince Maḥmûd Khân — and Malik-ush-Sharḳ Kalanḳar Khân, with innumerable presents, to go to the saint and implore his blessing. They accordingly set out for Kirmân, and paid their respects to the saint, and from the blessing of his holy utterances having obtained their desires, returned, taking with them the cap of discipleship and the garment of approval for Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh. When the news of their arrival reached the Sulṭân he ordered a *chabûtarah* to be erected at Antûr,[60a] which is distant one stage from Kalburgâ, and the Sulṭân went out on a pilgrimage to that place, and there received the garment and cap of the incomparable saint.

---

[58] In this period the author includes the reign of Aḥmad II., the nominal successor of Sulṭân Maḥmûd; but he gives no account of his reign, because the dynasty practically expired on the death of Maḥmûd.

[59] This is widely different from Sulṭân Aḥmad's genealogy as given by Firishtah.

[60] He died — as already stated — on the 16th of Ẕî-ul-Ḳa'dah, A. H. 825 (1st November, A. D. 1422).

[60a] Atnûr — between Kalburgâ and Afẓalpur.

In the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June, 1423, A. D.) the Sulṭân with the princes, nobles and ministers and all his retinue marched from Kalburgâ towards the city of Bîdar, and established the seat of government in that excellent city, where the face of the earth from the multitude of flowers and odoriferous herbs, adorned and coloured like the floor of the sky, resembled a peacock's tail; while its buildings in loftiness rivalled the heavens, and in elegance equalled the palaces of paradise; and the splendour of its ramparts and the lustre of its walls made the people independent of the rays of the sun.

Also in this year the Sulṭân cultivated friendly relations with (Mîrân) Mubârak Khân Fârûḳî, who was the *Wâlî* of the country of Asîr and Burhânpur, and to strengthen its foundations by a union of the families, asked his daughter in marriage for Prince Ẓafar Khân. The Sulṭân gave a magnificent entertainment on the occasion of the marriage, the city of Bîdâr was elaborately decorated and pleasure and joy were universal.

* * * * * * *

**Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh wages war against the rebellious and idolatrous people in the neighbourhood of his dominions.**

The Sulṭân being then resolved to wage war against the infidels, led his army into the mountainous country,[61] and the inhabitants being unable to oppose him fled into the interior, hiding themselves and their goods in the recesses of the mountains, where the royal troops pursued them, slaughtering and plundering as they went. The Sulṭân destroyed their temples and places of worship, erecting *masjids* in their place. From there the Sulṭân turned towards Marmat[62] and put to the sword the inhabitants of that district also, and plundered and devastated the country. He then returned to the capital and busied himself in the affairs of government.

After a short time the idea of eradicating idolatry again entered his mind and he ordered an army to be assembled. Accordingly such an army presented itself before the door of the court that the muster-master was unequal to the task of computing its numbers. With this army the Sulṭân marched from his capital and proceeded against the country of Tilang (Teliṅgânâ). When the report of his approach reached the infidels of that country, washing their hands of life, they crept into their forts and bye-paths. The Sulṭân penetrated to the farthest limits of Tilang (Teliṅgânâ) and took the fortresses of Mandal[63] and Warangal which are among the principal forts of that country. He devastated the whole country and levelled the idol-temples with the ground, plundered the dwelling-places and freed the face of the earth from the impurity of the existence of the troops of devils and accursed infidels. The Râyas of Devarkoṇḍâ and Râjkoṇḍâ being afraid to meet the attack of the victorious army, sent to the Sulṭân ambassadors understanding the language and tendered their submission, and sending numerous and valuable presents to the court, agreed to pay tribute. The Sulṭân showed them mercy and returned to the seat of government, Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar (*sic*), where he spen his time in administering justice and building cities and towns.

A year afterwards he conceived the idea of taking the fortress of Mâhûr which is one of the greatest and strongest forts of the kingdom of the Dakhan. Accordingly with a large army he marched towards the above-mentioned fortress. The army seized the country surrounding it, and making the fortress the centre of a circle, slaughtered and pillaged all round, and burned the harvest of life of the infidels of that country; and sweeping with the broom of plunder the permanent homes of the idols, seized whatever moveable and immoveable effects they could lay their hands upon.

After the siege had continued a long time the Sulṭân thought it advisable to return to the capital, and in the following year, after the troops had rested and the cavalry horses become

[61] It is not stated what part of the country this was. [62] Not identified.

[63] Not identified. Possibly Ailgandal or Malangûr is meant, both N.-W. of Warangal.

fat, to make a rapid plundering expedition against the people of that fortress: accordingly he marched back to Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar (*sic*).

After the lapse of a year the idea of eradicating the heretics again entered the mind of the Sulṭân, and he determined upon a *jihâd;* so, with a large army he set out on the march for the fort of Mâhûr. The infidels of those parts having shut themselves up in the narrow parts of the fortress closed upon themselves the doors of ingress and egress.

The Sulṭân ordered his troops from all sides of the fortress to strive their utmost to take it by assault. According to his orders the brave troops with bows and arrows, swords and spears fought bravely, and by the help of God and the good fortune of Aḥmad, the troops by the strength of their manly arms took the fortress, one so strong that no king had previously been able to conquer it; and opening their hands to slaughter and plunder, swept the whole fort with the broom of spoliation.

From that place the Sulṭân hastened to the fort of Kalam which he took by one gallant assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword. So in one expedition the Sulṭân took two forts which no king had ever before been able to conquer. He levelled with the ground all the idol-temples and infidel buildings of that country, erecting in their places *masjids* and monasteries of the true believers, and after that returned to Bîdar with immense booty.

After these victories the Sulṭân despatched Khalf Ḥasan — who had been given the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr — with an army of brave and experienced men to the Koṇkan. Khalf Ḥasan went into the country of Koṇkan and the sea-coast, and extirpated root and branch the dwelling-places of the infidels, and in whatever direction he heard of any infidels, he proceeded against them, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence; till having taken many forts and towns of that country he greatly enhanced his reputation. The Sulṭân's regard for him daily increased, and he loaded him with favours; but this excited the jealousy of the people of the Dakhan, and they were always at enmity with him; yet, owing to Khalf Ḥasan's past services and the Sulṭân's favour, as proved by the daily increasing good fortune, of the former, they had no power to injure him.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân conceived the idea of exterminating the infidels of the country of Vijayânagar; and with this view he assembled an army. When the splendour of the royal, victory-denoting standard threw the rays of conquest round the kingdom of Vijayânagar, and cleared up that tract of country from the darkness of error and infidelity, the brave soldiers of the conquering army, opening the hand of domination and lordship to slaughter and plunder, took many of the forts and towns of that district, and an enormous amount of booty, prisoners of war, horses and elephants. After devastating the country of the infidels far and wide the Sulṭân returned to his capital, Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar.

At this time a petition reached the Sulṭân from Narsing Râya, governor of the fort of Khêrlâ, expressing his obedience and submission, and asking the Sulṭân to come to his assistance.

### The Sulṭân goes to the fort of Khêrlâ.
### Battle between Alp Khân, governor of Mâlwâ and the royal army.
### Alp Khân is defeated.

When the Sulṭân became aware of the contents of Narsing Râya's letter he gave orders that an army should be assembled, and that from all parts of his dominions the nobles, ministers and generals with their followers should proceed to the royal court. The Sulṭân with a large army then set out for Khêrlâ; but when he had encamped in that neighbourhood he was informed that Narsing Râya had broken faith with him, and joining himself to Alp Khân who at that time was Wâlî of the country of Mâlwâ,[64] had asked for his assistance, promising

[64] Alp Khân, who assumed the title of Sulṭân Hûshang Ghûrî on his accession, was the second king of the Ghûrî dynasty in Mâlwâ — *vide* Firishtah, Briggs, Vol. IV. p. 171 *et seq.*

Khêrlâ was the capital of Gondwânâ.

him a *lak* of rupees (*sikkah*) if he would come to his frontiers: and Alp Khân, forgetting the rights of Islâm and good faith, proceeded to the assistance of those villains.

When Alp Khân with a large force arrived in the district of Khêrlâ, the Sulṭân saw that the most advisable course to pursue was to return two or three stages into his own dominions, and then if Alp Khân, resolving to make war against Musalmâns, should also return, then the lives and property of Musalmâns would certainly be safe; and if, deceived by the persuasions of the devil, he should be audacious enough to invade the Dakhan, he (the Sulṭân) might return and chastise him, and with the sword put such ideas out of the brain of that foolish one.

Accordingly having marched away from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Khêrlâ he turned towards his own country. When the ministers and generals became aware of the Sulṭân's (apparent) timidity, being ashamed of turning away from before the enemy they boldly represented that the return of the Sulṭân would assuredly give occasion for presumption on the part of the enemy; they therefore recommended the Sulṭân to wait a little till they engaged in battle with Alp Khân to the best of their ability, and perhaps the enemy would be defeated.

In spite of the strong representations of the nobles the Sulṭân paid no attention to them, but marched towards his own dominions, and when the news of his retreat reached Alp Khân he deemed it due to fear on the part of the Sulṭân, and hastened boldly in pursuit of him, so that as the royal camp used to march away from each halting-place he used to arrive at it.

When the Sulṭân had gone two or three stages into his own country, and ambassadors brought the knews that Alp Khân was thus following the camp and was bent upon war with the army of Islâm, the Sulṭân assembled the *shekhs* and learned men and asked them the following questions: — "Whenever a Musalmân king in aiding infidels makes war against Musalmâns, is it deemed lawful according to the *shar'a* to fight against him?"

The learned men were unanimous in saying: — "From all past times repelling the allies of infidels has been considered the same as a religious war, and is incumbent upon all, just as much as reinforcing and aiding the true believers."

The Sulṭân having thus obtained a legal decision from the learned men of Islâm he turned towards the nobles and generals and said: — "My motive in returning was this: Alp Khân is a Musalmân king, and to us who profess Islâm it is not allowable to initiate war, moreover he who does so incurs the reproach of God, according to the saying, 'The curse of God is on those who awaken sleeping discord;' we therefore marched towards our own country in order that if Alp Khân should enter our territory we should not be the instigator of war with him; but now that he has had the presumption to invade our territory it behoves us to chastise him."

The Sulṭân then turning to his troops encouraged them to fight bravely, and led them to expect increase of rank. The royal army being arrayed with the utmost quiet, unfurled the standard of valour, and the various regiments were formed up facing the enemy. The Sulṭân in person having selected from the midst of the army 2,500 cavalry clad in steel armour and armed with lances, took post on one flank. When the ranks of the two hostile armies were drawn up, the customs of courtesy and mercy being discarded, they fell upon one another with sword, battle-axe and arrow, and strife and slaughter blazed up like a fire, only to be extinguished by the swords of the warriors. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the heavens were obscured by the dust. At last the Sulṭân with those 2,500 lancers which he had with him fell upon the enemy like a thunder cloud. Alp Khân, in spite of all his endeavours, was unable to shake them, and finally, turning his back on the battle, took to flight, and leaving all his baggage, court, tents, tent-walls,[65] his *ḥaram*, retinue and whatever is necessary, more or less, for kings, fled for his life. The royal troops having seized the whole of the stores, tents, pavilions, horses and elephants of Alp Khân and his troops collected them at the court of the

[65] *Sarâ-pardah* — a wall of canvas surrounding a cluster of tents.

Sulṭân, who divided the booty among his troops and forbade their pursuing Alp Khân. He sent the whole of Alp Khân's *ḥaram* in travelling-litters and *handahs* by the road they had come, together with their eunuchs, and ordered 500 cavalry to escort them to the frontier and hand them over to Alp Khân's people, and to protect them from any molestation by the soldiery. This action of his is a manifest sign of his generosity and manliness.

The Sulṭân having taken possession of Narsiṇh's territory as far as the town of **Mâhûr** assigned it on feudal tenure to Prince Maḥmûd Khân, who was his middlemost son; and until Maḥmûd Khân was imprisoned for life, this tenure remained unchanged.

After the Sulṭân had finished the settlement of Alp Khân's affairs he returned in triumph to his capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân sent a messenger with many valuable gifts to the presence of his spiritual guide — the synopsis of persons of merit, pattern to his peers, king of the teachers of truth, prince of holy men, essence of the descendants of the head of the apostles — **Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Walî** (may God sanctify his beloved grave!), asking him to send to this country one of the glorious descendants of that guide to the way of truth, and in this matter solicited and urged much. His Highness having no other fruit in the garden of his life but **Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh** (to separate himself far from whom was inconvenient) he sent to the Dakhan a fresh flower from the rose-garden of sincere friendliness, **Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh,** son of Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh Walî, according to the urgent request of the Sulṭân; and in the year 843 (A. D. 1439)[66] when Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Walî died, Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh also proceeded to the Dakhan. The Sulṭân received Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh with the utmost respect and reverence, and exalted him above all the *saiyids, shekhs* and learned men of the Dakhan; and when Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh arrived there his son, Nûr-Ullâh, died.

**Disagreement between Sulṭân Aḥmad and Sulṭân Aḥmad of Gujarât.**

It has already been mentioned that the Sulṭân had sent Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-Tijâr to take possession of the Koṇkan and the forts and hills of that country. When Khalf entered that territory, having conquered all the forts, towns, sea-coast and hills, he made an incursion into the island of Mahâ,îm (Bombay), which is within the territory of Gujarât, and conquered that country also; upon which the inhabitants of Mahâ,îm complained to **Sulṭân Aḥmad of Gujarât.** The latter being jealous at this, appointed his own son and successor, named Muḥammad Shâh, to put down the rebellion of Khalf. The Sulṭân on being informed of the approach of the Gujarât army despatched Prince Ẓafar Khân — who was his heir-apparent, and who during the Sulṭân's reign received the title of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn (as will be mentioned mentioned in due course) — with a large force to the assistance of the brave Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr.

Prince Ẓafar Khân with his army in due time encamped on the shore of the creek (*khalij*) of the island of Mahâ,îm, and Muḥammad Shâh with the Gujarât army encamped on the further side of the creek; and for some time the two armies remained facing one another, and all day long, prepared for battle, they used to come to the shore and stand facing one another; but neither of them had the boldness to cross the creek. When this had lasted for some time the Dakhanî nobles, moved by jealousy which is inevitable towards foreigners, represented to Prince Ẓafar Khân: — "We do all the fighting and killing, but Khalf Ḥasan will get the credit of it." The prince being still in the flower of youth did not perceive the perfidy and evil inspirations of those deceitful Dakhanî *amîrs*, who with insidious arguments convinced the hapless prince. In a most shameful and dishonourable manner they left Khalf in the lurch, and earned for themselves an evil reputation in the world.

When the Gujarât army obtained information of this dispute, confident of victory, they fell upon **Khalf Ḥasan.** The latter, without allies, being unable to oppose a large army, left Mahâ,îm, and the Gujarât army plundered all his baggage and took prisoner **Khalf's brother, Ḥusain bin Ḥasan,** and then turned towards Gujarât.

[66] According to Firishtah he died in A. H. 834 (A. D. 1431) — *vide* Briggs, Vol. II. p. 41.

### Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh proceeds to take vengeance on the Gujarât army.

When the news of this affair reached the Sulṭân, being determined to avenge himself on the enemy, he summoned his army, and in obedience to his orders, from the districts, forts, cities and feudal lands the nobles and chiefs of the victorious army set out for the capital, Bîdar; and in a short time so large a force assembled at the door of the court that the east and west winds were shut out. The Sulṭân holding out to his army hopes of reward, at an auspicious time unfurled the royal standard and set out for the frontier of Gujarât. In due time he encamped within sight of the fort of Bahûl,[67] situate on the frontier between the Dakhan and Gujarât, and laid siege to it. The governor of the fort of Bahûl, who was an infidel, aided by the strength of the fortress, and hopeful of the protection of Sulṭân Aḥmad of Gujarât because the fort from time immemorial had been in subjection to the rulers of that country — sent a letter to Sulṭân Aḥmad Gujarâtî informing him that the Sulṭân of the Dakhan was on his way to Gujarât. In a state of despair he also informed him about the siege of the fortress, and assured him that if he (the Sulṭân of Gujarât) would free him from this difficult affair he would annually pay a large sum into the royal treasury.

In consequence of this Sulṭân Aḥmad Gujarâtî, with the intention of assisting the infidels of Bahûl, set out with an immense army, and in one stage arrived at that fortress. When the (Bahmanî) Sulṭân obtained information of the arrival of enemies he raised the siege and went out in all haste to meet his adversary. Both forces having reached the banks of the river[68] alighted opposite to one another, so that there was only the breadth of the above-mentioned river between the two armies. Every day the two forces drawn up in battle array stood opposite one another; but, however much the troops of both sides endeavoured to cross the river and engage in battle, neither side gave any facility for so doing, and being unwilling to shed Musalmân blood the troops neglected to fight; so that for nearly a year those two armies were seated opposite one another, and neither of the two would begin the battle. When the time became very protracted the theologians and learned men from both sides intervened and with the limpid water of exhortations and advice extinguished the fire of battle which had been kindled, and laid the foundations of reconciliation. It was settled that the fort of Bahûl, which from ancient times had been in Gujarât, should still remain in possession of the agents of that kingdom; and on this side whatever pertained to the servants of the Bahmanî court should remain so. After some days the bonds of mutual friendship and agreement were arranged between the two kings, and their animosity being brought to an end an offensive and defensive alliance was arranged, and it was agreed that they should not fail to exalt the standards of Islâm and break down the rites of the heretics.

The two kings having agreed to all these terms of peace sent one another many valuable presents; and for nearly a hundred years the foundations of unmixed friendship remained firm between the kings of these two countries and they continually sent presents to one another, as will be related hereafter.

After this reconciliation the Sulṭân returned to his capital and looked after the comfort of his subjects and army, and far and near overthrew the customs of heresy and impiety. He promoted in office and rank each of the *amîrs* and ministers of state: Muḥammad bin 'Alî Bâwardî, who was one of the descendants of Sulṭân Sanjar Saljûkî, received the title of Khwâjah Jahân; and the commander of the left wing of the army[69] being promoted to the command of the right wing[70] the Sulṭân exalted him with the title of Malû Khân, and on the commander of the right wing he conferred the title of Sârang Khân. Shîr Malik became Kotwâl of Dâdbak (?), and Shîr Khân, son of the Sulṭân's sister, who had been the cause of the assassination of Sulṭân Fîrûz, met with the same fate as the latter. Mirzâ Nûr-Ullah — grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-

[67] Or Bahol, or Bhol, or Bhûl. Distinctly written بہول in the text. But a reference to the Gujarât history shows that it was Batnol; now called Tambol, a hill fort in Khândesh — *vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, p. 100 n., and pp. 118-120.

[68] Probably the river Tâptî.

[69] Sar-naubat-i Maisarah.

[70] Sar-naubat-i Maimanah.

Ullah — obtained the title of Malik-ul-Mushâ,îkh[71] and Kâzî Aḥmad Kabûl became Malik-ul-'Ullamâ[72] and Ṣadr-i Jahân; and Kâzî Nizâm-ud-Dîn Sharîfî — grandson of Saiyid Sharîf — was exalted to the title of Sharaf-i Jahân; and Saiyid Abd-ul-Mû,min — grandson of Saiyid Jalâl Bukhârî — became entitled Saiyid Ajal Jalâl Khân.

In the midst of these affairs arrived news of the death of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullah, and the Sulṭân was much distressed thereby. According to the custom of India he instituted a *fair* to be held in his honour at his (the saint's) tomb. He assembled all the *saiyids* and theologians, *shekhs* and darvîshes and waited on them himself: the king with his own blessed hand poured water on the hands of the *saiyids* and *shekhs*; and exalting Malik-ul-Mushâ,îkh Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullah above all the nobles and chiefs, stretched out the hand of two-fold friendship to that family; and the same liberality which Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh showed towards the sons of Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullah was also extended to the descendants of the saint; and each member of that illustrious dynasty who ascended the throne used to unite in marriage a princess with one of the descendants of Ni'mat-Ullah.

After these occurrences a dispute once more arose with the Wâlî of Mandû about the fort of Khêrlâ. At last after much disputing and fighting peace was established and the above-mentioned fort was restored to the Wâlî of Mandû, and it was agreed that the country on this side of the fort should be in the Sulṭân's dominions. This stipulation was confirmed on both sides, allowing no deviation from the highway of sincerity and agreement. After that, each of the sovereigns marched to his own capital; but the mutual friendship established between them was not of the same quality as that which existed between the Bahmanî and Gujarâtî Sulṭâns as will afterwards be related.

### The Sulṭân proceeds to take several forts and towns.

When in the latter days of the late king, Fîrûz Shâh, on account of the weakness which arose in the affairs of the country owing to the frequent wars, the disobedient and rebellious of all parts triumphing in the circumstance, and thinking it a favourable opportunity broke into rebellion and had retaken from the agents of government most of the forts and towns of the kingdom and its frontiers. When Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh ascended the throne, owing to the disputes which arose between him and the Sulṭâns of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, till those affairs were over he had not found leisure to retaliate on the rebellious ones in the various parts of the country and chastise the infidels. Moreover, while the Sulṭân was engaged in repelling his enemies the infidels, even without fighting, had succeeded in getting possession of various districts of Telingânâ. But now that the mind of the Sulṭân was entirely at rest from contention with the Sulṭâns of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, he turned his attention to the reconquest of those districts which had come into possession of the infidels; and having assembled a countless force he proceeded towards the country of Telingânâ.

When the Sulṭân, spreading the wings of victory and conquest, threw the shadow of triumph over the regions of Telingânâ the people of some of those towns and forts, traversing the road of obedience and submission, made peace by agreeing to pay revenue as security for good behaviour; but some who having bound the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forehead of rebellion and impudence, took the road of unbelief, were sent to the house of perdition by the blows of the death-dealing swords of the troops. By the aid of God and the good fortune of the Sulṭân strong fortresses were taken, the strongest of which was the fort of **Râmgîr.** This celebrated fortress, which in strength resembled Alexander's rampart, and all the other forts and strong fortresses of that district having been taken by the royal army, the symbols of infidelity were overturned.

The *wâlî* of the fort of **Warangal,** who was the most intelligent of the infidels of that country, saw that in whatever direction the victorious army turned they levelled with the ground the forts and towns and used to plunder and devastate the country and eradicate the inhabitants,

71 King of the *Shekhs*.

72 Prince or king of the Theologians.

root and branch; so, foreseeing and dreading the attack of the royal army, he sent a deputation of his chief men to the foot of the throne, and by the interest of the confidential servants of the court, represented his readiness to submit to the Sulṭân's authority and to pay tribute if his offences were pardoned. The Sulṭân in his mercy pardoned the inhabitants of the fort, and after taking security prohibited his troops from plundering it.

The Sulṭân was for a long time engaged in reducing Telingânâ and conquering the districts in possession of the infidels. Some who humbly submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute he confirmed in possession of their districts. Having made Ibrahim Sanjar Khân head of the army, he sent him in command of a division to conquer that country and conciliate the people; and conferred on him as a *jâgîr* the fort of **Bhonâgîr** and several districts.

After that the Sulṭân returned to his capital and resigned the affairs of government into the hands of **Miyâṇ Maḥmûd Niẓâm-ul-Mulk,** who was the wisest man of his age, unequalled in learning and one of the descendants of the illustrious *shekh*, Shekh Farîd Shakar-bâr;[73] and he consigned to Khalf Ḥasan the port of Dhâbol and all the ports on the coast.

In this year the Sulṭân in the interior of the fort of **Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar** laid the foundation of a palace and portico (*pîshgâh*) of extraordinary height and beauty.[74] When he had completed the building **Shekh Âzarî** — owing to the perfection of whose fame it is unnecessary to speak in terms of praise — visited the Sulṭân's court and composed two verses in eulogy of this palace, and the Sulṭân was so pleased that he presented him with 700,000 Dakhanî *tankah*, which may be equivalent to about 1,0C0 *tûman*;[75] upon which Shekh Âzarî said: —

"Your gifts can only be carried on beasts of burden."[76]

The Sulṭân smiled, and added to his previous gift 25,000 more *tankah* for the expenses of his journey and the cost of carrying (the money). The *shekh*, after suitably thanking the Sulṭân for the abundance of his favours and kindness, agreeably to his desire, returned to his native country.[77] By this generosity and kindness on the part of the Sulṭân he obliterated the names of the kings of the world from the register of the generous, and to the end of the world exalted the banner of his good reputation among the sons of man.

**Maulânâ Sharf-ud-Dîn Mâzandarânî,** who was one of the disciples of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh, inscribed in beautiful handwriting two verses on the door of the palace, and the Sulṭân presented to him also 12,000 *tankah*.

When the Sulṭân had reigned for a period of twelve years he resigned the crown and throne of sovereignty to the heir-apparent, Prince Ẓafar Khân, who was the eldest of the Sulṭân's sons and adorned with the jewel of knowledge and generosity and the ornament of mildness and bravery; and all the nobles, ministers and generals plighted their fealty to him.

---

[73] *Shakar-bâr* = raining sweetness, eloquent.

[74] The date of the building of the palace is not given. The description is so extremely hyperbolical in style that I shall not weary the reader by translating it.

[75] I have not been able to ascertain either the value or weight of the Dakhanî *tankah* or Persian *tûman* (or *tumân*) of that period. The *tankah* was a copper coin, and the weight of 700,000 of them must have been very considerable.

[76] لا يحمّل عطاياكم إلّا مطاياكم

[77] Shekh Âzarî died at Asfarâyin, a city of Khurâsân in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461) at the age of eighty-two. The following chronogram records the date of his death:—

دریغا آذري شیخ زمانه ∴ که مصباح حیاتش گشت بیضو
چو او ثاني خسرو بود در شعر ∴ ازآن تاریخ فوتش گشت خسرو

Alas! for Âzarî, Shekh of his days,
The light of his life is shorn of its rays.
Being Khusrau the second in poesy,
In KHUSRAU the date of his death you will see.

After that the Sulṭân divided the country of Hindûstân among his sons: the district of Mâhûr with its dependencies he settled on Prince Maḥmûd Khân[78] and Râ,ichûr and Chûl (?)[79] with their dependencies on Dâ,ûd Khân.

In the meantime the Sulṭân fell into a bad state of health, and in spite of the remedies of the physicians his illness daily increased till he died on the 25th or 26th of Rajab, A. H. 838 (24th or 25th February, A. D. 1435).

**Account of some of the Good Qualities of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh.**

The learned have recorded that he was a king renowned for his many good qualities and justice and piety. His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion. * * *

In generosity he carried off the palm from all the kings of the world, as has been recorded in the following verses by Shekh Âzarî, who has been formerly mentioned.

* * * * *

An *amîr* named **Shîr Malik**, a celebrated noble of high rank, and who had the management of most of the important affairs of government, having gone to take one of the forts of the infidels, took the strong fortress, and with much booty and countless horses and elephants, was returning in triumph to the royal court. Saiyid Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, who was by birth one of the true *saiyids*, an Arab, had been honoured by being presented to the Sulṭân, and had received various honours and presents; and the Sulṭân having given him a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalâ, had dismissed him. On his way the *saiyid* happened to pass through the camp of Shîr Malik, and did not salute the latter in the usual ceremonious manner. Shîr Malik from the pride which he possessed, becoming like a furious lion, ordered the *saiyid* to be dragged to the ground from his saddle. The *saiyid* in his indignation and wrath returned to the Sulṭâns's court, and made the following representation: — "On account of the faith and friendship which, as is well known, the Sulṭân of the World entertains in regard to my family, I have travelled to this country, leaving the sacred places and tombs of fathers and ancestors, the society of companions and friends; and regardless of attachment to my mother country, which is beyond the power of imagination. The result of the love and reverence for the Prophet Muḥammad is only this, that a descendant of that holy personage is dragged from his horse to the ground: this disgrace and baseness has been inflicted on the *saiyids*."

The Sulṭân was much affected by this speech, and showing much kindness and consideration towards the *saiyid*, strove his utmost by valuable presents to soothe his feelings, and then sent him on his intended journey.

When Shîr Malik arrived near the seat of government the nobles and ministers of state went out to meet him, and showing him the greatest honour brought him to the court. When the eye of the Sulṭân fell on him the fire of his wrath was kindled and blazed up. He ordered the elephant called "Ḳassâb" (the butcher) to be brought. The lookers on were amazed at this, and from fear of the king's anger trembling seized their limbs, and they said to themselves: — "Notwithstanding such valuable services and such gallantry on the part of Shîr Malik, to kill him and throw him under the feet of an elephant is far from the Sulṭân's usual kindness and gratitude." But no one had the courage to say anything till the elephant-keeper brought the appointed elephant, when the Sulṭân, without giving Shîr Malik an opportunity of saying a word, ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sulṭân then said: — "Thus only can insult to descendants of the Prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islâm is incumbent upon all."

The Sulṭân's age was between 60 and 70, and he reigned for a period of 12 years, 9 months and 24 days,[80] but God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters.

78 Or Muḥammad Khân (?) — *vide* p. 148 n. 79 Not identified.

80 This period added to the date of his accession (11th Shawwâl, 825) would make his reign terminate on the 5th Sha'bân, 838 (6th March, 1434). According to Firishtah he reigned 12 years and 2 months.

### Note to Chapter IX.

[The following brief account of the reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad is taken from the *Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk.*]

### Reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad Walî Shâh Bahmanî in the city of Muḥammadâbâd, which is now known as the city of Bîdar.

After the murder of Sulṭân Fîrûz, Sulṭân Aḥmad ascended the throne.

One day when he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Muḥammadâbâd a dog seized a hare by the tail. The hare turned round and fighting with the dog, overcame him. Sultân Aḥmad on seeing this said: — "The climate of this country seems to be conducive to bravery, seeing that a hare beats a dog. If I should found a city here and make it my capital, the men who shall be born here and grow and thrive in the climate of this region will certainly be braver and more manly."[81] Besides, in the city of Aḥsanâbâd the Sulṭân had hœmorrhage, and it was not a fortunate place for his capital. For this reason, in a propitious hour, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Muḥammadâbâd, and in a short time he approved of its completion; and he passed the period of his life in that city in pleasure and the gratification of his desires.

During his reign **Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân** came from Khurâsân for the purpose of trading; and showing great ability in political affairs he served four Bahmanî kings, always faithfully and with good will, till in the latter end of the reign of Muḥammad Shâh, son of Humâyun, he suffered martyrdom, and left behind him a good reputation in the world.[82]

Sulṭân Aḥmad ascended the throne in A. H. 830 (A. D. 1426), and in the same year founded the city of Muḥammadâbâd, and for twelve years, nine months and twenty four days lived in peace and happiness and with a good reputation. He died in A. H. 842 (A. D. 1438), but God only knows!

### Khwâjah Jahân comes to the Dakhan, enters the service of the kings and attains high distinction.

It is related that Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân was a wise, good and experienced man who chanced to arrive in the port of **Dhâbol,** now known as **Maimûn Mustafâ,âbâd;** and the various kinds of people he saw there seemed to him wonderful and strange. One day in the *bâzâr* he was sitting in the shop of a merchant, when the governor of the said port, with the utmost pomp and grandeur passed through the *bâzâr* seated on a throne (*singhâsan*) and playing with a *bulbul* which he had on his hand. The *Khwâjah* was astonished at this circumstance, and said to himself: — "It is evident that the people of this country are simple-minded and playful: one might pass one's life very pleasantly among such people and find much enjoyment in their society, and attain high dignity. He then wished to proceed to the seat of government at Bîdar, but Sulṭân Aḥmad had given orders that any foreigners or foreign merchants, from wherever they might come, should transact their business at the port of their arrival and were not to be permitted to proceed to the court. Khwâjah Jahân therefore waited on the governor of the port with valuable presents, and begged permission to proceed to the seat of government. The governor explained the abovementioned excuses for refusing his request. The Khwâjah said: — "I have travelled in many countries, such as Rûm, Syria, Egypt, Khurâsân, Turkistân, etc. I have travelled through all these countries, and collected in them rarities of various kinds fit for kings, and it would be a pity if the king should not see them." He added: — "I have written on the subject to the king and the ministers of state, and am sending them various presents: do you also write a few words to the ministers of state, and perhaps my business may thus be brought to a successful issue." The governor of the port

[81] Compare *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir*, Fol. 170 *a*, I. O. MS., where the same story is told of Aḥmad Niẕâm Shâḥ, the founder of the Niẕâm Shâhî dynasty and the city of Aḥmadnagar.

[82] In the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* the first mention of Khwajah Jahân is in the reign of Humâyûn.

wrote a letter to the king through the ministers of state. The petition of the Khwâjah reached the ministers, and when they became acquainted with its contents they joined in presenting it to Sulṭân Aḥmad; but he was not at all willing to let the Khwâjah come, and said:—"These intelligent foreigners are ingenious, and would soon deceive people: if this man came here he would in a short time attain authority and power, which would be displeasing to all of you." The ministers replied:—"What harm can one man, a merchant, do? We shall see what manner of man he is, and whether he is fit for service: if he be not deserving, it will only be for a short time, his business will soon be concluded, and we can dismiss him." As the ministers were pressing in this matter the Sulṭân gave his consent, and after some days the Khwâjah arrived with his goods in the city of Bîdar, and visiting each of the ministers, explained the object of his coming. By their advice he presented as offerings to the king some Arabian horses, rare silken cloths, some Turkî and Habshî slaves, several kinds of pearls and other valuable jewels and some beautifully written and highly ornamented copies of the *Ḳurân*. When he reached the court he took one of those *Ḳurâns* on his head, and placing the remainder on the heads of his slaves, entered the presence. When the king was informed that what they carried on their heads were *Ḳurâns* he involuntarily arose from his throne, and taking the *Ḳurân* which the Khwâjah had on his head, put it on a corner of his throne, and turning towards the ministers of state said:—"The Khwâjah even in the court has given orders to me, since in order to do honour to the word of God he has brought me off my throne: it remains to be seen what he will do after this." The king after inspecting the presents sent them into his palace, and then questioned the Khwâjah about the affairs of other kings; and the Khwâjah gave his answers in a pleasing narrative, and related various particulars about the manners and customs of other kingdoms. The king was astonished at what he related and pressed him to tell him more particulars. He was much pleased with the Khwâjah's society and commanded him to visit him every day. He honoured the Khwâjah with several valuable presents and appointed a lofty and spacious dwelling for his residence. Like the other servants of the court the Khwâjah used to present himself at court daily, each time bringing some present with him, on which account the king's favour and affection towards him daily increased, till he went so far as to consult the Khwâjah in matters pertaining to the government and finance; and the successful results of whatever he used to do by the advice and approval of the Khwâjah strengthened the king's reliance upon him and caused the dignity and rank of the Khwâjah to be much increased. But in the meantime Sulṭân Aḥmad died.

*(To be continued.)*

## ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICH BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions, by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.*

(*Continued from p. 179.*)

### 7. The Relative Pronoun.

[245. This is nearly, but not quite, the same as the Demonstrative Pronoun يه *yi*:—]

Singular.

| | Masculine. | Feminine. | Neuter. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. Acc. ... ... | يس *yus* | يسه *yosa* | يه *yih* |
| Instr. ... ... | يم *yami* | يمه *yami* | يم *yami* |
| Dat, Abl., Loc. ... | يمس *yamis* or يس *yas* (Masc. and Fem.) | | يته *yath* |
| Gen. ... .. | يسند *yasond* or يم سند *yami-sond* (Masc. and Fem.) | | يميك *yamyuk* |

| | Masculine. | Feminine. | Neuter. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Plural. | |
| Nom., Acc.... ... | یم *yim* | یمہ *yimą* | یم *yim* |
| Instr. ... ... | | یمو *yimau* | |
| Dat., Abl., Loc. ... | | یمن *yiman* | |
| Gen. ... ... | | یهند *yihond* or یمن هند *yiman-hond* | |

Before this pronoun there is often inserted the word زٕ *zi; e. g.*—

کُس چھُہ زٕ یَس اَک دوست آسہ *kus chhu zi yas ak dôst âsi*, who is there, to whom there will be a friend (*i. e.*, will have a friend ?)

کُس چھہ سُہ زٕ یمِ چہ یہ اختیار دیُتُی *kus chhu su zi yąmi tse yi ikhtiyâr dyutuy*, who is he that both given thee this authority.

Examples of the use of Relative with Demonstrative Pronouns :—

سُہ ... ... یُس *yus* — *su*, who — he.

یُس ... ... سُہ *su* — *yus*, he — who.

سُی ... ... یُس *yus* — *suy*, the very one — who.

سُی ... ... یوسہ *yosą* — *soy*, the very woman — who.

تہ ... ... یہ *yi* — *ti*, which — that.

یم ... ... تم *tim* — *yim*, they — who.

یمہ ... ... تمہ *timą* — *yimą*, they (fem.) — who.

یمہ ... ... یمہ *yimą* — *yimą*, these (fem.) — who.

So also تمن , یم *yim* — *timan;* یمن , تم *tim—yiman;* یمن , تمنی *timanay* — *yiman;* یوسہ , تس نش *tas nish* — *yosą*, etc.

### 8. The Interrogative Pronoun.

246. کُس *kus*, who?

| | Masculine. | Feminine. | Neuter. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Singular. | |
| Nom., Acc. ... | کُس *kus* | کُسہ *kosạ* | کیٛہ *kya*,[1] کیاہ *kyāh* |
| Instr. ... ... | کَمِ *kạmi* | کَمہ *kami* | کَمِ *kạmi* |
| Dat., Abl., Loc.... | کَمِس *kamis* or کَس *kas* | | کَتھ *kath* |
| Gen. ... ... | کَمِ سُنْد، کَسُنْد *kạmi-sond* or *kasond*. | | کَمیُک *kamyuk*. |
| | | Plural. | |
| Nom., Acc. ... | کَم *kam* | کَمہ *kamạ* | کَم *kam* |
| Instr. ... ... | | کَمَو *kamau*. | |
| Dat., Abl., Loc. ... ... | | کَمَن *kaman*. | |
| Gen. ... ... | | کَمَن ہُنْد *kaman-hond* | |

1 کیٛہ *kya* is used adjectivally for all genders in reference to all inanimate things; *e. g.*, کیٛہ جَواب *kya jawāb* (m.), what answer? کیٛہ کام *kya kôm* (fem.), what deed? کیٛہ گَواہی *kya gawāhī*, what testimony? کیٛہ بَدی *kya badī*, what evil? کُس اَکہ *kus akạ*, means, 'who? *E. g.* کُس اَکہ چھُہ زہ *kus akạ chhu zi* (Matth. vii. 9; xii. 11), who is it, that?

### 9. Indefinite Pronouns.

[247. کانْہ *kāh*, کَنْہ *kăh* or *kēh*, کونْہ *kūh* or کانْتْھاہ *kāntshāh*, anyone, someone; with (نَہ *nạ*), no one; is, in the singular, always declined as a feminine, even when referring to a masculine noun. Thus: —

Singular, Instr., Dat., کانْسہ *kônsi*, or کینْسہ *kainsi*: Gen., کانْسہ ہُنْد *ô si-hond*.

Plural, Nom. (m. f. n.) کَنْہ *kēh*, کینْژ *kēnts*; Instr. کینْژَو *kēntsau*.

Dat. کینْژَن *kēntsan*. Throughout the *n* of the base is pronounced as in the French word *bon*.

کینْژھاہ *kēntshāh* or کَنْہ *kēh*, means 'anything.' It remains unchanged throughout its declension.]

Examples: —

شُر كُنھ *kāh shur*, any child.

شُر لُکٹ كنھ *kēh lokaṭi shurⁱ*, any little children.

لُك كنھ *kĕh luk*, or زنِ كنھ *kēh zanⁱ*, some people.

كنھ كم *kam kēh*, some few, only a few.

كنھ يہ *yi kēh*, whatever, all.

نہ كتھہ كُنھ *kāh katha na*, nothing.

اكس كانسہ *kōnsi akis*, to anyone.

مہنوس كانسہ *kōnsi mahnivis*, to any man.

زہ كنھ نہ *na kēh zi* (Luke, xi. 6), nothing which.

[كُستام *kustām*, any one, someone, is declined like كُس *kus*, with تام *tām* added. Instrumental sg., كمہ تام *kamⁱ tām*, by any one; دشمنن كمہ تام *kamⁱ tām dushmanan*, by any enemy.

فلاني *fulānī*, a certain one; فلاني شخص *fulānī shakhs*, a certain person.]

## 10. Generalizing Pronouns.

248. يس يس *yus yus*, اكہ يس *yus aka*, اكہ كنھ *kāh aka*, whoever. The Dative is يس يس *yas yas*, اكس يس *yas akis*, to whomever.

كنھ يہ *yi kēh*; Dat., كينچھاہ يہ *yi kēntsāh*, whatever, all which.

كنھ سوري *sōruy kēh*, all whatever, *i. e.*, all: يہ كنھ سوري *sōruy kēh yi*, all that.

## 11. Other Pronouns.

249. اكہ پرت *prat aka*, اكاہ پرت *prat akāh*, پرت كنھ *kāh prat*, every one: كلہ پرت *prat kuli*, every tree. كنھ پرت *prat koni*, several; سببہ كنہ پرت *prat koni sababa*, for many reasons حصہ دہيم ہند ترکارہ كنہ پرت *prat koni tarkārī-hond dahyum hissa* (Luke, xi. 42), tithe of all manner of herbs. اكس پرت *prat akis*, to every one; اكس كانسہ پرت *prat kōnsi akis*, to every one.

بيك — اك *ak — beyak*, the one — the other.

بيہ *beyi*, the others; كنھ بيہ نہ *na beyi kāh*, no other.

كاتھو *kōtihau*, by how many? Dat. كاتھن *kōtihen* (Luke, xv. 17), to how many.

كينچو *kaintsau*, by several; كينچن *kaintsan*, to several; پتہ دہہ كينچہ *kaintsa doha pata*, after many days.

### 12. Certain Correlatives.[32]

| | | Demonstrative and Relative. | Demonstrative. | Interrogative. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 250. (1) Masc. sg. | | يُتھ *yuth*, like this, like which, | تیُتھ *tyuth*, like that | کیُتھ *kyuth*, like what ? |
| | pl. | يِتھِ *yithi* | تِتھِ *tithi* | کِتھِ *kithi* |
| Fem. sg. | | يِچھ *yitsh* | تِچھ *titsh* | کِچھ *kitsh* |
| | pl. | يِچھہ *yitsha* | تِچھہ *titsha* | کِچھہ *kitsha* |
| (2) Masc. sg. | | يُوت *yût*, this much, how much | تیُوت *tyût*, that much | کیُوت *kyût*, how much ? |
| | pl. | ييتِ *yîti* | تيتِ *tîti* | کيتِ *kîti* |
| Fem. sg. | | يِچ *yụ̂ts* | تيِچ *tyụ̂ts* | کيِچ *kụ̂ts* |
| | pl. | يِچہ *yụ̂tsa* | تيِچہ *tyụ̂tsa* | کيِچہ *kụ̂tsa* |

کُس چھُہ يُتھ مول زِ *kus chhu yuth môl zi*, who is such a father, that he (Luke, xic 11).

(3) Demonstrative / Relative — يِتھن ہیُہ *yethan hyuh*, like this, like which.
Demonstrative — تِتھن ہیُہ *tethan hyuh*, like that.
Interrogative — کِتھن ہیُہ *kethan hyuh*, like what ?

### 251. Correlative Pronouns and Adverbs.

| | Near Demonstrative. | Remote Demonstrative. | Interrogative. | Relative. | Correlative. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pronoun ... ... | *yi*, this .. | *hu*, that ... | *kus*, who ? ... | *yus*, who ... | *su*, he |
| Time ... ... | *woñ*, now ... | ...... | *kar* or *keli*, when ? | *yeli*, when ... | *teli*, then. |
| Place ... ... | *yiti*, here | *huti* or *ați*, there. | *kați*, where ? | *yați*, where... | *tați*, there. |
| | *yôr*, here | *hôr* or *ôr*, there. | *kôr*, where ? | *yôr*, where ... | *tôr*, there. |
| | *yut*, here | *hut* or *ot*, there | *kot*, where ? | *yot*, where ... | *tot*, there. |
| | *yiti*, *yôra*, hence. | *huti*, *ati*, *hôra*, *ôra*, thence. | *kati*, *kôra*, whence ? | *yati*, *yôra*, whence. | *tati*, *tôra*, thence. |
| Manner ... ... | *yitha*, thus ... | *hutha*, in that manner. | *kyatha*, how ? | *yitha*, how | *titha*, so. |
| | *yuth*, of this kind. | *huth*, of that kind. | *kyuth*, of what kind ? | *yuth*, of what kind. | *tyuth*, of that kind. |
| Quantity ... ... | *yût*, this much | ...... | *kyût*, how much ? | *yût*, how much | *tyût*, so much |

(*To be continued.*)

[32] The adverbial Correlatives will be given later, under the head of adverbs. [As the author did not live to write the portion relating to adverbs, the translator inserts at the end of this chapter the usual table of Correlative adverbs.]

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### A STORY ABOUT LAL BEG AND THE LALBEGI SECTS.

LAL BEG was the son of Shekh Sarnâ, a resident of Multân, who left that place in the train of his spiritual master [ ? Shâh Kumês] for Sadhaurâ, in the Ambâlâ District where he devoted himself to the worship of Pîrân Pîr ['Abdu'l-Qâdir Jîlânî, 1078-1166 *A. D.*]. Shekh Sarnâ had no child, and some one referred him to Bâlnîk, then residing at Ghaznî. Whereon the Shekh set out for Ghaznî, taking his wife with him. As he approached the place he came across a girl, named Pundrî, feeding swine, and enquired of her as to the whereabouts of Bâlnîk, whereon she said that she was his daughter. On this the Shekh offered to watch her swine if she would take his wife to her father, to which she agreed. When she returned she saw that two young pigs had been born during her absence, and asked Shekh Sarnâ to carry them home for her, which he did. Meanwhile his wife had so won over Bâlnîk by her devotion that he asked her what she wanted and she said "a son." So Bâlnîk promised her a son, whom she was to call Lâl Beg. After nine months she gave birth to a son, and dutifully called him Lâl Beg.

When Lâl Beg was twelve years old his mother dedicated him to Bâlnîk, and sent him to the prophet on an elephant. He served Bâlnîk with heart and soul, and the prophet was so pleased with him that he made him chief of all his disciples. Lâl Beg then proceeded to Kâbul and Kashmîr, accompanied by Bâlnîk and all the sect. On arrival at Kâbul *and* Kashmîr ( ! ) Lâl Beg told his followers to go and beg in the cities, but the people would not have it. So they complained to Lâl Beg, who told them, after consulting Bâlnîk, to fight the people, and with the help of all the saints and the gods, Lâl Beg gained the victory, and took possession of Kâbul and Kashmîr.

After establishing his authority Lâl Leg placed one of his followers, named Sultânî, a native of the place, on the throne, and then went to Thânesar, where Bâlnîk died. Lâl Beg subsequently went with all the followers to Dehlî, and founded the Lâlbegi religion, dividing his followers into five sects, *viz.*, Lalbegî, Shekhrî Dûmrî, Hilî, and Râwat.

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### NOTES ON MARATHA MARRIAGES.

THE father, or in his absence any near male relation of the bride, gives her away. A shawl or a cloth screen being thrown over them, the bride and bridegroom are placed face to face, and told to throw garlands of flowers round each other's necks, and the screen is then withdrawn. The other ceremonies are the usual ones, but a thread is wound round and round the pair in token of the indissolubility of the marriage tie. The bridegroom remains on at the bride's house till the completion of the *sâl* ceremony. In the interval the mother and other near female relatives of the bridegroom receive them in state, on which occasion valuable and costly presents are made her, while her relatives present *sârîs*, etc., in return. Another public state meeting between the ladies of the two families also takes place at which presents are interchanged either before or after this ceremony. At the *sâl* ceremony a basket filled with rice, *poliâs* (sweet-cakes), *laddûs* (sweetmeats), lamps made of uncooked wheaten flour with oil and wicks, combs, tooth-picks, looking-glasses, etc., but *seven* of each article is placed on the head of the bridegroom's mother (or of the lady acting for her) while the married couple, if children, sit on her knees. After this the bride and bridegroom go to his house with the usual procession, and wind up the ceremony with the worship of Lakshmî. The families then interchange grand dinners, and the ceremonies end with visits to the shrine of the tutelary gods. Thus, the Gâekwârs of Barodâ visit Khandobâ, the family god, and Bichrâjî (a goddess).

The *late* B. V. SHASTRI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### SALAGRAM.

THE Sâlagrâm has been described as a fossil fish imbedded in a ball of petrified mud, of which the surface has been cracked or worn away in different places, thus disclosing a number of small cavities in the inside caused by the shrinking of the organic remains. The name has been suggested by this peculiarity of appearance, and means simply "full of holes," or "cellular," from *sâla*, the Sanskrit prototype of the English "hall" and its cognate "cell," and *grâma*, the familiar Indian name for a "village," here used in the sense of "a multitude:" as in composition it ordinarily is. Among Hindûs of the present day Sâlagrâm is one of the most popular proper names, and is often spelt by the unscientific Sâlig Râm, apparently under a mistaken impression that the mutilated last syllable has something to do with the god so called. Compare the somewhat similar confusion between San Greal and Sang Real.[1]

(*The late*) F. S. GROWSE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [For the Proper names Sâlag, Sâlag Râm, Sâlig Râm, Sâl Grâm, all derived from the *Sâlagrama*, see *Proper Names of Panjâbis*, p. 71. — ED.]

# A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, AS APPLIED TO A GROUP OF SAVAGE LANGUAGES.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 208.)

I NOW propose to go into the proper names, and to see what their analysis tells us.

AKA-BEADA PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taul (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — oko (P. R.) — tima (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Taul-tree — (its) — corner
len (P. F.).
in. So the whole expression signifies 'in the village at the corner among the Taul trees.'

(2) Puluga (S.) — la (S. Q.).
God (hon. suf.). The Deity, *i. e.*, a supernatural anthropomorphic being. The word *may* mean 'the Rain-bringer.' *N. B.* — 'Rain' often = 'Storm' in the Andamanese tropics.

(3) Luratut (S.) — la (S. Q.).
Luratut. This is the name of a well-known bird, but in the context clearly signifies some man named after the bird. Here, however, we have an indication of legendary growth. For the Andamanese nowadays naturally mix up those of their ancestors who had 'bird' and 'animal' names with the birds and animals after whom they were named.

(4) I (P. R.) — Tarcheker (S.).
Kingfisher. A 'bird' name, see (3).

(5) Wota (R.) — Emi (R.).
rise-up — hut. 'The village of the huts from which the Tribes rose (like a flight of birds),' *i. e.*, the traditional cradle of the race.

(6) Chaoga (S.) — taba (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
spirit — greatest-be — ing. Chaoga denotes properly the appearance a dead person is supposed to assume, and the whole term signifies 'the dead who were greatest,' *i. e.*, 'greater than ourselves,' the (revered) ancestors.

(7) Tomol (S.) — ola (S. Q.).
Tomo(la)'s-sons — (hon. suf.). The Tomolola are the earliest traditional chiefs, *i. e.*, the very earliest personages beyond 'the ancestors.'

AKAR-BALE PROPER NAMES.

(1) Dim (P. R.) — Ḍaura (R.) — le (S. Q.).
(male-name) — (hon. suf.).

(2) Keri (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — ong (P. R.) — tauwer (S.) (P. R. + S. = S.) —
Keri-tree — (its) — sand
te (S. F.).
by *i. e.*, 'by the village on the sand among the Keri-trees.'

(3) Puluga (S.).
God.

(4) Bolub (S.).
'fish' name. See the 'bird' names above.

(5) Tarkaur (S.).
'fish' name. See (4).

(6) Bilichau (S.).
Flying-fish. A 'fish' name. See (4).

(7) Rokwa (S.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — ar (P. R. (— to (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.) — nga (S. Q.)
stone — (its) — row-be — ing
*i. e.*, 'the village by the row of stones.'

PUCHIKWAR PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taul (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — oko (P. R.) — tim (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Taul-tree — (its) — corner
— an (S. Q.).
— in. See identical Aka-Beada term.

(2) Bilik (S.).
God.

(3) Luratut (S.).
'bird' name. See Aka-Beada term.

(4) Tarchal (S.).
'fish' name. See (3).

(5) Chalter (S.).
Kingfisher. A 'bird' name. See (3).

(6) Lao (R.) — cham (R.) (R. + R. = S.) — len (S. F.).
'the ancestors' — to. See chaoga-tabanga, the Aka-Beada term.

(7) Wauta (S.) — Emi (S.) — en (S. F.).
Wauta — Emi — in. See the Aka-Beada name Wota-Emi.

AUKAU-JUWOI PROPER NAMES.

(1) Kuro (S.) — t' (P. F. = I.) — on (P. R.) — mika (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Kuro-tree — (its) — very-big
*i. e.*, 'the village among the great Kuro-trees.'

(2) Mirit (S.) — la (S. Q.).
Pigeon — (hon. suf.). A 'bird' name.

(3) Bilik (S.).
God.

(4) Lech (R.) — lin (S. F.).
male-name — to.

(5) Karat (S.) — t' (P. F. = I.) — atak (P. R.) — emi (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Karat-creeper — (its) — hut
— in (S. F.).
— in *i. e.*, 'in the village where the huts are among the Karat-creepers.'

KOL PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taul (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — oko (P. R.) — tim (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.) — en (S. Q.)
For this name see Aka-Beada.

(2) Bilik (S.) — la (S. Q.).
God — (hon. suf.).

(3) Luratut (S.) — la (S. Q.). For this name see Aka-Beada.

(4) Oko (R.) — Emi (R.) — t (S. F.).
Oko — Emi — at This is the same place as the Wota-Emi and Wauta-Emi already given, but it appears here in a presumably simpler form, signifying 'the (original) huts.'

(5) Kaulotat (S.) — ke (S. Q.).
Kaulotat-tree — was. This is an instance of a 'tree' name. See Aka-Beada (3). The peculiar 'verbal' termination to the word in the text is commented on elsewhere.

(6) Min (R.) — tong (R.) — ta (R.) [or tauk (S.)] (R. + R. + R. [or R. or S.] = S.)
Min-tree — leaf — bone
— kete (S. F.) — lak (S. F.).
— by — to *I. e.*, 'at the village of the rib-leafed Min-trees.'

(7) Jangil (S.).
'the ancestors.'

Now **these proper names bear out** in every respect the conclusions to be drawn from the former analysis, because they are clearly either mere roots or stems, or compounds of roots and stems thrown together by means of infixed affixes, the infixes themselves being in their nature plain functional prefixes of what is usually called a "pronominal character." The sense of the words is also usually immediately apparent, showing the difficulty the speakers have in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas — indicating, that is, **the 'savage' condition of their minds.**

But the 'savage' nature of the languages comes out even more clearly if we apply the theory in another way, *i. e.*, if we exclude the proper names and pick out **the roots or stems** of all sorts to be found in the five versions of the "Fire Legend." This will show that, leaving out persons and places, the five tribes tell five versions of an abstract story by an effort of memory with the aid between them of only seven separate indicators (nouns), seventeen separate predicators (verbs), and eight separate radicals, indicating the other parts of speech. Only once is an explicator (adj.) used in all the versions; only thrice an illustrator (adv.), and then only once in any instance in the same language. No introductory words to sentences are used at all; only one conjunction between words and only two between sentences, referring in each case to what has been already said. There are no forward references, and there is only one referent substitute (pronoun, in this case of the 3rd person). In telling the Legend, we therefore see that, to employ the old familiar phraseology, the Aka-Beada use two nouns, eight verbs, one ref. conj., and one pronoun. The Akar-Bale use five nouns, nine verbs, one adv., one conj., one pron. in two forms. The Puchikwar use one noun (fire), six verbs, one adv., one ref. conj. in two forms, one pron. The Aukau-Juwoi use two nouns, three verbs, one adj, one pron. The Kol use three nouns, seven verbs, one adv., one pron. Poverty of thought and idea could hardly go lower than this. We are really **brought face to face with the speech of undeveloped savages.**

**The evidence is as follows: —**

TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS.

*Indicators* (Nouns).

| English. | Aka-Beada. | Akar-Bale. | Puchikwar. | Aukau-Juwoi. | Kol. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| village | baraij | baroij | ... | ... | pauroich |
| platform | .. | toago | ... | ... | ... |
| all-men | paura | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| fire | chapa | choapa | at | at | at |
| fish | ... | yaukat | ... | ... | ... |
| wood | ... | ... | ... | peakar | ... |
| charcoal | ... | ... | ... | ... | pin |

*Predicators* (Verbs).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| seize | eni | ena | di, li | ... | ... |
| take | ik | ik | ... | ... | kek |
| light-a-fire | dal | dal | kadak | kodak | kaudak |
| do | ... | a | ... | ... | ... |
| sleep | mami | ... | pat | ema | pat |
| steal | tap | ... | .. | top | ... |
| bring | omo | omo | lechi | ... | ... |
| burn | pugat, pugari | puguru | ... | ... | ... |
| wake | boi | ... | konyi | ... | ... |
| go-into-sea | ... | jurugmu | ... | ... | ... |
| become | ... | mo | ... | ... | ... |
| carry | ... | tichal | ... | ... | ... |
| give | ... | ... | da | ... | ... |
| go | ... | ... | ... | ... | chol |
| extinguish | ... | ... | ... | ... | bil |
| break-up | ... | ... | ... | ... | dauk |
| kindle | ... | ... | ... | ... | tepur |

*Explicators* (Adjectives).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| deceased | ... | ... | ... | laiche | ... |

*Illustrators* (Adverbs).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| long-ago | ... | rita | ... | ... | ... |
| again | ... | ... | kol | ... | ... |
| past (by) | ... | ... | ... | .. | lin |

*Connectors* (Conjunctions).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | ... | ka | ... | ... | ... |

*Introducers* (Conjunctions).

*Nil.*

*Referents.*

(*a*) *Conjunctors* (Conjunctions).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| at-once | jek | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| then | ... | ... | ota, kota, e | ... | ... |

(*b*) *Substitutes* (Pronouns).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he | | i, ong | ong | | ... |
| (they) | ... | ongot | n'ong | ... | n'a |

Incidentally the above tables indicate the extent to which the languages belong, in the first place to a family, and in the next to a group, which may be further indicated by examination of the affixes But, as the examples available are so few, nothing beyond indication can be here expected. The proof can be seen by an examination of Mr. Portman's Comparative Vocabulary and his most patient analysis of the words therein.

TABLES OF AFFIXES.

*Prefixes, functional.*

| English. | Aka-Beada. | Akar-Bale. | Puchikwar. | Aukau-Juwoi. | Kol. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| his, its | l'- | l'- | l'- | l'-, t'- | l'- |
| (?) his | ... | ... | k'- | ... | k'- |
| theirs | ... | ... | n'- | ... | n'- |

*Prefixes, radical.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (?) | ot- | oto- | oto- | ... | otam-, ote- |
| (?) | ... | atak- | ... | atak- | ... |
| (?) | ... | at- | ... | ... | ... |
| (?) | oko- | oko- | oko- | aukau-, auko- | oko- |
| (?) | ... | ... | ab- | ... | ... |
| (?) | ... | ... | o- | ... | a- |
| (?) | ... | ar- | ... | ... | ir-, irim- |
| (?) | i- | i- | ... | ... | ... |
| (?) | ... | ong- | ... | on- | ... |

*Suffixes, functional.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| by | -lik | -te | -ke | ... | -lak |
| in | -len | -a | -in, -an, -en | -in | -en |
| with | ... | ... | ... | -lo | ... |
| to | ... | ... | -len | -lin | -kete |
| at | ... | ... | ... | ... | -t |

*Suffixes, qualitative.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| was | -ka | -kate, ia | ... | -chike | -ke |
| -ing | -nga | -nga | -nga | ... | ... |
| did | -re | -t, -te | -ye, -an | -t | -an, -chine |
| (honorific) | -la, -ola | -le | ... | -la | -la |

The reader will by this time have perceived that **the development of the fundamental meanings of the roots and stems of Andamanese words is effected by means of radical prefixes**; a consideration that brings us in contact with **the most difficult and most interesting feature** of the Andamanese languages.

To the Andamanese mind **roots** present themselves as being **divided off roughly into classes** as under, to use Mr. Portman's classification, which is, of course, an impossible one, according to the general system of grammar he purports to follow. But, as his classification is sufficient for the purpose of illustrating my points, I shall not now disturb it.

Mr. Portman's classification is stated by him thus : —

The Andamanese roots appear to be divided into five groups, which are as follows : —

(1) Names of parts of the body, with special reference to the human body. Roots referring to the human race generally.

(2) Names of other natural animate and inanimate objects.

(3) Roots which are capable of being converted into either Explicators or Predicators, as well as being Indicators.

(4) Pronouns.

(5) Postpositions, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Exclamations, Proper Names of Andamanese men and women, the Flower Names given to Andamanese girls, Honorific Names etc., Particles.

Now, with reference to the above statement, **the main function of the radical prefixes is to indicate the group to which a root belongs, either primarily or secondarily by**

**implication.** In the groups, or in some of them at least, there are sub-groups, *e. g.*, in group 1 we find sub-groups, of which the following are samples : —

TABLE OF SUB-GROUPS IN GROUP 1.

| English. | Aka-Beada. | Akar-Bale. | Puchikwar. | Aukau-Juwoi. | Kol. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Head | ot-cheta | aut-chekta | ote-ta | auto-tau | aute-toi |
| hand | on-kauro | ong-kauro | ong-kaure | aun-koran | aun-kaure |
| mouth | aka-bang | aka-boang | o-pong | aukau-pong | o-pong |
| knee | ab-lo | ab-lo | ab-lu | a-lu | o-lu |
| ar | ik-puku | id-puku | ir-bo | re-baukau | er-bokau |
| pine | ar-gorob | ar-kate | ar-kurab | a-kurup | o-kurup |

As might be expected of savages, the Andamanese are intensely anthropomorphic, and this fact comes out in their languages, the radical prefixes in form and origin revolving for all Groups chiefly round those used to differentiate the parts of the human body or human attributes and necessities. **There are, however, radical prefixes, whose function is purely to modify the meaning of a root, and so to form, in combination with the root, a pure stem.** Here are instances out of Mr. Portman's book : —

*Yop(-da)* is, in Aka-Beada, 'soft' or 'pliable'; then, a sponge is *ot-yop*, soft ; a cane is *auto-yop*, pliable ; a pencil is *aka-yop* or *auko-yop*, pointed ; the human body is *ab-yop*, soft ; certain parts of it are *ong-yop*, soft ; fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten ; an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

*Chaurog(-nga)* means in Aka-Beada generally 'tie(ing) up.' Unmodified by a radical prefix it refers to the tieing up of bundles of firewood or plantains, whence *chaurog-nga(-da)*, a faggot. But when so modified it can mean as follows : *aut-chaurog-nga*, tieing up the carcases of dead pigs so that they may be carried on the back ; *aka-chaurog-nga*, tieing up jack-fruit into bundles ; *ar-chaurog-nga*, tieing up birds ; *ong-chaurog-nga*, tieing together the feet of little pigs while alive to prevent escape.

The anthropomorphism of the Andamanese, already noticed, induces them to **refer all words,** capable of such reference, **directly to themselves, by means of referent prefixes to stems composed of roots plus radical prefixes** ; thus :—

**The Head.**

| English. | Aka-Beada. | Akar-Bale. | Puchikwar. | Aukau-Juwoi. | Kol. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| head | -cheta | -chekta | -ta | -tau | -toi |
| his-d° | ot- | aut- | ote- | auto- | aute- |
| my-d° | d'ot- | d'aut- | t'ote- | t'auto- | t'aute- |
| | | | **The Hand.** | | |
| hand | -kauro | -kauro | -kaure | -korau | -kaure |
| his-d° | on- | ong- | ong- | aun- | aun- |
| thy-d° | ng'on- | ng'ong- | ng'ong- | ng'aun- | ng'aun- |

In the above cases, to the roots for 'head' and 'hand' are added for 'his' the root-forms of the prefixes, to which for 'my' and 'thy' have been superadded abbreviated forms of the root-forms for 'I' and 'thou.' And so it is for all the 'persons.'

Also when the reference is possible to "**persons in the plural,**" some, but not by any means all, the Andamanese emphasize the fact of such reference by modifying the form of the radical prefix to indicate it, thus :—

| Aka-Beada. | | Akar-Bale. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Plu.* | *Sing.* | *Plu.* |
| ot | otot | aut | autot |
| ong | oiot | aung | aungtot |
| aka | akat | akar | akat |
| ab | at | ap | at |
| ig | itig | id | idit |
| ar | arat | ar | arat |

No such alterations take place in Puchikwar and Aukau-Juwoi, except to differentiate 'thy' from 'your.' Thus: in Puchikwar, *aute*, sing., is *autel*, plu.; and in Aukau-Juwoi *autau*, sing., is *autel*, plu.; and so on.

To the differentiating plu. radical prefixes are added, where necessary, functional prefixes, thus:—

| English. | Aka-Beada. | Akar-Bale. | Puchikwar. | Aukau-Juwoi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| our | m'otot | m'autot | m'aute | m'autau |
| your | ng'otot | ng'autot | ng'autel | ng'autel |

Another noteworthy fact, again due to anthropomorphism, is that usually the Andamanese languages conceive every word, when possible, as referred to 'the 3rd person,' *e. g.*, *ot-cheta-da* is strictly not 'head,' but 'his head.' So *otot-cheta-da* is strictly 'their heads.' And so, in order to express a clear reference to a '3rd person,' where the context renders such necessary, they do so by means of a referent prefix evolved for the purpose, thus:—

| English. | Aka-Beada. | | Akar-Bale. | | Puchikwar. | | Aukau-Juwoi. | | Kol. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Sing.* | *Plu.* | *Sing.* | *Plu.* | *Sing.* | *Plu.* | *Sing.* | *Plu.* | *Sing.* | *Plu.* |
| -'s, its, his (their | l'- | l'- | l'- | l'- | l'- | le n'- | l'- | le n'- | l'- | le n'- |

The last three forms seem to explain the origin of this curious habit, for in them we find a special referent prefix for 'their,' and so, when it is necessary to make 'their' clearly referent, we find a second prefix *le* superadded. We can therefore also say that the referent prefix *l'-* seems to indicate one of the signs of 'growth' in the languages, as we now have them.

Lastly, when the natural conditions require that an Andamanese should throw into a single expression more than one idea, he does so by direct and simple combination, with the aid of his referent prefix for 'its,' as may be seen from the proper names and some of the compound words in the texts of the Legend. Thus: Taul-l'-okotima, Taul-tree-its-corner, *i. e.*, (the village at) the corner (among) the Taul-trees; Keri-l'-ongtauwer, Keri-tree-its-sand, *i. e.*, (the village on) the sand (among) the Keri-trees.

So here, again, it appears to me that the languages, even in the complicated forms and usage of the prefixes, show themselves to be purely and directly the expression of 'savage' thought, affording yet another measure of the Theory as a working hypothesis.

Now, of course, the Andamanese go far beyond this skeleton in the details of their speech, but everything else to be found in it seems to me to be a development of these fundamental laws, arising out of a mere following up to a further expansion the ideas contained in them, or out of the necessities of speech itself. There are no more further 'principles' to explain, so far as I can at present see, and I would refer the reader to Mr. Portman's careful and laborious pages for a proof of the present assertions. I would also take leave to refer him to those pages and to the foregoing observations, should he desire to judge for himself how far the Theory may be called a successful attempt to meet the conditions.

I will now proceed to state the Theory in skeleton form, believing that its bones can be clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of direct natural development of detail, — that a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech can be logically deduced from the general principles enunciated therein.

It seems to me to be necessary to say very little at present by way of preface. The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, *viz.*, the expression of a complete meaning, or, technically, the sentence. Words are then considered as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them, and next as to the means whereby they can be made to fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. This course of reasoning commends itself to my mind as logically correct, and if it be so, must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech.

**Terminology** is a matter of convenience, and I have in the exposition of the Theory, changed the familiar terminology of the Grammars of the orthodox sort merely as a convenience. The question presents itself to me as one of choosing between the devising of new terms and the giving of new definitions to well-known old ones, used habitually in other senses. To my own mind it is easier to apprehend and retain in the memory the meaning of a new word than to keep before the mind a new definition of an old and familiar one. Hence my choice. But this is so much a personal matter, that it is a question of indifference to myself which method is adopted.

**The familiar terminology has accordingly been changed in this wise.** The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, and conjunction become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector, and referent conjunctor, while interjections and pronouns become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs are converted into introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjugation, and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion — the object becomes the complement of the predicate, and concord becomes correlated variation. Also for obvious reasons subjects, necessarily occupying an important place in Grammars which aim at explaining all that there is to say about a language — such as its **phonology, orthography, and elocution — are not now considered** in the exposition of the Theory.

## THE SKELETON OF A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR.

SPEECH is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. LANGUAGES are varieties of speech.

The *units* of languages are SENTENCES. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a WORD. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the *components* of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a *relation* to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil *functions*. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject or indicative of the COMPLEMENT. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either —

(1) INDICATORS, or indicative of the subject.
(2) EXPLICATORS, or explanatory of the subject.
(3) PREDICATORS, or indicative of the predicate.
(4) ILLUSTRATORS, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
(5) COMPLEMENTS, or complementary of the predicate.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also *complementary indicators* may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And *complementary explicators* may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a *purpose*. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the POSITION of its components, by VARIATION of the forms of its components, or by the addition of introductory words to express it or INTRODUCERS.

Also, since the functions of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, *connected purposes* may be indicated by CONNECTED SENTENCES. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or REFERENTS. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore CONJUCTORS or SUBSTITUTES.

Also, the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or CONNECTORS, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are especially connected with indicators; explicators with indicators; illustrators and complements with predicators; and referent substitutes with their principals; there is an *intimate relation* between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by *correlated variation* in the forms of the especially connected words.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a PHRASE. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a simple expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a CLAUSE. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a PERIOD.

Therefore a word is functionally either —

(1) A sentence in itself or an INTEGER,

(2) An *essential component* of a sentence, or

(3) An *optional component* of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either —

(1) An INTEGER, or a sentence in itself.

(2) An INDICATOR, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.

(3) An EXPLICATOR, or explanatory of its subject or complement.

(4) A PREDICATOR, or indicative of its predicate.

(5) An ILLUSTRATOR, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.

(6) A CONNECTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components.

(7) An INTRODUCTOR, or explanatory of its purpose.

(8) A REFERENT CONJUNCTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.

(9) A REFERENT SUBSTITUTE, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its *position* in the sentence, either without variation of form or with variation of form. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF WORDS.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also, since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its *position* in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its FORM.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class, and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a *new function*, it becomes a *new word* connected with the original word. The relation between CONNECTED WORDS is that of parent and off-shoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and off-shoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or STEM, and an additional part or FUNCTIONAL AFFIX. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This *modification* may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or SIMPLE STEM, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or COMPOUND STEM. A compound stem consists of a principal part or ROOT, and additional parts or RADICAL AFFIXES. The function of the root is to indicate the orginal meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the *modifications* by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess *inherent qualities*. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by QUALITATIVE AFFIXES.

Affixes are, therefore, *functional*, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; *radical*, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; *qualitative*, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be —

(1) PREFIXES, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;

(2) INFIXES, or fixed into the root, stem, or word;

(3) SUFFIXES, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their *full form*, or in a *varied form*. When there is variation of form, there is INFLEXION or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and *inflected words* may conform to particular KINDS OF INFLEXION.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its component, with their position, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms.

Since sentences, are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF LANGUAGES.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into SYNTACTICAL LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into FORMATIVE LANGUAGES, or by those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into SYNTHETIC LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) PRE-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) INTRO-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that infix their affixes; (3) POST-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either pre-mutative, intro-mutative, or post-mutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be CONNECTED LANGUAGES, or those that vary the forms or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered or altered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose *stems* are common belong to a GROUP. Connected languages whose *roots* are common belong to a FAMILY; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

---

## HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M. R. A. S.

(*Continued from p.* 219)

### CHAPTER X.

### Reign of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh, son of Aḥmad Shâh.

AFTER the death of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh, with the concurrence and approval of the nobles and heads of the army, on Monday, the 22nd of the month Rajab in the year 838 (21st February, A. D. 1435) Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn ascended the throne; and, according to the custom

of kings, the great *saiyids, shekhs*, and learned men being present at the time of the sovereign's taking his seat on the royal throne, his highness Malik-ul-Mushâ,îkh **Shâh Burhân-ud-Dîn Khalîl-Ullâh**, son of Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Wâlî, who was the religious instructor of this king and son of the spiritual adviser of the late Sultân, took hold of the Sultân's right hand; and **Saiyid Khasîf** taking his left hand, they seated him on the throne; and the nobles and grandees scattered money. The Sultân placing two chairs, one on each side of the throne for those two illustrious fortunate ones, they were seated on his right and left; and the other *saiyids* and learned men — such as Malik-ul-'Ulumâ Kâzî Ahmad Kabûl Sadar-i Jahân and Sadar-ul-'Ulumâ Kâzi Nizâm-ud-Dîn Sharîfî Sharf-i Jahân and Malik-ul-Mudarrisîn[83] Saiyid Ahmad Jurjânî obtained permission to sit at the foot of the throne. The courtiers congratulated the Sultân on his accession, and in eloquent language sang his praises; and each one according to his rank and station received robes of honour and other gifts. Poets recited elegant congratulatory verses and were rewarded by kingly gifts.

When by common consent Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn succeeded to the absolute sovereignty of the Dakhan by hereditary right and desert he regulated in such a manner the distribution of justice and the erection of the structure of equity that the impression of the beneficence of Farîdûn was eclipsed, and Naushîrawân's fame for justice was powerless to compete with it.

On Fridays and festival days he used himself to ascend the pulpit and read a *khutbah* in extremely eloquent language. Owing to his excessive mildness and mercy he was averse to the shedding of blood or hanging, and he generally spent the happy hours in playing and toying and pleasure and mirth and the society of rosy-cheeked, sugar-lipped fair ones and youths with cypress-like stature and silvery forms. From sociableness and excess of hankering after this class of people he used not to attend to state affairs as much as he ought, and from want of attention to the important affairs of government, the affairs of the kingdom continually fell into commotion and confusion, and his subjects became disgusted, as will be shown hereafter.

* * * * * *

Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn in the early part of his reign dismissed several of the *amîrs*, ministers of state and inferior officers of government, and appointed a number of others in their places: thus **Miyân Mahmûd Nizâm-ul-Mulk Ahmad Shâhî was dismissed from his government and put to death.** Kawâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî received the title of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and his son became Kawâm-ul-Mulk. **Muhammad bin 'Alî Bâwardî — who was Khwâjah Jahân —** and the other nobles and ministers were confirmed in the titles and appointments which they already held.

The Sultân appointed two of his own slaves commanders of the right and left wings of the army. The command of the left wing — by the custom of the late Sultân — was given the preference over all the dignities of the right wing, and Malû Khân had been appointed to it, and Sârang Khân to the command of the right wing.[84] **The descendants of Malik Mahmûd Afghân,** *in'âmdâr* of the district of Halkundah were advanced to very high rank: thus Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk obtained Mubârakâbâd Miraj on feudal tenure; and another of that clique obtained the title of Mu'azzam Khân, and the district of Bîjâpûr was assigned to him on feudal tenure. Mushîr-ul-Mulk Afghân took on feudal tenure Halsangî which is a *taraf* of Bîjâpûr; and the greatest of them received the title of Majlis Akram Dilâwar Khân, and was promoted to a government.

In the beginning of his reign the Sultân constructed a garden and palace named **Ni'matâbâd** on the bank of the river. In that Paradise-like garden and palace, which was distant about one *farsakh*[85] from the capital, the Sultân took up his abode; and reclining on the *masnad* of pleasure and delight he employed himself in drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine and enjoying himself with ruby-lipped, heart-ravishing (females) and in listening to the melodies of sweet-tongued musicians.

---

[83] King of the Professors. [84] *Vide* page 117. [85] About 6,000 yards.

The nobles and great men used every day to perambulate the sanctuary of that *ka'bah* with their business unattended to. Moreover, many of the courtiers, nobles and generals built houses for themselves in the neighbourhood of that lofty building, and took up their abode there, so that they might often have the honour of an audience.

At this time Sanjar Khân, who was one of the greatest of the Sulṭân's nobles, in accordance with orders was engaged in fighting against **the Uriah leader of the infidels of Telingânâ,** and used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of that district, and used to send them to court; and **the Sulṭân after confirming them in the faith of Islâm** sent them on to Prince Humâyûn Khân, who was the eldest of his sons. By the aid of God many of these wanderers in the desert of error and ignorance were led to the pleasant fountain of the right road, and by the light of Islâm the darkness of infidelity was expelled from their hearts, and two of them were promoted to the rank of *amîr* and *wazîr*. The Sulṭân himself used often to say: — "Why does Sanjar Khân match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants?" For at that time in the government of the Bahmanî Sulṭâns there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants, whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand. Notwithstanding this the gallant Sanjar Khân was continually plundering their country, and used not to fail in killing and imprisoning the worshippers of idols.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân sent Dilâwar Khân Afghân with a large force to take the entrenchment and **fort of Sharkah.**[86] He accordingly set out with his force, and having arrived at those frontiers, after some parleying and fighting settled matters peaceably; and taking an immense amount of valuable property for the government from the chief of each of the two districts, returned to court. But when he went to pay his respects to the Sulṭân he was dismissed from his government, and a eunuch who had recently received the title of Dastûr-ul-Mulk was appointed in his place. The people of the Dakhan being much distressed by the tyranny and oppression of that untrustworthy one used to complain of him day and night at the court; but the Sulṭân, from the extreme mildness of his disposition, used to wink at it, and do nothing to check his oppression of inferiors; but Prince Humâyûn Khân, from his innate mercy, out of kindness ordered one of his attendants to watch for an opportunity to free the people from the oppression of that mutilated one.

In this year **Naṣîr Khân,**[87] Wâlî of Aṣir, conceived the idea of conquering the Sulṭân's dominions; and notwithstanding the long-established friendship and agreement between them, he invaded the Bahmanî territory and began to plunder and devastate. The Sulṭân on hearing that Naṣîr Khân with a large army had invaded his territory and laid waste several villages on the frontier, proposed to each one of his nobles to fight against Naṣîr Khân, but none of them would undertake it. At last he summoned **Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr** and nominated him for this business. Khalf without delay or thought consented, and applied himself to the task of putting down Naṣîr Khân's rebellion. The Sulṭân conferred many favours and benefits on Khalf, and presenting him with his own special robe gave into his hands a naked sword with a golden inscription on it. Khalf took leave of the Sulṭân and set out without even first going to his own house.

When the news of the approach of Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr with a numerous force of spearmen reached Naṣîr Khân, he did not think it advisable to remain in the Sulṭân's territory, so he abandoned the vain expectations and desires which he had entertained, and being unable to oppose himself to the royal army, as a last resource he took to flight and shut himself up in the fortress of Aṣîr.[88] Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr pursuing him reached the neighbourhood of the fortress, and surrounding it laid siege to it. This continued for a long time till at last the distracted life of Naṣîr Khân, by order of the Almighty, becoming a captive in the claws of fate

[86] Not identified. Perhaps it is the name of the renegade chief called Sirkah a little farther on.

[87] Ruler of Khandesh, and father-in-law of the Sulṭân.

[88] A play on words: — اسیر حصار اثیر گردید

the bird of his spirit flew off from the narrow fortress of his body towards its native country. This event happened in A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435).

After this Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr returned with much booty to the court and paid his respects to the Sulṭân.

**Rebellion of Muḥammad Khân, the Sulṭân's brother. The Sulṭân proceeds to put it down.**

In this year, by the suggestion of the wicked devil of seduction, the idea of rebellion and ingratitude having obtained a hold on the heart of Muḥammad Khân,[89] the younger brother of the Sulṭân, he turned the reins of opposition towards the desert of error, and after killing 'Imâd-ul-Mulk Ghûrî on the bank of the river Pen Gangâ he raised aloft the canopy of sovereignty and the banner of pomp, and requited the affection and favours of the Sulṭân by rebellion.

When the king became aware of the movements of Muḥammad Khân he collected a large army and set out from the seat of government to suppress the rebellion.

On the other hand Muḥammad Khân also assembled a large force and hastened to oppose him. After encountering one another the fire of slaughter was kindled on both sides, and extended to Aṣîr, and owing to the bodies of those slain on both sides the road became so blocked that the east and west winds were shut out. At last victory declared itself on the side of the Sulṭân, and the army of Muḥammad Khân was routed: the latter, finding that fortune had turned against him, took to flight. The Sulṭân ordered a number of his troops to go in pursuit of Muḥammad Khân, but gave strict injunctions not to injure him personally: and if they caught him, to bring him without using violence to the foot of the throne, and if not, to let him go. But Muḥammad Khân having escaped with his life from this affair repented of that improper action which had emanated from the suggestions of the devil, and sent an eloquent messenger to the Sulṭân to sue for pardon. The Sulṭân graciously forgave his past offences and caused a treaty to be drawn up assigning to him on feudal tenure the district of **Râyachal in Telingânâ**, and sent him the royal diploma of the *jâgîr* together with the treaty. Muḥammad Khân, conciliated and made happy by the favour and kindness of the Sân, proceeded to his own districts and did not again swerve from the path of obedience and submission.

During the time of Muḥammad Khân's rebellion the infidels of **Vijayânagar**, thinking it a good opportunity, had invaded the territories of Islâm, and taken possession of the **fort of Mudgal**, and devastated all the surrounding country; so, after suppressing the rebellion of Muḥammad Khân, the Sulṭân, in retaliation, proceeded with a large force towards the Vijayânagar territory.

When the news of his approach reached the ruler of Vijayânagar he fortified himself in the fortress of Mudgal, which is one of the strongest forts of that country; and having filled that strong fortress with his choicest veteran troops he made ready for battle. The Sulṭân pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Mudgal, and his troops formed a *cordon* round it. After the siege had lasted for some time signs of weakness and despondency being apparent on the side of she defenders of the fort, they sued for quarter; and agreeing to give security, sent messengers to the court of the Sulṭân professing obedience and submission. They agreed to pay tribute besides paying a large sum into the royal treasury; also to pay compensation for any injury inflicted on the Sulṭân's subjects, and in future never to presume to invade the Sulṭân's territory, and each year to remit a certain sum to the royal treasury. After that, the Sulṭân having effected his object returned to his capital.

In several histories it is stated that Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn remained nearly two years on this journey, and waged a *jihâd* against the infidels of those countries. The forts of Mudgal,

[89] This appears to be the same as Prince Maḥmûd Khân, who was appointed governor of the Mâhûr district by the late Sulṭân. The names Maḥmûd and Muḥammad are often confounded. The river called *Gan* (or *Kan*) in the text, must be the Pen Gangâ, which flows past Mâhûr.

Chandan-Wandhan and Sâtârâ besides many other fortresses and walled towns (*bârah*) fell into the possession of the Sulṭân's army; and after successfully accomplishing his desires he returned to his capital.

After he had finished suppressing the sedition of rebels and killing and plundering the idol-worshippers he spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment in gay society.

In the midst of these affairs His Highness Malik-ul-Mushâ,ikh **Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh** bin Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh died. This illustrious man of high origin left **two sons**: one of them — **Shâh Ḥabîb-Ullâh** — was son-in-law of Sultân Aḥmad Shâh; and the other — **Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh** — was son-in-law of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, the latter having given him his eldest daughter in marriage.

**Massacre of Saiyids in the fort of Châkanah (Châkan).**

In this year (858 = A. D. 1454) **Khalf Ḥasan** contemplated the conquest of **Saṇkîsar (Sangameshvar)** which is one of the greatest of the forts on the sea coast; his reason being that a great number of infidels under the protection of this strong fortress, and relying upon the thick jungle and difficult obscure places used to engage in highway-robbery by sea as well as by land, and on account of the wickedness of these people Musalmâns passing to and fro used to be in a continual state of terror.

**Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr** first laid siege to and took the fortress of an infidel who was called **Sirkah**; and the cursed Sirkah, who had been made prisoner by the army of Islâm was given the option of embracing the faith of Islâm or being sent to hell. The accursed one having come into the Faith by the door of pretext and duplicity voluntarily made the following proposal:— "I have always been familiar with this mountainous and forest-covered district of Saṇgameshvar; and now that I have embraced the Faith of Islâm, to protect any longer the professors of paganism and infidelity would be *anathema maranatha* to me. If you will proceed in that direction that fortress also will easily fall into your hands, especially as I shall be in close attendance on you, and the difficulties of the road and the intricacies of the jungle will be no obstacle to you; for I shall lead your force to the foot of the fortress by such a road that they will experience no inconvenience, and you will attain the object of your desires.

Khalf Ḥasan, deceived by the speech of his villainous enemy, taking him as guide of the vanguard of his force, proceeded in that direction. However much the army showed to Khalf the evil of that action, which was of unswerving regret, yet — according to the verse —

"When Fate hangs down its wing from heaven
All the sagacious become blind and deaf"—

the veil of predestination had hung down the curtain of negligence over his arrangements, and the speech of his monitors made no impression on him till the black-faced depraved guide took the army by a road, from terror of the ups and downs of which even the devil would have been confounded. At last they arrived at a place where from three sides lofty mountains reared their heads to the revolving heavens, and the depth of its valleys extended below the earth; the skirt of that mountain as well as the plain was filled with a jungle extremely difficult to pass through owing to the intricacy of the trees, and one side of it was connected with an encircling sea creek. In this dreadful and deadly place nearly thirty or forty thousand cavalry and infantry were crowded together ready for battle, and to make matter worse Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr was at that time afflicted with a dangerous illness, so that he could scarcely move. In this state of affairs the infidels threw themselves on the army of Islâm, and **Khalf and a great number of saiyids and pious men suffered martyrdom.** The remnant of the routed force, who with a hundred thousand difficulties escaped with their lives, hurried to the **town of Châkan which was the permanent abode of Khalf,** whilst the *amîrs* of the Dakkhan, who from olden times had been the deadly enemies of foreigners, picturing this affair in an infamous manner, reported it to the Sulṭân. The latter on hearing their version, in his anger, without thinking

of the perfidy of which he was guilty, concurred with the base advice of the *vazîrs* that the remainder of the *saiyids* and foreigners should be put to death; and by one wrong order uprooted the foundation of the lives of so many thousand foreigners and poor people and descendants of the chief of the Prophets.

**Râjâ Rustam,** who had the title of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, and **Sâlâr Ḥamzah** who was Mushîr-ul-Mulk, being in agreement with one another, assembled a countless force of Musalmâns and Hindûs and proceeded towards the fort of Châkan which was the place of residence of the foreigners. At that time nearly 1,200 *saiyids* of pure descent from the city of the Prophet Muḥammad and the holy martyrs, 'Alî and Imâm Ḥusain, together with 1,000 other foreigners — pious and abstinent followers of Islâm — resided in that fortress.

When the Dakkhanî *wazîrs* arrived in the neighbourhood of the dwelling-place of those poor foreigners and heard their numbers they saw that a peaceable policy was advisable, so they offered them safe conduct (*amân*), and with deluding and strongly-expressed oaths allayed the fears of those foreigners of good disposition, and invited a number of them to a friendly conference; and those simple-minded people placed such reliance on the false oaths that from the fastness of the fortress they stepped into the desert of death and opened on their own faces the door of annihilation, till the whole of them had fallen into the mouth of the crocodile of misfortune and the net of affliction. But on that day the *wazîrs* clothed the *saiyids* and foreigners from head to foot and sent them to their homes. On the next day when the sun rose in the east the Dakkhanî *amîrs* arranged a great feast and summoned those *saiyids* and foreigners from their dwellings under the pretence of an entertainment; but they had concealed nearly two or three thousand armed men in appointed places, so that when they found an opportunity they might put the guests to the sword. All the unfortunate *saiyids* and foreigners, at the proposal of the treacherous *amîrs*, put away their arms and came into the place of slaughter; and the *amîrs*, inventing a new way of entertaining guests, seated their dear guests with the greatest ceremony; and every now and then, on pretence of food, took a number of them aside to the place which was their place of sacrifice, and there entertained them with the water of the sword of tyranny and the *sharbat* of destruction, so that **about 1,200 saiyids of pure lineage and nearly 1,000 other foreigners** from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword, and all of them at that entertainment **were made to taste the sharbat of death.**

Since the occurrence at Karbalâ and the tyranny of the shameless Zaid, at no time have such misfortunes been inflicted on the servants of God. The perpetrators of it will doubtless receive retribution on the day of judgment. In this world happened to them what happened, as is related. Those two maleficent *sardârs* in that same season were seized with leprosy, the worst of infirmities and diseases, and their sons used to swagger through the streets of the *bâzâr*, and how much more so their daughters!

### Enmity between Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn and Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî.

Whilst the Dakhanî *amîrs* had been oppressing the *saiyids* and foreigners in the manner related, **Jalâl Khân,** grandson of Saiyid Jalâl Bukhârî, with his son **Sikandar Khân,** who had been specially distinguished and exalted on account of his education and beneficence, had with them two or three thousand well trained and experienced cavalry, but as they counted themselves among the number of the foreigners they feared to present themselves at court lest they should meet with the same fate as their compatriots. Their enemies used to prevent their having an opportunity of speech, so that they were counted as rebels and infidels, and their traducers made the fact of their not presenting themselves at court to seem like a proof of the accusation; and used to say: — "The truth or falsehood of the matter will be settled by summoning them: if they come, all doubts will be set at rest, but if not they should be driven away; for once the fire of sedition waxes high it cannot easily be extinguished.

"The fountain-head may be stopped with a spade;
But when it is full, it cannot be crossed on an elephant."

The Sulṭân lent a willing ear to the speech of these mischief-makers, and sent a person to summon Jalâl Khân and Sikandar Khân. They with soothing excuses sought means of avoiding compliance with the summons of the Sulṭân, and showed some reluctance to appear at court. But their excuses only tended to strengthen the suspicions of the Sulṭân, who proceeded against them with a numerous army. When they heard of the Sulṭân's approach, Sikandar Khân left his father together with his family and baggage in the fortress of Bâlkoṇḍa with some reliable troops, while he himself with 1,000 cavalry crossed over to Mâhûr, and from there wrote a letter to Maḥmûd Khiljî, who in those days was the ruler of the kingdom of Mâlwâ, representing his weakness and despair, and asking that king to come to the assistance of of the descendants of Aḥmad Mukhtâr.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd, who expected some such contigency, resolved to proceed to the Dakkhan with a large force. Marching by stages he arrived at Mâhûr, where Sikandar Khân joined him. The Sulṭân at that time was on his way to Bâlkoṇḍa, and when he heard of the approach of Sulṭân Maḥmûd he went to oppose him.

Historians have related that on that occasion the Sulṭân ('Alâ-ud-Dîn) had with him nearly 180,000 cavalry, and the army of Sulṭân Maḥmûd was not more than 50,000 cavalry. When only one stage remained between the two forces, and Sulṭân Maḥmûd became aware of the numbers opposed to him he knew that it would be folly to contend against them, so returned to his own country by double marches. He left one of the *amîrs* of his army with 1,000 cavalry to protect Sikandar Khân, with orders that if the latter contemplated returning to his own country he was to be prevented.

Sikandar Khân who was now hopeless of assistance from Sulṭân Maḥmûd, repented of his rebellion and wished to rejoin his father and children whom he had left in the fortress of Bâlkoṇḍa; so he used to remain two or three stages behind on pretence of obtaining provisions. One day, according to custom he did this till Sulṭân Maḥmûd was a day's march ahead; and Sikandar Khân then resolved to go to Bâlkoṇḍa, and accordingly turned in that direction. The force which had been appointed for his protection tried to prevent him, but the heroic Sikandar Khân attacked them, and they not being sufficiently strong to resist him refrained, and Sikandar Khân moving in the direction previously determined on rejoined Jalâl Khân and his family. After consultation he then sent a person to the Sulṭân's court, expressing contrition for what had occurred and suing for quarter. The Sulṭân pardoned him and received him at court with much favour and kindness.

When the Sulṭân had reigned for a period of 23 years, 9 months and 22 days he died.

**Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh** was a king adorned with the ornaments of clemency, generosity, learning and sincerity. Although he spent most of his time in the society of beautiful youths and in such like pleasures; so that it is mentioned in histories that he had in his *ḥaram* several thousand female slaves, with whom he spent the best part of his time; still he did not neglect the poor and needy and his subjects and dependents.

In the early part of his reign he released each person who had been wrongfully imprisoned, and he strove his utmost in the propagation and adornment of the faith of Islâm. He threw down ancient churches[90] and idol-temples, and in place of them founded *masjids*, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bîdar, and made two beautiful villages[91] there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks; and skilful physicians were engaged to attend to the sick and afflicted friendless poor; and with the favour of God they used to cure the people of their ailments. So much did he attend to carrying out the orders and prohibitions of the divine law that even the name of wine and all intoxicating liquors was abrogated in his jurisdiction;

[90] The word in the original is *kanâ,is*, plural of *kanîsah*, church. Does this mean Christian Churches?

[91] موضع.

and if now and then some one fearless of the consequences drank wine or any intoxicating liquor, molten lead used to be poured down his throat. Those guilty of night-brawling and lewd practices were banished from his dominions, so that not even the name of such people remained in the country; and *qalandars*, beer-drinkers and gamesters, according to the Sulṭân's orders had chains put on their necks and were punished by being made to clean dirty places and drag stones and clay and do such like hard labour, in order that if industrious they might earn their livelihood by useful employment and not engage in forbidden practices. The Superintendents of Police were ordered to instruct the common people of the city and the people of the *bâzâr* in the customs of Islâm and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things and the laws of the Prophet, and repent of sins and prohibited things. He himself used to attend evening prayer on Fridays and festival days and read a *khuṭbah* with much eloquence, and laud himself by the titles: — "The Sulṭân, the learned, the just, the clement, the benign, the merciful to the servants of God, the independent 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa-ad-Dunyâ Aḥmad Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî."

In some histories it is mentioned that **Saiyid Ajall**, who was of the family of Katîlah and one of the chiefs of the pious descendants of the Prophet in the place of martyrdom, and was much grieved and vexed at the massacre of the *saiyids* of Châkan, was present in the *masjid* one day when the Sulṭân lauded himself with the above-mentioned titles. Without hesitation Saiyid Ajall stood up and said: — "God to thee for a liar; thou art not the just, the merciful nor the clement, thou who hast massacred the descendants of the Prophet, and yet sayest these words in the pulpits of the Muslamîn." This he said, and went out of the *masjid*.

The death of the Sulṭân occurred in the latter part of Jumâdî I. in the year 862 (April, A. D. 1457).[92]

**[The following brief account of the foregoing reign is taken from the Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk.]**

**Reign of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, eldest son of Sulṭân Aḥmad.**

When Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahman Shâh became established on the throne in his father's place he used to honour **Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân** even more than his father had done, and the Khwâjah used his best endeavours in consolidating the dominions, and he caused to the government incalculable profits which he collected in the royal treasury; and the treasury was so well filled that in the time of former kings it did not contain a hundredth part of the amount. He used often to send an army to the infidels' frontier, and conquer their country and exact tribute from them by way of capitation tax. In whatever direction the royal army proceeded they returned victorious; and from all directions and from every country soldiers and merchants flocked towards the city of Bîdar.

* * * * * *

He died in the year 866 (A.D. 1461-2) after a reign of 23 years, 9 months and 7 days. He appointed his son Humâyûn Shâh as his successor.

## CHAPTER XI.

### Reign of Humâyûn Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh.

Although the late Sulṭân had bequeathed the sovereignty to **Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh**, who was the eldest of his sons, and had made him heir-apparent, yet since most of the nobles, ministers of state, princes and the inmates of the *ḥaram* were in terror of Humâyûn Shâh, they were unwilling to have him as king; on this account both nobles and plebeians concurred in wishing to raise to the throne **Ḥasan Khân**, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn; accordingly they seated him on the throne and plighted their fealty to him, whilst the common people, citizens and soldiery entered the house of Humâyûn Shâh and began to plunder and pillage. Humâyûn

[92] The *Taẕkarat-ul-Mulûk* gives the date of his death four years later than this.

Shâh, together with Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh, grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh and eighty troopers whom he had as a body-guard, intending to take to flight, came out of the house and happened to pass by the *darbâr*. The elephant-keepers who were standing ready with the elephants, being well acquainted with Humâyûn, came forward and saluted him. Saif Khân and Ulugh Khân had been appointed to protect the *darbâr*, and when they saw Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh, Ulugh Khân opened the door and invited him to enter. Sultân Humâyûn, relying upon his word, entered and killed Saif Khân with his sword,[93] and with the aquiescence of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh and the favour of God ascended the throne, and giving Ḥasan Khân a slap in the face said: — "How dared you during my lifetime desire sovereignty and sit on the royal throne?" He then imprisoned Ḥasan Khân and ascended the throne.

The nobles who had sworn allegiance to Ḥasan Khân were not willing to have Humâyûn Shâh as king: some of them from fear took to flight. Among these **Râjâ Rustam** Niẓam-ul-Mulk,[94] who was the pivot of the kingdom and the pillar of the state, fled towards Châkan and Junîr (Junnar), where joining his son, who was Malik-ut-Tujjâr and governor of that district, he fled towards Gujarât; and Malû Khân, commander of the left wing of the army, fled to Râ,ichûr.

Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh ascended the throne on the 22nd of the month Jamâdî II. in the year above mentioned. He put to death all the nobles who had been in a state of rebellion. Some, together with Ḥasan Khân, he imprisoned. The courtiers and others *nolens volens* submitted to his rule.

Humâyûn Shâh was a king who in learning, eloquence and wit stood alone and distinct among the sovereigns of his time. In valour he was like the brazen-bodied Isfandyâr, and in bodily strength unrivalled in the Dakkhan; but with so many personal excellencies and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood: he showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime, and fearlessly shed the blood of Musalmâns for the most trivial offences. When he ascended the throne, seeing the importance of having a reliable and prudent minister who would be of one accord with him, he recalled and placed the affairs of government in the hands of **Najm-ud-Dîn** Mahmûd bin Muḥammad Gâwân Gîlanî, who was one of the great men of the kingdom, and in justice, penetration and profundity of reflection was the most accomplished of his age, and was afterwards promoted to the title of **Khwâjah Jahân**. The Sulṭân presented him with a special robe of honour and golden belt, and in showing his regard for him and exalting his dignity neglected not the smallest particulars; and that sincere-minded and able minister in his high office regulated the affairs of government in such a way that there was no room for improvement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân learned that **Sikandar Khân**,[95] son of Jalâl Khân Bukhârî, at the instigation of the devil, had raised the standard of rebellion and with a large force was advancing on **Golkonḍa**. On hearing this news the Sulṭân was excessively enraged, and ordering a large force to be assembled, sent Khân Jahân[96] in command of it. The latter making rapid marches reached Sikandar Khân and engaged him, but being unequal in strength, after some slight skirmishing he took to flight. The Sulṭân was furious on hearing the news and determined to go there himself. When Sikandar Khân heard of his arrival he boldly attacked the Sulṭân's force and used his best endeavours, but fortune only laughed at him; his army was defeated and he himself slain.[97]

93 A play on words. — *Saif* Khân râ ba *saif*-i jân-sitân ba qatl rasânîdah.

According to Firishtah, Saif Khân was tied to the feet of an elephant, and dragged round the town till he was dead.

94 This man was one of the perpetrators of the massacre of *saiyids* at Châkan.

95 Firishtah tells us that Sikandar Khân, having been an intimate friend of Humâyûn's before the accession of the latter, now expected to get command of the army in Telingânâ, but being disappointed in his hopes, he joined his father in Bâlkonḍa, and raised a revolt.

96 Khân Jahân was governor of Birâr, and had come to the capital to congratulate the Sulṭân on his accession. — Firishtah.

97 For particulars of this battle, see Firishtah.

After Sikandar Khân had met with the due requital of his rebellion and ingratitude, the Sulṭân proceeded against Jalâl Khân, Sikandar Khân's father, but the latter on hearing of the Sulṭân's approach, wrote to him tendering his submission, and was pardoned and received at court.[98] The Sulṭân then returned to his capital. After he had spent some time there in looking after the interests of his subjects he determined on a *jihâd* against the infidels of Tilang; accordingly he assembled a large force and proceeded in that direction. Having given the command of a portion of the army to Khwâjah Jahân Turk he despatched him in advance with some of the *amîrs* and generals, while he himself followed with the remainder of the army.

Khwâjah Jahân with nearly 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants and a countless number of infantry started ahead of the Sulṭân's force, and in due course arrived within sight of the fort of Dâvarakoṇḍa,[99] which owing to its immense strength had never been taken by any conqueror. It was excessively lofty and had a deep aqueduct running into it. There Khwâjah Jahân pitched his camp and laid siege to the fort. After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the Rây of Uriya (Orissa) who at that time was chief of the infidels of that country. They represented to him the helpless state to which they were reduced, and agreed to pay him a large sum if he would send an army to their assistance and free them from that deadly strait. That accursed one, from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress; so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress. When this news reached Khwâjah Jahân he held a council of war with the *amîrs* and *khâns*. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk,[100] who was celebrated for his bravery, knowledge and shrewdness, advised that before the junction of the army of Orissa with that of Tilang, they should move their camp from that confined space into the open plain, where they would fight more advantageously. In truth this plan was by far the best; but Fate had so hung the curtain of negligence over the eye of Khwâjah Jahân's judgment that he could not distinguish right from wrong, and he took his own course. Suddenly the enemy's army came into view of Khwâjah Jahân's force; and the defenders of the fortress, seeing the standards of the infidels in the distance, opened the gate of the fortress and sallied out, so that the army of Islâm was hemmed in between the two forces and attacked on both sides. The infidels' forces being more numerous than that of Islâm the latter was routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Musalmâns were pursued to a distance of three *farsakhs*;[1] nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed, and a great number besides died of thirst in the deserts.

At this time the Sulṭân had arrived within 20 *farsakhs*[2] when messengers brought him the news of the defeat of Khwâjah Jahân and the massacre and plundering of his army; and following closely on this news the remnant of the defeated army also arrived. The world-consuming anger of the Sulṭân being kindled he burned up the harvest of life of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî and Iklîm Khân. Khwâjah Jahân and all the military officers he punished with various kinds of insult and torture, or imprisoned. He then set out on an expedition against the infidels to avenge the disaster; but in the meantime a messenger arrived from Bîdar, who informed the Sulṭân that Yusuf Turk having released from prison Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb Ullâh — grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh — and gained over a number of the troops had proceeded to the district of Bhîḍ.

For the right understanding of this matter it is necessary to explain that when the Sulṭân went with his army to take vengeance on the infidels, seven persons, particular friends of

[98] According to Firishtah he was imprisoned: and we read further on (page 169) that he was killed when the prisoners made their escape.

[99] Dâvarakoṇḍâ was at that time in possession of the *zamîndârs* of Teliṅgânâ, and its inhabitants had been in alliance with Sikandar Khân. — Firishtah.

[100] According to Firishtah this was Niẓâm-ul-Mulk. The latter is probably correct, as we see a little further on that Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî and Iklîm Khân were put to death. Khwâjah Jahân told a deliberate lie in order to save himself at the expense of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk.

[1] A little more than 10 miles. Firishtah says they were pursued 80 miles.

[2] A little over 68 miles.

Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh[3] Ni'mat-Ullâh, who by the accidents of fate had been dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, having assembled like the Pleiades, planned the release of their spiritual preceptor, and forming a confederacy went to Malik Yusuf Turk (one of the slaves of the late Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, and celebrated for his great integrity and devotion, charities and piety) and disclosed to him their secret plans. Yusuf entered into the views of the associates and made an agreement with them. Some of the *kotwâls* of the fortress being also on their side, twelve *sowârs* and fifty foot-soldiers joined them: nearly five or six thousand cavalry together with several celebrated *amîrs* also agreed to join the *kotwâls* of the fortress.

When it was nearly evening, Yusuf Turk and the associates went to the gate of the fortress. At that hour each of the gate-keepers had gone about some business, and the few who were present tried to stop them; but Yusuf had prepared a *farmân* with a ruby-coloured seal — which was customary on the royal mandates of the Sulṭâns of the Dakkhan — and showed it to the gate-keepers. By this means they passed through the first door, but when they arrived at the second door, which which was the principal one of the fortress, a great number of men came forward to stop them, and said that until the *kotwâl's* permit came they could not act upon the *farmân*. Yusuf seeing that the sword was the only means of silencing their tongues, cut off their heads and entered the fortress. By this time the sun having set a great darkness had fallen over the fortress. A number of them going to the door of the great prison, which adjoined that of the fortress, broke it open with axes. Nearly six or seven thousand *saiyids* and learned and pious men were confined in that prison, and when they found the doors open and saw the means of effecting their escape, they broke their chains and manacles with sticks and stones and rushed to the door of the prison. The friends of Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh who had caused all this disturbance then went to a village called Mîrzâ-Dih, and there all were released from their bonds. Now in the fortress, between friends and enemies, there were 12,000 persons with swords and axes scattered about, so the whole city was soon in a state of riot and confusion; and as owing to the darkness of the night friends and enemies could not be distinguished from one another, many were killed. Yahyâ Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, and Jalâl Khân Bukhârî were basely and cruelly killed on that dark night. Ḥasan Khân, the sovereign of a moment, who as yet had tasted only the bitterness of life, rushed out of the fortress and hiding himself in the house of a barber disguised himself in the dress of a *darwîsh*, and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh with his friends joined him. The Mîrzâ wished to retire into a sequestered life, but Ḥasan Khân persuaded him against it, so they made a mutual agreement, and leaving the city set out for Bîr.[4] The soldiers, obtaining information of this, sought them from all sides, and in a few days a great number joined them.

When the news of this insurrection reached the ears of Humâyûn Shâh the fire of his world-consuming wrath began to blaze up, and he became like a madman: he put in chains and threw under elephants a great number of his *amîrs* and generals, and returned in all haste to his capital. On the way, in the excess of his rage, he used to bite the back of his hand till the blood flowed from it. The author of the *Târîkh-i Maḥmûd Shâhî*, who was one of the courtiers of Humâyûn Shâh, relates as follows: — "I have heard that when the news of the insurrection of Ḥasan Khân reached the Sulṭân he was so overpowered with fury that there were times when in his rage he used to tear the collar of his garment and bite the ground till his teeth were covered with blood; and when he arrived in the city of Bîdar, such shedding of blood and such numerous acts of tyranny and oppression emanated from him that no preceding tyrant had been guilty of such."

Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh told off a force to go in pursuit of Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabb-Ullâh, who had gone in the direction of Bijâpur. Sirâj Khân — who afterwards became Mu'azzam Khân — was governor of that place. He met the fugitives with all kinds of honour

[3] Ḥabîb-Ullâh had been imprisoned on account of his friendship for Prince Ḥasan Khân. — Firishtah.

[4] Properly Bhîḍ. A little further on they are said to have gone to Bijâpur. The two places are about equally distant from Bedar. Firishtah also says they went towards Bhîḍ.

and ceremony, waited on them with propriety and presented them with suitable gifts, and making an agreement and compact with them, emptied the fortress and brought them into it; but at night-fall he assembled a large force, and in the quiet of the morning when Ḥasan Khân and his adherents were wrapped in a deep sleep in their beds the double-dealing Sirâj Khân with his troops entered the fortress, and taking possession of the horses and baggage, surrounded the citadel in which were Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh with their six devoted followers; and when the sleepers awoke they saw the hostile troops which had surrounded the citadel. When Ḥasan Khân saw what had happened he cried for quarter. Although Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh endeavoured to dissuade him from showing this weakness and humility, and reminded him of the want of faith and trustworthiness of those people, and in language suggested by their situation, quoted the verse: —

"The snake in protecting inflicts injury:
Moreover its tooth is poisonous."

Ḥasan Khân, from his excessive fear, gave no heed to his words, and at last threw himself on the mercy of Sirâj Khân; but Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ullâh and his friends resolved not to accept quarter which was not at all to be relied upon. He said: — "We are all born to death, and are prepared for the arrival of the predestined moment. I am resolved never to place the hand of submission in your hand or sue for mercy from you.

An enemy does not become a life-long friend;
The Arabian thorn-tree produces no fruit but thorns.
The hyacinth does not grow from white seed.
Who ever saw sugar-cane produced from the common cane?
And strive as one may, one jewel does not become another."

His eloquence, however, made no impression on those people, and Shâh Ḥabîb-Ullâh and his friends suffered martyrdom. The poet Saiyid Tâhir has composed a chronogram of the martyrdom of Shâh Ḥabîb-Ullâh, which occurred in A. H. 863, A. D. 1458.[5]

Ḥasan Khân, to whom they had given a promise of security was sent to the court of Humâyûn Shâh, and the Sulṭân caused him, in his own presence, to be thrown before tigers and killed. The faithless Sirâj Khân, after breaking his promise became afflicted with leprosy.

After that Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once. From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the daylight, from the smoke of the hearts (sighs) of the oppressed used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sulṭân used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.

Several of the new Musalmâns whom Sanjar Khân in the time of the late Sulṭân, during, his war with the infidels, had made prisoners — as already mentioned — were promoted to high, dignity. Among these was a Brahmin youth to whom the name of Ḥasan and the surname of Baḥrî was given. He was a youth adorned with beauty both of person and disposition, and ornamented with perfect sagacity and shrewdness: on him was conferred the title of Sarang Khân.

Historians have related that Shitâb Khân, one of the Sulṭân's *amîrs*, having fled for his life, the Sulṭân, on the 27th of the month Ramaẓân, which is the time for repentance, ordered

[5] مه شعبان شهادت یافت در بند ∴ حبیب الله غازي طاب شعاه
روان طاهري میجست تاریخ ∴ برآمد روح پاک نعمت الله

the inmates of his (Shitâb Khân's) *ḥaram* to present themselves in the court-yard of the court where there was an assemblage of common people and soldiers; and tortured them in a most shameful manner.

The sum of the matter is this that in the kingdom of the Dakkhan the torture of Âsmân[6] and sudden misfortune had descended, and the storm of the vengeance of God had burst upon that city and its environs.

At length a welcome event occurred which opened the doors of mercy and rejoicing to those oppressed people: on the 28th of the month Zî-ul-Qa'dah Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh was removed from the court of sovereignty to the vestibule of the last day, much to the delight of his subjects.

The death of Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh occurred on the 27th of Zî-ul-Qa'dah in the year 865 (3rd October, A. D. 1461),[7] and the period of his reign was three years, five months and five days.

The poet Nazir has composed the following chronogram of the death of Humâyûn Shâh:—

"Humâyûn Shâh has passed away from the world.
"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humâyûn!
"On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
"So 'delight of the world'[8] gives the date of his death."

*(To be continued.)*

---

# ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDERICH BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E, Ph.D., I.C.S.*

*(Continued from p. 223.)*

## D. THE NUMERALS.

### I. — Cardinal Numbers.

#### 1. *Simple Numbers.*

252. (*a*) Units; اَك *ak*, or اَكَہ *aka*, 1; زَه *za*, 2; ترِه *tri* or *tre*, 3; چور *tsôr*, 4; پانژ *pânts*; پانژ *pônts*, 5; شه *shah*, 6; سَت *sat*, 7; آٹھ *ôṭh*, 8; نَو *nau*, 9.

(*b*) Tens, hundreds, &c.; دَه *dah* (or *da*, and so in all similar cases), 10; وُه *wuh*, 20, ترَه *trah*, 30; چَتَجِه *tsatajih*, 40; پنژاه *pantsâh*, 50; شیٹھ *shaiṭh*, 60; سَتَت *satat*, 70; شیت *shît*, 80; نَمَت *namat*, 90; هَت *hat*, 100; ساس *sâs*, 1,000; پانژ ساس *pânts sâs*, 5,000; دَه ساس *dah sâs*, 10,000; لَچھ *lachh*, 100,000.

(*c*) Tens with units: کاه *kâh*, 11; باه *bâh*, 12; ترُواه *truâh*, 13; شُراه *shurâh*, 16.

---

6 Name of a genius who presides over the 27th of every Persi an solar month. Some consider this genius to be the same with Murdâd or Asrael, the angel of death. — Johnson's *Dictionary*.

7 The author states above that Humâyûn died on the 28th of the month, and here on the 27th. Firishtah ives 28th.

8 ذوق جهان = 586.

2. *Compound Numbers.*

(*a*) By addition with :—

(2) دَہ *dah*, 10; چِداہ *tsodâh*, 14; پَنٛداہ *pandâh*, 15; سَداہ *sadâh*, 17; اَرداہ *ardâh*, 18.

(3) وٕہ *wuh*, 20 :—

اَکَوٕہ *akawuh*, 21

زَتٕووٕہ *zatôwuh*, 22

ترٕوٕہ *trewuh*, 23

چوٕہ *tsowuh*, 24

پٕنٛچہ *pûntsah*, 25

شوٕہ *shawuh*, 26

سَتٕووٕہ *satôwuh*, 27

آٹھووٕہ *ôṭhôwuh*, 28

(γ) ترٕہ *trah*, 30

اَکَترٕہ *akatrah*, 31

دۆیَترٕہ *doyatrah*, 32

تیَترٕہ *teyatrah*, 33

چیَترٕہ *tsoyatrah*, 34

پاںٛچَترٕہ *pôntsatrah*, 35

شیَترٕہ *shayatrah*, 36

سَتَترٕہ *satatrah*, 37

اَرَترٕہ *aratrah*, 38

(δ) چَتجِہ *tsatajih*, 40

اَکَتاجِہ *akatôjih*, 41

دۆیَتاجِہ *doyatôjih*, 42

تیَتاجِہ *teyatôjih*, 43

چیَتاجِہ *tsoyatôjih*, 44

پاںٛچَتاجِہ *pôntsatôjih*, 45

شیَتاجِہ *shayatôjih* (Wade *shéitôji*), 46

سَتَتاجِہ *satatôjih*, 47

اَرَتاجِہ *aratôjih*, 48

(ε) وَنزاہ *wanzâh* (for پَنٛچاہ *pantsâh*), 50

اَکَوَنزاہ *akawanzâh*, 51

دۆوَنزاہ *dowanzâh*, 52

ترٕوَنزاہ *trawanzâh* (Wade, *treo*), 53

چوَنزاہ *tsowanzah*, 54

پاںٛچَوَنزاہ *pôntsawanzâh*, 55

شوَنزاہ *shawanzâh*, 56

سَتَوَنزاہ *satawanzâh*, 57

اَرَوَنزاہ *arawanzâh*, 58

(ζ) شیٹھ *shaiṭh*, 60

اَکَہیٹھ *akahaiṭh*(-*hôth*), 61

دۆہیٹھ *dohaiṭh*, 62

ترٕہیٹھ *trahaiṭh*, 63

چہیٹھ *tsohaiṭh*, 64

پاںٛچَہیٹھ *pôntsahaiṭh*, 65

شہیٹھ *shahaiṭh*, 66

سَتَہیٹھ *satahaiṭh*, 67

اَرَہیٹھ *arahaiṭh*, 68

(η) سَتَت *satat*, 70

اَکسَتَت *akasatat*, 71
دُسَتَت *dusatat*, 72
تُرسَتَت *trasatat*, 73
چسَتَت *tsosatat*, 74
پانچسَتَت *pôntsasatat*, 75
شسَتَت *shasatat*, 76
سَتسَتَت *satasatat*, 77
اُرسَتَت *arasatat*, 78

(θ) شيت *shît*, 80

اَکشیت *akashît*, 81
دُیشیت *doyashît*, 82
ترِیشیت *treyashît*, 83
چیشیت *tsoyashît*, 84
پانچشیت *pôntsashît*, 85
شیشیت *shayashît*, 86
سَتشیت *satashît*, 87
اُرشیت *arashît*, 88

(ι) نَمَت *namat*, 90

اَکنَمَت *akanamat*, 91
دُنَمَت *dunamat*, 92
تُرنَمَت *tranamat*, 93
چنَمَت *tsonamat*, 94
پانچنَمَت *pôntsanamat*, 95
شنَمَت *shanamat*, 96
سَتنَمَت *satanamat*, 97
اُرنَمَت *aranamat*, 98
نَمانَمَت *namānamat*, 99

(*b*) By subtraction:—

کُنوُه *kunawuh*, 19
کُنَتُره *kunatrah* (-*tre*), 29
کُنَتاجِه *kunatôjih*, 39
کُنوَنزاه *kunawanzāh*, 49
کُنَهیٹھ *kunahaiṭh* (-*hôṭh*) 59
کُنسَتَت *kunasatat*, 69
کُنشیته *kunashît*, 79
کُننَمَت *kunanamat*, 89
But نَمانَمَت *namānamat*, 99

All the above compound numerals can be written as two words, ه *h* being often added to the first member: thus, اَکہ وُه *aka wuh*, سَتہ سَتَت *sata satat*, نَمہ نَمَت *nama namat* (Matth. xviii 12, 13), کُنہ وُه *kuna wuh*. This, indeed, seems to be the usual method of writing.

**253.** The numerals from 2 on, take the substantive in agreement in the plural; *e. g.*, سَتَت زَن *satat zanⁱ*, 70 people.

## II. Ordinals.

**254.** With the exception of گُڈنیُك *godanyuk* (fem. گُڈنِچ *godanich*, § 217) or گُڈُك *goduk*, first, and دُیُم *doyum*, second, all ordinals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the syllable یُم *yum*: *e. g.*, تریُم *trayum* (*tre*ᵒ), third; چوریُم *tsûryum*, fourth; پُنچیُم *pûntsyum*, fifth; شیُم *shayum*, sixth; سَتیُم *satyum*, seventh; آٹھیُم *ôṭhyum*, eighth; نَویُم *navyum*, ninth; دَهیُم *dahyum*, tenth; پَندا هیُم *pandāhyum*, fifteenth; وُهیُم *wuhyum*, twentieth, and so on. [The feminine is in م *-im*, thus دُیِم *doyim*, چوریِم *tsûrim*.]

### III. Adverbial Numerals.

#### 255. (1) MULTIPLICATIVES.

These are formed with the aid of the substantives لَٹ *laṭ* (m. pl. لَٹ *laṭi*, fem. pl. لَٹہٕ *laṭi*), پھر *phiri* (f. pl. پھرہٕ *phiri*), time, turn; گُن *gun*, fem. گَن *gạn*, 'fold'[34] in the following manner:—اَکہٕ لَٹہٕ *aki laṭi*, one time, once; بیٖیہٕ لَٹہٕ *beyi laṭi*, another time; دوٖیہٕ لَٹہٕ *doyi laṭi*, the second time; ترٖہ لَٹہٕ *trạh laṭi* or ترٖیہٕ لَٹہٕ *trayi laṭi* or ترٖہ پھرہٕ *trạh phiri*, three times (also ترَن لَٹَن *tran laṭan*); سَتہٕ پھرہٕ *sati phiri* or سَتَن لَٹَن *satan laṭan*, seven times; تریٖمہٕ لَٹہٕ *treyimi laṭi*, for the third time; سَتَتہٕ لَٹہٕ سَت *satati laṭi sat*, seventy times seven; کَچھہٕ لَٹہٕ *katsi laṭi*, how many times, how often; also کاچاہہٕ لَٹہٕ *kôtsâhi laṭi* (Matth. xxiii. 37); کَچھَن لَٹَن تام *katsan laṭan, tâm*, up to how many times [اوگُن *ôgun*, fem. اوگَن *ôgạn*, one-fold; دوگُن *dôgun*, fem. دوگَن *dôgạn*, two-fold; ترٖگُن *tregun*, fem. ترٖگَن *tregạn*, three-fold;] چوگُن *tsogun*, four-fold; [Matth. xiii. 8 has] ترٖہہٕ گَن *trạhạ gạn*, thirty-fold; شیٖٹھہٕ گَن *shêṭhạ gạn*, sixty-fold; ہتہٕ گَن *hatạ gạn*, a hundred-fold [all as adverbs].

#### 256. (2) DISTRIBUTIVES.

These are formed by the repetition of a number; *e. g.*, اَک اَک *ak ak*, each on (*cf.* پننِس پننِس شہرس اندر *pananis pananis shahras andar*, each in his own city).

#### 257. IV. Quantitative Adjectives.

(1) بعضي *ba'ẓî* (dat. بعضِین *ba'ẓiyan*), some: *e. g.*, بعضي سانِ دوست *ba'ẓi sôni dost*, some of our friends.

(2) کینٛچہٕ *kaintsạ* (instr. کینٛچو *kaintsau*), several.

(3) سیٹھہٕ *seṭhạ* (dat. سیٹھن *seṭhan*, also سیٹھہن *seṭhahan*; instr. سیٹھو *seṭhau*) many.

(4) سورُی *sôru-y* (dat. سارِسَي *sôris-ạy*; fem. ساری *sôrî*), whole; *e. g.*, ساری جماعت *sôr jamâ'at*, the whole assembly: abl. ساری *sârî* (for سارہٕ *sâri-y*); *e. g.*, پننہٕ ساری دلہٕ سیت *panani sârî dilạ sût*, with his whole heart.

(5) ساری *sôri-y* (dat. سارن *sâren*, سارنَي *sâren-ạy*; instr. ساروی *sâriv-ạy*), all.

(6) یہٕ سورُی *yi sôru-y* or یہٕ سورُی کنھ *yi sôru-y kẹ̄h*, the whole; سورُی کنھ یہٕ *sôru-y kẹ̄h yi*, all that.

#### 258. V. Declension of Numerals.

The Numerals are declined like adjectives. Thus:—اَک *ak*; dat. m. اکِس *akis*; instr. m. اَکہٕ *ạki*; gen. m. اکسٕند *ạki-sond*, or اکیُک *akyuk*.

[34] [The word is a corruption of the Skr. *guṇa*, not of *gaṇa*, a mass, as suggested by the author.]

The Dat. of زٕ *zą*, two, is, however, دوٗن *don*; of ترٕ *trąh*, ترٮ۪ن *tren*; of چوٗر *tsôr*, چوٗن *tson*. پاًنٛچن ساسن *pôntsan sâsan* to five thousand (Matth. xvi. 9); چوٗن ساسن *tson sâsan*, to four thousand (Matth. xvi. 10).

With the emphatic ی *y*, — اَکِسی *akis-ay*; اَکُی *aku-y* [fem. اَکی *ąk-ay*], only one.

'Both' is represented by دُنوٕی *donaw-ay*;[35] *e. g.*, تِم دُنوٕی *tim donaw-ay*, both these; میاٗنؠ دُنوٕی نیچؠوؠ *myôni donaw-ay nechivi*, my two sons; تِمو دُنوٕی اَندرٕ *timau donaw-ay andarą*, from these two; but also دُنوٕنؠ دِیِو *donawąni diyiv*, allow both. So چُنوٕی طرفہ *tsonaw-ay ṭarafą*, in the four directions, on all sides; note (Luke xx. 33) سَتوٕن ہنز *sataw-an hąnz* for, سَتَن *satan* (*cf.* دُنوٕن *donawan*).

The Ordinals follow the rules of declension in every particular; *e. g.*, گوڈنیُک *goḍanyuk* pl. گوڈنِکؠ *goḍaniki*; fem. گوڈنِچ *goḍanich*, pl. گوڈنِچہ *goḍanichi*; دوٗیُم *doyum*, dat. دوٗیِمِس *doyimis*; سَتیُم *satyum*, سَتِمِس *satimis*; and so on.

تریِمہ گرِ *treyimi gari*, at the third hour; شیِمہ گرِ پیٹھہ *shayimi gari peṭhą*, from the sixth hour; نَوِمہ گرِ تام *navimi gari tám*, till the ninth hour.

ON THE EMPHATIC SUFFIX ی Y.

**259.** This suffix emphasizes the word to which it is attached; *e. g.*,

(1) To Substantives, وَتی *wati-y*, even on the way (Luke xvii. 14).

(2) To Pronouns: —

(*a*) Personal: تُہی *tohi-y*; چی چھُکھ *tsą-y chhuką*, art *thou* he?

(*b*) Possessive: چاٗنی آسہ سیٖت *chôni-y ôsą-sút*, out of *thine own* mouth: اَمِسَندی *ami-sandi-y*.

(*c*) Demonstrative: in the sense of this, or that, very; even this (that); the very; *e. g.*, یی *yi-y*, سُی *su-y*, تی *ti-y*, تَمی *tami-y*, اَمی *ami-y*, تِمنی *timan-ay*, یِمنی *yiman-ay*, تِموی *timaw-ay*, یِموی *yimau-ay*;[36] تیُتھُی *tiuthu-y*, fem. تیُچھی *tiitsh-ay*

---

[35] When the emphatic ی *y* (§ 259) is added, a numeral takes termination وٕ *awą*; *e. g.*, دَہوٕی *dahaw-ay*; کیا دَہوٕی سَپنؠ نا صاف *kya, dahaw-ay sapąni nâ ṣâf*, what, were not *ten* cleansed? تَم بہوٕی زَنؠ سیٖت ہیتؠ *tąmi bahawąy ząni sįt heti*, by him were *the twelve* taken with him.

[36] So, frequently یِتھہ پاٗٹھؠ *yithą pôṭhi* in what manner, how; تِتھہ پاٗٹھؠ *tithą pôṭhi*, in that manner, so; but یِتھی پاٗٹھؠ *yitha-y pôṭhi*, *exactly* how; تِتھی پاٗٹھؠ *titha-y pôṭhi*, exactly so.

تَسِ *tasi* (for تَسَيِ *tas-ay*?). [After a consonant, the junction vowel is *a*; except in the case of nominatives of nouns of the second declension when it is *u*.]

(3) To Numerals: *e. g.*, دَهَوَي *dahaw-ay* (see § 258, note 35).

(4) To Adverbs: اَزَي *az-ay*, even to-day (اَز *az*, to-day); تَتِي *tati-y*, even there; يَتِي *yati-y*, in the very place which.

(5) To Prepositions: اَنْدَرَي *andara-y*, even from (Luke i. 15).

(*To be continued.*)

---

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### ATTEMPTED HUMAN SACRIFICE AT HINGOLI.

ON the morning of the 4th of March a Hindu, named Govindâ, a labourer engaged under the Public Works Department in repairing the Akôlâ-Hingôlî Road, came into the police office at Hingôlî and lodged a complaint. He was horribly burned about the head, arms, and chest, parts being absolutely charred. His statement was that on the previous night he was returning from the Hingôlî *bâzâr* to the stone-breakers' huts, two miles up the road. As he passed the cotton ginning mill, which stands by itself half way between the two places, he was invited by some men there to sit down and smoke in the mill compound When they got him near the boiler, they seized him and thrust him head first into the furnace. Being a strong man he managed to free himself before they could shut the door on him. He subsequently managed to get back to his hut, and next morning, with the assistance of his wife, came down to the police station at Hingôlî. The unfortunate man, who was suffering terrible agony, was taken into the Station Hospital, where everything was done to alleviate his pain. His recovery was almost hopeless from the first, and on the 14th he eventually died of tetanus. The Pârsî Engineer, Naurojî, part-owner of the mill, and one of the firemen, have been arrested, but the former has been released on bail for Rs. 20,000. Though it seems almost an inconceivable thing to happen in a British Cantonment at the end of the nineteenth century, the unanimous opinion among all the Natives is that the wretched man was offered as a sacrifice to the engine, which had not been working satisfactorily; and so far there is no other explanation to be offered. There is a very strong feeling among the British community at Hingôlî that the case should be thoroughly cleared up, and the perpetrators of this dastardly outrage brought to justice.

GEO. F. D'PENHA.

### THE SACRED THREAD.

As most *formulæ* in magic seem to be founded on the assumed potency of certain numbers ascribed to each deity, so the *minutiæ* of religious ritual have a similar origin, even to the lights in the thurible, the ingredients of the incense, etc. All are worthy of enquiry, and give clues of historical import.

When ceremonial sacrifice ceased the *janêu* or sacred thread remained. as its name shows (*yajna apâvîta*, what is worn at *yajna* or sacrifice). In a *ślôka* of Manu the Brahman is prescribed one of cotton; the Kshatriya one of *môrata*, a wild fibre, and in another place of flax; the Vaisya of wool. In the Epics the heroes had them made of antelope hide, thus showing this record to be older than the other: *now* all use cotton. Undoubtedly the ancient material was the wool of the victim, as is the Pârsî thread. The separation of castes caused a change, the lower order of the three castes sticking to the wool, the warrior taking to the victim of the chase. The Pârsî sacred thread (Zend *kûstik*, belonging to the waist) is of 72 (12 × 6, the perfect number and its half) woollen threads or yarns, passed three times round the waist by both sexes. It is tied with four knots. *Vide* Dastur Hoshanjî's *Glossary to the Pehlavî texts of the Arda Viraf.* The Pârsî thread is made with ceremonies worth noting.

W. BUCHANAN in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

# NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 277.*)

## No. 6.

## Death and Burial

(including **Funeral Rites** and subsequent observances).

INERT and phlegmatic as are the Nicobarese in most circumstances of life, yet some of their demonstrations of grief at the death of a relative or friend amount to what might be described as frenzied extravagance.[42] This, although attributable in part to real sorrow, especially on occasions of family bereavements, is no doubt, as regards many of the *quasi* mourners, mainly induced by their superstitious fears and the dire necessity — for such do they regard it — of conciliating and propitiating the disembodied spirit, which, for the first few days after its release — when it is called *hōiha-iwi* or *hōiha-kamapāh*[43] —, is believed to be peculiarly active and malevolent.

The funeral customs in the Central and Southern islands of the Archipelago differ in so many points from those observed by the communities inhabiting the Northern islands that it will be necessary to treat of each separately. I will, therefore, endeavour to describe first the practices which prevail throughout the Central group and also, for the most part, among the Southern islanders, and then sketch briefly the chief peculiarities of those adopted by the inhabitants of Car Nicobar, Teressa, Bompoka, and Chowra.

In every case of illness or serious accident the *menlūana* (*i. e.*, the "medicine-man," exorcist or shaman) is at once summoned, and by his arts and incantations and the erection of fetich-charms (*hentā-kōi* and *hentā*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 170-1) seeks to deliver his patient from the power of the Evil Spirits, to whose agency[44] the disease, suffering or injury is attributed. When, notwithstanding all his efforts, death supervenes[45] it is not considered necessary to remove the body from the hut until the preparations for the interment are complete, but notice of the melancholy event is at once sent to all neighbours and friends in adjacent villages,[46] for no one is supposed to willingly or wittingly fail to bid farewell to the remains of the departed or to make the customary offerings, consisting of a few or many fathoms — according to the wealth or spirit of generosity of the donor — of white or coloured calico or other cloths, or silver bangles, necklets, spoons, forks or other valuables. Any friend who is unable from some valid cause — such as absence from home, sickness or other trouble — to pay this mark of respect is expected to make his excuses and explain his conduct at the earliest opportunity to the chief-mourner who, if satisfied, condones the other's absence; otherwise, it would be regarded as a slight to be remembered and rendered in kind as soon as an occasion offered for the purpose.

Should a relative from any unavoidable cause be absent when the obsequies are performed he is restricted from visiting the village where the deceased died and was buried until the

[42] Even over an unpopular person or notorious evil-liver the same lamentations are made. In the rare event of a person dying insane the only difference observed is that the exhumation ceremonies — yet to be described — are omitted; while, in the equally uncommon case of a murder, the corpse is either taken out to sea and sunk or buried in some out-of-the-way spot, after which no further notice is taken of the remains.

[43] Subsequent to this brief period it is called simply *iwi* till after the temporary disinterment of the skull and jaw-bone a year or two later, when less fear is entertained of the spirit, which is then described as *mekūya-kamapāh*.

[44] As will be shewn in a subsequent paper dealing with Religious Beliefs and Demonology, this belief does not extend to those in precarious health through old age or general debility.

[45] With the last breath (*eyām*) of a dying person the soul (*hōiň*) departs to the being whom the more intelligent of the present and of a few preceding generations have been taught by missionaries and others to speak of as "*Dēuse*."

[46] As the name of a deceased person is tabued, the messenger has to convey the intelligence by saying, "So and So's father (or brother, sister, etc.) has just died." It is more particularly by, or in the presence of, relatives that this reticence is observed. How wide-spread is this objection to utter the name of a deceased person may be seen by referring o the *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XV. p. 73.

first memorial feast (*entoin*), the reason being that he was not present at the ceremony — shortly to be described — when the mourners are required to take upon themselves vows of abstinence in token of their respect to the memory of the departed, or — as it would no doubt be more accurate to say in many cases — of their dread of offending his spirit.

During the interval that the news of the mournful occurrence is being conveyed to all concerned, at home the female relatives of the deceased are engaged in the last offices. One near of kin gently closes the eyes of the corpse in order to give the appearance, of sleep, for not only is the glazed fixed look of death held in fear, but the further benefit is gained of darkening the vision of the departed spirit — believed to be still hovering near —, and thereby preventing it from acting malevolently towards the living. Next, the body is laid with the feet about a yard from the fire-place[47] and the head towards the entrance[48] of the hut, and carefully washed with hot water. For some reason, said to be no longer known to the present generation, this duty is performed once, thrice or five times at intervals during the hours that must elapse before the interment, and invariably by a female, preferably a relative.[49] While all this is taking place one or other of the mourners seated round the corpse gives utterance from time to time to some ejaculation, such as "How generous!" "How unselfish!" to which remarks assent is forthwith given in a chorus of sobs and exclamations of *öi-öi-öi* from the men, and, *ahö-ahö-ahö* from the women in attendance, repeated assurances being every now and again addressed to the corpse of the sorrow caused by his (or her) death.

While the body is being laid out various necessary duties have to be performed by one or other of the mourners and their friends :—

(*a*) If the stores of food belonging to the deceased or other occupants of his hut were not removed prior to the death they are at once carried away to another hut for issue after the burial. The water is, however, retained for the use, during the day or night, or both, as the necessities of the case may require, of the mourners, who keep a sufficient quantity boiling both for washing the corpse and for their own consumption, as they are prohibited from taking any food until the prescribed cleansing of the dwelling and individual purification of themselves on the day following the funeral shall have been accomplished,[50] the pangs of exhausted nature being meantime sustained by means of quids of tobacco and sips of hot water.

(*b*) Some of the cocoanut-shell water-vessels (*hishōya*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 45) are, however, taken with their contents to the entrance of the hut, where an uneven number (generally 3, 5 or 7 pairs) are violently dashed against a post so as to crack the shells. In like manner all or the bulk of the portable property of the deceased, such as (in the case of a man) his spears, pots, baskets, paddles, plates and a great variety of other articles, are broken or otherwise rendered unserviceable; and then the whole are conveyed to the cemetery in order to be deposited at the proper time on the grave or at the head-post, this being one of the essential sacrifices prescribed by time-honoured custom.

(*c*) A small quantity of cooked meat, rice, *pandanus* and yam, together with some fruit, is brought from another hut and placed near the head of the deceased for the refreshment of the spirit, which is believed to be hovering near the corpse and it is kept there till just before the removal of the body, when it is thrown below the hut, where it is consumed by the pigs, fowls and dogs.

[47] The hut-fire is not extinguished when a death takes place, or while the corpse is being laid out, but it is kept up only to such an extent as to allow of water being boiled for the use of the mourners.

[48] See footnote 66, *post*.

[49] The body is washed once only if decomposition has set in, and not at all when it is thought advisable to expedite the removal of the remains, such as during an epidemic. Until it is buried, a corpse is called *kamapâh*, after which it is styled *pama-ñâp*.

[50] A wide-spread custom, as pointed out by Mr. J. G. Frazer (*Jour. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. XV. pp. 91-94).

(*d*) A stretcher for the corpse, called *da-yung*, is constructed by breaking up a canoe, made of common[51] wood, belonging to the deceased or one of the mourners. The board thus obtained must be of about the same length as the corpse, and from six to ten inches wide. Curious pegs, called *shinpân* or *shanipân*, to the number of 5, 7, or 9 — again **no even number** is permissible — are made by lashing together in an inverted V shape ( ) the ends of two sticks, about two feet in length, of the *Garcinia speciosa*, and pointing the other ends (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 170).

(*e*) To every village (*mattai*) — and be it here mentioned that this term is applied to a collection of huts however few in number, — excepting those of comparatively recent origin or which are not occupied throughout the year,[52] a grave-yard (*chuk-pentla*) is attached;[53] and thither other mourners or their friends repair with wooden hoes and old paddles[54] in order to dig the grave, which must be about five feet deep[55]. Certain others are at the same time engaged in making the three posts which are needed for the grave, *viz.* — the head-post (*kanōi-kōi*) which is the largest and about eight feet long, and is made of hard-grained wood called *komching*; the extra head-post (*pentla*), which is about six feet long; and the foot-post (*kanōi-lâh*), which is of about the same length.

(*f*) The chips and shavings, produced while making the *da-yung*, the *shanipân* and the three grave-posts, are then collected and placed in a heap on the ground near the foot of the ladder of the hut where the corpse is lying. A quantity of cocoanut husks — sufficient to maintain a fire until the hour fixed for the interment, — is added to the pile, which is then ignited by a flame **kindled with fire-sticks** (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 49), or obtained from a fire known to have been recently so kindled. In wet weather this restriction necessarily entails no little inconvenience. The object of the fire is said to be two-fold, *viz.*, **to keep the disembodied spirit at a distance**,[56] and to apprize friends approaching or passing the shore in a canoe of the sad occurrence: on no other occasion is a fire so lighted.

(*g*) As soon as the two head-posts have been made and the grave dug, the *kanōi-kōi* is firmly planted into the head of the grave, while to the upper portion

[51] The canoe must not be one made of the favourite *minfōa* wood (*Calophyllum sp.*), as this is said to excite the recently disembodied spirit, whom it is advisable to propitiate by the strict observance of all traditional practices.

[52] When a death occurs at any such village the corpse is at once conveyed to a hut in the old established village to which it is affiliated.

[53] In the Central and Southern groups the cemetery is usually situated between the village and the adjacent jungle; and as these sites are generally within a short distance (40 yards or less) of the sea the soil usually consists chiefly of sand. Certain portions of each grave-yard are recognized as belonging to different families, and they are sufficiently spacious to allow of additional interments without disturbing the remains of those whose bones have not yet crumbled into dust. At Chowra, Teressa and Bompoka the dead are temporarily interred near their late home and not in a general cemetery. At those islands, as well as at Car Nicobar, they have ossuaries at a little distance from their villages whither, after celebrating various memorial feasts in honour of the dead, the bones are eventually consigned.

[54] These implements are subsequently laid on the grave, and, at the expiration of a few months, removed and thrown into the jungle.

[55] The position of the grave is not determined by any regard to the points of the compass, but, at the Central group and Car Nicobar, the head must be towards the jungle and the feet towards the shore, *i. e.*, the body must be buried at *right-angles* to the coast. The natives of Chowra and the Coast people of the Southern group bury their females, however, in the opposite direction, *i. e.*, the feet towards the jungle and the head towards the shore, while the inland tribe (*Shom Peñ*) bury their dead in a *squatting* position, with the face towards the nearest river or creek. At Teressa and Bompoka the corpse is interred *parallel* to the shore, without reference to the direction of the head and feet.

[56] This custom would appear to be connected with the superstition known as "barring the ghost by fire." Furthermore, at sunset on these occasions torches are lit and carried down to the water's-edge by a party of young men and waved rapidly seaward to the accompaniment of shouts of "*fē, fē, fē, fē!*" which is said to be intrepreted by the Evil Spirits, whose names are severally rehearsed, as "Go away!" This ceremony is known by the name of *ko-chung*. It is as well to mention here that among all the tribes in these islands the *young* leaves and flowers of the cocoanut tree are credited with the power of scaring away demons, for which purpose they are extensively used.

projecting above the surface of the cemetery is lashed the *pentila*, round the top of which are fastened some *Orania* spathes (*homyüam, ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 48), and —in the case of a female above the age of 13 or 14 — a large basket (*hentain*,[57] *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 108), then and there rendered unfit for further use by being slit with a knife or *dâo*. Into this basket are crammed some of the sacrificed articles which had shortly before been conveyed to the cemetery. In the case of a man, a similar quantity of his portable property is deposited about the head-posts.

(*h*) The trophy of pigs'-tusks, which has been suspended over the entrance of the hut of the deceased from the time of the last memorial-feasts celebrated by the owner, is, together with one or two *kareau* and *hentā-kōi* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 136 and 170), carried out and thrown unceremoniously into the adjacent jungle. In doing this care is taken for obvious reasons to remove the M. O. P. shell "eyes" from the *kareau* and throw them apart! In addition to this the *chuk-füm* fetich (consisting of neck-laces of split plantain-leaflets), which is invariably kept on the left side of the hut, as viewed from the entrance, is wrapped up in an *Areca* spathe and stowed away until the first memorial-feast (*entoin*) is held, when it is restored to its prescribed place (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 135).

To return now to the group of mourners engaged in preparing the corpse for burial. When the body has been washed for the last time, turmeric-unguent (consisting of turmeric-root paste mixed with cocoanut-oil), is smeared all over it by a relative of the same sex, if available; the ear-sticks (*ichē, ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 108) are left as worn in life, and the *neng* and *opchtap* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 47) are removed, and replaced by the *neng-ta-chīha* or the *lôe-ta-wia* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 170), according to the sex of the deceased, who is then dressed in any articles of European attire which he (or she) may have possessed; for no garment which has belonged to a dead person may be appropriated by another, but **must be buried with the corpse.**[58] Except in the case of infants, a lighted cigarette is next placed for a few moments between the lips, and then laid aside for the purpose of being deposited on the grave together with the utensils and cloths used in washing the corpse. The mourners now proceed to decorate the body, according to the resources of the family and the description of offerings presented by their friends, with such silver ornaments as bracelets, anklets, necklets, waistlets and headbands; even offerings of new spoons and forks are often added. After this, a cap (called *shanōang-kamapāh*) is made of one white and two red handkerchieves, or of 3, 5, 7 or 9 white, red and blue pieces of calico, and placed on the head of the corpse. Another handkerchief is wrapped round the throat, which is called the *tanüal-kulāla-kamapāh*, signifying "neck-tie of the corpse." Moreover, a chin-stay is prepared with a strip of calico and applied so as to keep the jaw closed, and the hands are bound together at the wrists with bands of white calico and laid over the abdomen, the ankles also being in like manner secured. An **uneven number** of silver coins are then placed between the chin-stay and the cheek,[59] and sometimes even in the mouth, in order that the soul and spirit, being thus enabled to pay their way, may meet with a kindly welcome in journeying to their new home.[60]

[57] Sometimes the *hentain* is similarly employed at the burial of male adults (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 170).

[58] It is believed that the spirit will resent as a slight the use, by even a surviving relative, of any articles of attire or portable property of which the deceased was possessed.

[59] This sum is described as *oal-owò-pamañdp* (*lit.*, "in the cheek of the corpse") in allusion to the place where the coins are usually deposited. According to the statements of some this custom is no longer regarded as of any benefit to the deceased, but is continued from motives of respect, affection or dread, as the case may be. The practice will be recognized as corresponding to that of "ferry-money" in vogue not only in the neighbouring province of Burma, but in parts of Europe (*Jour. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. XV. p. 78).

[60] As nothing which has been sacrificed in this manner — no matter how great its value may be in their eyes — can be recovered and brought into use, it happens after the lapse of one or two years, when the skull and jaw-bone are exhumed, that the coins and all the ornaments about the head and neck are taken out, merely in order that they may be cleansed, after which they are replaced: this, as well as the re-interment of the skull and jaw-bone, occurs on the day following the exhumation in all parts of the Central Group except Katchal and certain villages on Camorta, where it takes place after five days.

While these preparations are in progress the funeral-guests continue to assemble, each bearing offerings, termed *olyâla*, consisting of silver personal ornaments or of calico, the latter of which vary in extent, according to the circumstances or liberality of the donor, from a few fathom sto one or more entire pieces of 24-40 yards.[61] These gifts of cloth must be of material that has **never been used,** and may be of red, blue, white, spotted or checked, but never of black, calico. Immediately on their presentation they are torn by the family into lengths of about four yards, and laid ready for use on the floor.

First, 3, 5, 7 or more **uneven number** of two-fathom pieces of red or white calico belonging to the family of the deceased are produced, and, after a slit of about one foot lengthwise is made in a certain part of each, the corpse is laid thereupon and enveloped with these shrouds in such a manner as to **leave exposed** through these slits only **a narrow portion of the face** from the forehead to the chin. Neatly trimmed *Orania* spathes, called *danâp-oal-hilüa* — 3, 5, or 7 in number — are then wrapped round all but the head, and are tied tightly with split cane. The corpse is next placed on the *da-yung* (*i. e.*, the stretcher), and lashed to it with more split cane, thereby ensuring perfect rigidity and facilitating the process of removing the body to the grave. One or three gaudy patchwork skirts, such as are worn by women at memorial-feasts, called *lôe-ta-wia* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 170) are then wrapped round the waist of the corpse, whether it be that of a man or woman. When so worn it is termed *kentul*. Next, the calico offerings of friends, already referred to as having been brought and torn into lengths of about 4 yards each, are taken in hand. An uneven number of these — from 3 to 29 in the case of an ordinary individual, and a larger uneven number in the case of a headman or *menlüana* — are selected, and, after a slit has been made in each in the same manner as in the first shrouds, they are wound round the corpse[63] so as to **leave only a narrow space down the centre of the face exposed.**[64] Last of all, 7, 9 or 11 *neng-ta-chiha* are tied round the whole. In the case of one who had occupied a leading position in their midst, the enshrouded corpse, when thus ready for burial, presents, as may be imagined, a considerable bulk.[65]

Save in cases where, for sanitary reasons, it is important to expedite the burial, the hour usually fixed for the funeral is either sun-down, before midnight, or at early dawn. Under no circumstances can an interment take place **bewteen the hours of 11 a. m. and 1 p. m.,** as the shadows of those lowering the body into the grave, as well as those of the mourners taking their last look at the shrouded figure before the earth is made to conceal it from sight, would then fall *into* the grave and not safely *outside* or *across* it, and the consequences of this mischance are too serious to be rashly encountered; the belief being that sickness, if not certain death, would speedily overtake any who are guilty of such indiscretion. The danger does not extend to the act of digging the grave, though precautions against the possibility of harm arising to those who have been so engaged is averted before the arrival of the corpse by the *menlüana* in attendance, who carefully sweeps the grave in order to expel any intruder lurking therein. This is done with a leafy bough plucked from a small jungle tree, called *kōang*. This act is termed *kohô-hala*, which denotes "brandishing."

On the completion of the elaborate process of preparing the corpse for burial the enshrouded figure is **gently moved to a position at right-angles to that which it had up**

---

61 Many bundles of this material are annually purchased from ship-traders, and reserved for this purpose.

62 It will have been observed that in almost all their funeral appointments the Nicobarese avoid the use of even numbers, though their reasons for so doing rest merely now-a-days upon the authority of tradition.

63 These, as well as the first set of shrouds, are termed *lanüa-kamapâh* (*lit.*, "wrapper of corpse").

64 This practice is said to have originated in the belief that the defunct is thereby enabled in some mysterious manner to hold communication with the Supreme Being after being laid in the grave. They fail, however, to explain the nature or mode of such communications, for the soul (*hòiṅ*) is held to have taken its flight, while the spirit (*hōiha*) is for the next few months fully engaged in endeavouring to enter the body of some surviving friend.

65 All the calico offerings which are in excess of the mourners' requirements for the shroud are torn into lengths about six inches wide and distributed to each of the male friends attending the funeral for use as a *neng*, or loin-cloth, on their return home.

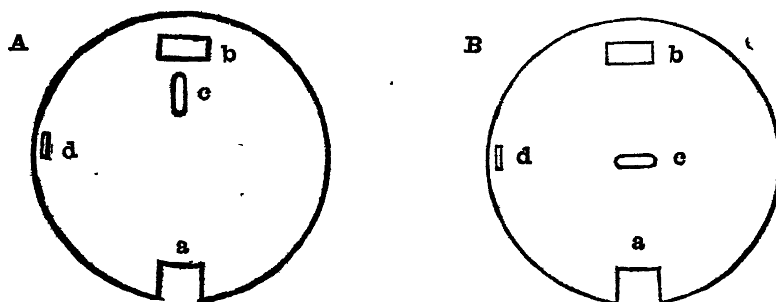
to this time occupied, and is laid immediately under the centre of the roof of the hut.[66] The mourners then assemble round the body, the nearest relatives resting their heads or elbows thereon, and the remainder ranging themselves behind, while the last farewells are uttered in heart-broken accents and with bitter wailings, termed *shidiang-kamapâh.* This lasts but for a short time, and then, at a given signal, some young men who are in readiness at the entrance approach and, hastily raising the body, carry it *head*[67]-foremost down the ladder, and convey it away swiftly to the cemetery.[68] One or more of the mourners[69] not unfrequently cling to the corpse and have to be forcibly parted from it. Such persons will sometimes even allow themselves to be dragged half-way to the grave, where also they usually make a feint of throwing themselves upon the body after it has been lowered; but a slight show of resistance on the part of the bystanders generally suffices to frustrate any such attempts.[70]

The *menlûana* then commands the disembodied spirit to go quietly to the grave with the corpse and remain there until the first memorial feast (*entoin*), when it will be required to proceed to Hades. It is further exhorted not to wander about in the meantime and frighten the living with its ghostly presence.

When the body has been laid in the grave the peculiar ⅄-shaped pegs, called *shinpân* or *shanipân*, to which allusion has already been made, are brought into use: 5, 7 or 9 of these are driven into the ground across the body at regular intervals from the head downwards in order that the Evil Spirits, known as *Mong-wânga*, may be unable to abstract the remains,[71] a work which is supposed to be the special function and delight of this class of Demons.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave *dai-ta-kōang* (*i. e.*, leaves of the *kōang*) are again waved over it in order to disperse any spirits which may still chance to be hovering near; for it is held that, through sympathy with the deceased, the spirits of the bystanders, and even a stray demon, might by overhaste be interred with the corpse. To make assurance doubly sure, therefore, a dry cocoanut-leaf torch, such as is used in these islands when fishing

[66] Up to this stage in the proceedings the position of the corpse has been as shewn below in the diagram marked "A," where "a" represents the entrance at the top of the hut-ladder; "b" the fire-place; "c" the corpse, with its head towards the entrance and feet near the fire-place; and "d" the *chuk-fūm* fetich, already referred to in the foregoing. The corpse is *now* placed as in the diagram marked "B," *i. e.*, at right-angles to its first position, and in the centre of the hut, with the head towards the *chuk-fūm*.




[67] The only reason given, at least in the Central group, for taking the corpse out of the hut *head*-foremost is that it is more convenient to the bearers who reach the grave at the lower or foot end. There does not appear to be among them any trace of the superstition held by some races that if the dead person is carried out of his home in this manner he will be able to find his way back again. (*Anthrop. Inst. Journ.* Vol. XV. p. 72.)

[68] As soon as the corpse has been removed for burial the fire which has up till that time been kept burning near the foot of the hut-ladder is extinguished by water.

[69] Women and children do not necessarily accompany the body to the grave, but are not prohibited from doing so.

[70] It is, however, related that on one occasion a mourner overcame all resistance thus offered and threw himself into the grave, where he so injured himself by falling on the *shani-pân* that death resulted.

[71] For analogous customs elsewhere *vide* J. G. Frazer, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XV. pp. 65-66.

at night, is lighted and waved a few times inside the grave, whereupon, at a given signal, the earth or sand is rapidly shovelled in with the blades of old paddles by a party of young men who are standing in readiness to perform this duty.

Outside the grave and on the *kanōi-kōi* are then placed a variety of spears, paddles and other things[72] belonging to the deceased, all of which are broken or damaged before being so deposited,[73] in order that all may see how sincere the mourners are in their intention of denying themselves the use or benefit of any of the property, notwithstanding its undoubted value in their eyes. Another reason given for this wholesale destruction of property is that strangers who have no respect for the sacredness of tabued or sacrificed articles might appropriate uninjured and serviceable objects regardless of the displeasure of the disembodied spirit, who would unquestionably resent any such token of indifference and disrespect by wreaking vengeance probably on those through whose remissness such misconduct had been rendered possible.

After the grave has been filled in, the small post called *kanōi-lūh*, already referred to, is erected a little beyond the foot in order to mark the position and length of the grave. A cord is then fastened between the head and foot posts, and on this are suspended three pairs of *hishōya* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 45). The middle pair over the centre of the grave is alone filled with water, the two other pairs over the head and foot respectively being empty.

On the graves of children a touching tribute is paid to their memory by placing on their graves models of the implements, *etc.*, which they would have had occasion to use in after years had their lives been prolonged. Toys also belonging to the little ones are broken and laid over them.[74] In all cases, except that of very young infants, memorial feasts are celebrated. The tabu, however, is less stringent in regard to the cocoanut plantations and trading operations when death takes place before the tenth year or thereabout, after which age the rites and ceremonies for the interment of a child are identical with those for an adult.

Besides the objects already enumerated as placed on the grave it is customary among the communities of the Central group to offer an uneven number of cooking-pots belonging to the dead person, in each of which one or more small holes are carefully bored in order to render it unfit for use. These pots are left there for about six months, and are then thrown into the jungle with the bulk of the offerings[75] spared for a while after the first memorial feast, which is invariably celebrated within that period, by which time they are no longer fit to remain *en evidence*.

---

[72] From the nature of these objects a stranger is able to ascertain the sex of the occupant of the grave.

[73] In the observance of this custom, which is common to all the islands, it is not obligatory on the part of the widow, widower, father, son or other relative of the deceased to perform any special act in the work of destruction, such as breaking pottery, etc.

[74] As an instance of this, I would here quote from a note I made in September, 1886, when visiting Teressa island. On that occasion I saw in one of the villages the grave of a recently-buried child, aged about two years. As is the invariable custom at that island, the grave was situated close to the hut which had been the home of the deceased. Round the head-post was wrapped an *Areca* spathe, and from it hung a basket (*hentain*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 108), in which were placed offerings of fruit and vegetables, together with a stem-sheath of the ground-rattan (*kenshēch*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 108), also cocoanuts and *hishōya* (*vide ante*), the latter purposely riddled with holes. Bundles of *Chavica* leaves and a *homyāhta* (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 169), which had been twisted out of shape and otherwise damaged, were also to be seen. I also observed a miniature axe, brooms, *ddos* and knives. At the foot of the grave on a bamboo pole were models of various domestic implements, also a paddle, skull-hat (*ante*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 185-6), a bottle of cocoanut-oil and a spathe-box (*tafōl*, *ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 48) containing an offering of new calico. Strips of coloured calico were attached to both the head-post and the bamboo pole, and a cane connected the two, from which a string of young cocoanuts was suspended. On the grave itself was laid lengthwise a cocoanut-leaf. Both the bereaved parents were smeared with turmeric-paste, and presented a ghastly jaundice-like appearance.

[75] The only things placed on the grave for the use of the disembodied spirit are a little tobacco, unripe cocoanuts, fruit and water. In the grave it has money and abundance of cloth and ornaments wherewith to make a good start on arriving in Hades.

The blades and prongs of the spears retained by the mourners are, like those sacrificed at the grave, bent or rendered otherwise — at least temporarily — unserviceable. They are, however, sometimes after the *laneàtla,* or final memorial feast, which brings the mourning period to a close, repaired and again brought into use. In the meantime, as will be found mentioned in a subsequent paper dealing with Memorial Feasts, they form part of the display of property which is made by the chief mourner on each of the *koruâk* (or memorial feast) days, which occur at stated times during an interval of two or more years.

Domestic pets (if any), such as paroquets, minahs and monkeys, owned by the deceased, are given away to friends. Dogs were formerly killed at the death of their master and buried in the jungle, but now-a-days they are spared and appropriated by some other member of the family.

Any money possessed by a dead person, over and above that buried with him,[76] is kept till nearly the close of the mourning-period, when it is expended in the purchase of rice and other articles which have to be provided for the final feast; or — and this of course refers only to silver coins — is converted into personal ornaments, which are worn for the first time on that occasion.

At the termination of the ceremonies at the grave the mourning party return to their hut, where one or two women cover their heads with cloths and, leaving the face exposed, turn to the wall which is between them and the direction of the grave and weep silently.[77] This is said to be in token that the general body of mourners, whose representatives they are, although compelled to be otherwise engaged, are equally grief-stricken and would fain indulge their sorrow by refraining from every kind of employment.

While this scene is taking place within, *outside* the hut the demonstrations of woe assume a more serious form, and the grief and despair at the bereavement felt by the community in general and the family in particular are shewn by **hacking almost in half one of the supporting posts** at the entrance of the hut. Although the injury is not so great as to endanger the stability of the dwelling it is sufficient to necessitate the substitution of a new pile; but this renewal is deferred till the celebration of the last of the memorial-feasts, called *la-neat-la* (from *leät* signifying "finished, enough").[78]

Under every dwelling-hut there is a light wooden platform, called *itāha,* on which are kept various articles, *e. g.,* one or more *pomâk-òṅh*[79] (*ante,* Vol. XXIV. p. 136) also bundles of firewood, freshly-gathered bunches of *Pandanus* fruit, vegetables, *etc.* After the partial

76 The late Mr. de Röepstorff stated that "the silver things are laid on the chest of the corpse, but they are afterwards recovered when the skull is dug up." The mistake here made probably arose from his having seen the ornaments taken out of the grave, as is sometimes done at the exhumation, in order to clean them. They are, however, invariably restored in the course of a few hours, or at any rate as soon as the skull is re-interred at the close of the Festival. It would be entirely opposed to all their views and sentiments in this matter to re-appropriate anything that has been sacrificed or offered in honor of the dead. — *A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect,* Home Dept. Press, Calcutta, 1884, page 261.

77 This is termed the *ha-ehij-âṅh-hare,* in allusion to the self-imposed fast and abstention from social enjoyments on the part of the disconsolate mourners.

78 If a death occurs while a festival is being held the body is usually removed to the nearest village for interment, but under these circumstances it is generally brought back at the *la-neät-la* feast, and interred in the family burial-place.

79 These are large cylindrical bundles, generally about three feet in diameter and about a foot thick, having all the appearance of being firewood, but each billet is so neatly trimmed and shaped that one might expect even a casual observer to entertain a doubt as to its being really intended for such an ordinary purpose. They are always kept in readiness for offering on the grave of a relative or friend at the celebration of the first memorial feast (*entoin*), and are never burnt. They entail no little time and trouble in their construction, and therein lies the merit of the offering. It is recorded by the late Mr. de Röepstorff (*A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect,* Home Dept. Press, Calcutta, 1884, p. 90) that Pastor D. Rosen, a Danish Lutheran minister who conducted a mission in Nancowry Harbour in 1831-34, wrote as follows regarding these singular objects: — "It has amused me to watch the pedantry shown by the Nicobarese in their choice and treatment of firewood," showing that he, like many subsequent visitors, misapprehended the real use for which the *pomâk-òṅh* is intended.

destruction of the hut-post, as just described, the *itāha* is broken up, and the materials of which it is constructed are thrown into the jungle. This act necessitates the removal of the *pomāk-òñh* which is then rolled away and stored under another hut until the time arrives for celebrating the *entoin* feast.[80]

The ceremony mentioned in footnote 56 (*ante*) takes place before dusk; and after sundown on that and the two following days a fire is kindled near the head of the grave by means of fire-sticks, and kept burning throughout those three nights by one or more of the mourners who undertake this duty. The usual occupants of the hut sleep therein after the funeral and may in fact sleep in no other.

As has been already mentioned, mourners are not allowed to taste[81] anything except hot water until about 24 hours have elapsed since the demise. It is not thought necessary to draw water specially for their consumption, but any that may happen to be in the hut at the time is used. No idea of its defilement through the presence of death seems to have crossed the Nicobarese mind. Evidently some sentiment of the kind, however, attaches to the state of the hut and the persons of the mourners, as it is obligatory early on the morning after the interment that a thorough house-cleaning be undertaken. After everything has been removed from the walls and floor of the hut, the former are swept with a broom (*yīht-hanga*), and the latter washed with hot water (*et-shĕch-oal-ñī*).[82] The mourners then wash themselves by pouring water over each other. This is known as the *kolaich-i-âñh-hare*, implying purification by ablution. After they have dried themselves, they, have, in order to be completely purified from their recent contact with the dead, to be anointed with an unguent, termed *danun-âñha*,[83] by the *menlūana* who, moistening his fingers therewith, performs the act of lustration (*enlūana*) by anointing each mourner in turn on the head and shoulder, uttering meantime repeatedly the mystic term "*epsh*" or "*ĕush*," which to the people of the present day conveys no precise meaning, but is regarded either as an injunction to the Evil Spirits to keep away, or as conferring some sort of charm or protection against their machinations. Meantime a man takes a short lighted torch, made of dry cocoanut leaves, which he waves in all directions inside the hut with the object of driving away any Evil Spirits that may be lurking therein. This act is termed *kohô-ñī-oal.*

With the further object of disguising themselves so that the departed spirit may fail to recognise them, and may do them no mischief, all the mourners shave their heads (*īkōah-kōi*),[84] in addition to which the women shave their eye-brows (*īkōah-puyōl-okmât*), and the men eradicate with tweezers any hair they may have on their upper lips and chins (*ītōsh-enhòin*).[85] It is also common for a mourner, for the same reason, to assume some new name[86] for him or herself, which, in a great measure, accounts for the fact that some individuals have borne several different names in the course of their lives. This dread of the disembodied spirits of their departed relatives and friends[87] is induced by the conviction that they so keenly desire to return to the scenes and associates of their earthly existence that they are utterly unscrupulous as to the means and methods they adopt for the purpose of attaining their object.

---

80 At some villages this feast takes place on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the interment, but generally not till 3 or 5 months have elapsed. In the latter case a dark night is selected.

81 The reason for this fast from solid food is that if a meal were eaten in the presence of a corpse, the ghost might inadvertently be swallowed at the same time.

82 For this purpose they use a brush-like object, called *fannâh-lâh* (or *hannâh-lâh*) [*ante*, Vol. XXIV. p. 49], consisting of a *Pandanus* drupe after the pulp has been extracted. Old rags of sacks, etc, are afterwards used for wiping the planks. [*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XV. p. 67.]

83 This consists merely of the pounded leaves of a certain tree mixed with cocoanut-oil.

84 Some have been observed to shave all but a single lock of hair on the crown, after the manner of Hindus. It should, however, be mentioned that this custom of shaving is optional in the case of a *menlūana*, most of whom affect long hair. *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XV. pp. 73 and 99.

85 In cases of sudden death, as from a fatal accident, snake-bite, or other cause, the same measures are adopted by *all* the fellow-villagers of the deceased, and the mourning they observe is the *henhwâva-kanòishe* (*vide* note 89).

86 *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XV. p. 73.

87 The natives of Car Nicobar affirm that among them this feeling extends only to the spirits of bad men and of those who met their death by foul means. These do not become less dangerous until many years have elapsed.

When the physical purification and fortification against the Unseen Powers are accomplished, the mourners and their friends assemble at the hut to partake of a meal (styled **ongtang-kirâha**), which is prepared and eaten in silence.[88] It consists of a pig and fowl freshly killed, and also of **as great a variety of articles of food as can be procured.** The object of this lavish provision is that each favourite viand may be represented, and thus enable the bereaved as well as their friends to decide at once from which they will abstain during one or other of the **two mourning periods,** *viz.,* that styled *henhwâva-kanòishe* (or *oyânga-yannâta*), which terminates at the first memorial-feast (*entoin*), and that called *henhwâva-dîde,* which extends until the celebration of the final feast (*laneätla*) two or three years later.[89] The various dainties are spread on trays, and each person is afforded the opportunity of declining or partaking of any number of them. By this means it soon becomes known which of those present intend to deny themselves, and to what extent their abstinence will be carried. At the conclusion of this repast a tray, containing a portion of each kind of food that has been served, is carried by one or two of the company and deposited on the grave as an offering to the departed spirit,[90] but no effort is made to protect it from birds or animals, so that it usually happens that the whole amount is speedily consumed by pigs, fowls, dogs, and crabs.

## ON THE EAST-CENTRAL GROUP OF INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

THE division of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of Northern India, into two main groups, a Western, corresponding to the ancient Saurasênî Prakrit, and an Eastern, corresponding to the Mâgadhî Prakrit, has long been a common-place to students of the subject. The existence of a central language corresponding to the ancient **Ardha-Mâgadhî Prakrit** has also been assumed, but what that central language is at the present day has not, so far as I am aware, ever been clearly stated. The researches connected with the Linguistic Survey of India, on which I am at present engaged, have enabled me to locate it definitely. I have named it **Eastern Hindî,** and its two or three dialects together form what I call **the East-Central Group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars.** The Eastern group includes Assamese, Bengali, Oṛiyâ, and Bihârî; and the Western, among others, what I now call Western Hindî, Panjâbî, and Gujarâtî.

The following note has been drawn up for the Survey; but, as a long period must necessarily elapse before the Survey-report can see the light, and as the correct identification of the language is of some interest, I venture to lay an early copy of it before the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*:—

**The East-Central Group.** — The East-Central Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is a group of dialects, not of languages. It includes only one language, *viz.,* **Eastern Hindî.**

[88] Through some misapprehension of the facts it was recorded by the late Mr. de Röepstorff that this meal is eaten at the grave, whereas the mere suggestion of such having ever been their practice evokes a prompt denial [P. 262 of the *Dictionary* quoted in Notes 76 and 79 (*ante*).]

[89] *Henhwâva-kanòishe* implies abstinence from singing, and *oyânga-yannâta*, the putting aside of personal ornaments; while *henhwâva-dîde* signifies a thorough and complete abstinence from every form of self-gratification, whether in respect to food, drink, self-adornment or social entertainment. The first two terms, applied alike to the mourning observed by friends and certain of the relatives of the deceased, entail abstinence from singing, dancing, playing on instruments, wearing ornaments or new clothing, and the use of red paint on the person, as well as indulging in those luxuries that were formally declined at the meal here described. In those cases where the *entoin* takes place after a few days (*ante*, note 80) the self-sacrifice incurred by this class of mourner necessarily amounts to little more than a farce. It is far otherwise, however, in regard to those who observe the *henhwâva-dîde*, as this requires them to deprive themselves of every kind of self-indulgence for a period extending generally to about three years, when the final memorial-feast is usually held. Till then no intoxicant, tobacco, cultivated *Chavica* betel-leaf, pork, fowl, fish or turtle (unless captured with a single-pronged spear), ripe cocoanuts, vegetables, plaintains and rice may be consumed. Needless to add, no ornaments or new garments may be worn or paint applied to the person, and no form of recreation, such as singing, dancing or music, may be enjoyed.

[90] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XV. pp. 74-75, where Mr. J. G. Frazer points out that "the nearly universal "practice of leaving food on the tomb . . . . . , like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes, probably "originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come "plaguing the living for food and raiment." . . . . . "Rather than use the property of the deceased and thereby "incur the anger of his ghost, men destroyed it. The ghost would then have no motive for returning to his "desolated home."

**Its geographical habitat.** — This language, which includes three main dialects, **Awadhî, Baghêlî, and Chhattîsgaṛhî,** occupies parts of six provinces, *viz.*, Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Chota Nagpur, and the Central Provinces. It covers the whole of Oudh, except the district of Hardoi and a small portion of Fyzabad. In the North-Western Provinces, it covers, roughly speaking, the country between Benares and Hamirpur in Bundelkhand. It occupies the whole of Baghelkhand, the North-West of Bundelkhand, the South-Sone tract of the District of Mirzapur, the States of Chang Bhakâr, Sarguja, Udaipur, and Korea, and a portion of Jashpur, in Chota Nagpur. In the Central Provinces, it covers the districts of Jabalpur and Mandla, and the greater part of Chhattîsgaṛh with its Feudatory States.

**The dialects.** — The three dialects of Eastern Hindî closely resemble each other. Indeed, Baghêlî differs so little from Awadhî, that, were it not popularly recognised as a separate speech, I should have certainly classed it as a form of that dialect. Its separate existence has only been recognised in preference to popular prejudice. Chhattîsgaṛhî, under the influence of the neighbouring Marâṭhi and Oṛiyâ, shows greater points of difference; but its close connection with Awadhî is nevertheless apparent. The Awadhî-cum-Baghêlî dialect covers the whole Eastern Hindî area of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Chand Bhakâr, and the districts of Jabalpur and Mandla. It is also spoken by some scattered tribes in the Central Provinces districts to the south and west. If we wish to make a dividing line between Awadhî and Baghêlî, we may take the river Jamna where it runs between Fatehpur and Banda, and, thence, the southern boundary of the Allahabad District. This is not quite accurate, for the Tirhârî dialect, spoken on the north bank of the Jamna in Fatehpur, shows sufficient peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as Baghêlî; and the language of the south-east of Allahabad, which is locally known as Baghêlî, but which I have classed as Awadhî, is a mixture of the two dialects. The boundary must be uncertain, for there is hardly any definite peculiarity which we can seize upon as a decisive test. Chhattîsgaṛhî occupies the remainder of the Eastern Hindî tract, that is to say, the States of Udaipur, Korea and Sarguja, and a portion of Jashpur, in the Chota Nagpur Province, and the greater part of Chhattîsgaṛh.

As above described, Eastern Hindî occupies an irregular oblong tract of country, extending from, but not including, Nepal to the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, much longer from north to south than it is from east to west. Its mean length may be roughly taken as 750 miles, and its mean breadth about 250, which together give an area of about 187,500 square miles. The number of speakers of each dialect is roughly as follows: —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Awadhî ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16,000,000 | |
| Baghêlî ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4,612,756 | |
| | | 20,612,756 |
| Chhattîsgaṛhî ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | | 3,719,725 |
| | Total... | 24,331,999 |

With reference to the above figures, it should be explained that, probably owing to the prestige of the court at Lucknow, Awadhî is spoken as a vernacular not only in the tract above described, but also by Muhammadans over the Eastern parts of the North-Western Provinces, and the greater part of Bihar, the language of which is, in the main, Bihârî. I estimate the number of these Awadhî-speaking Musalmans at about a million, and these figures are included in the figures for Awadhî given above. Similarly, as regards Chhattîsgaṛhî, the above figures include not only the speakers of that dialect in the area of which it is the vernacular, but also 34,095 speakers of it in the neighbouring Chhattîsgaṛh and Orissa Feudatory States, whose main language is Oṛiyâ. In both cases, the speakers are permanent residents of the areas in which they were found, so that the total above given represents the number of speakers of Eastern Hindî in their proper homes.

**Speakers of Eastern Hindî abroad.** — Large numbers of speakers of Eastern Hindî are scattered all over Northern India. Putting to one side the number of Oudh men who have travelled abroad in quest of service, there is our native army which is largely recruited in that Province. Unfortunately it is impossible even approximately to estimate the number of these Eastern Hindî speakers who are away from their homes. All that can be done is to give the following approximate estimates for the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and for Assam:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Estimated number of speakers of the Eastern Hindî in Assam ... | ... | 32,290 |
| " " " " Lower Provinces ... | ... | 111,258 |
| Total | ... | 143,548 |

**Origin of Eastern Hindî.** — As explained elsewhere, in the early centuries after the Christian era, there were two main languages or Prakrits, spoken in the Jamna and Ganges valleys. These were Sauraseni spoken in the west, its head-quarters being the Upper Doab, and Mâgadhî spoken in the East, with its head-quarters in the country south of the present City of Patna. Between these two there was a debatable ground, roughly corresponding to the present province of Oudh, in which a mixed language, known as Ardha-Mâgadhî or Half-Mâgadhî, was spoken, partaking partly of the character of Sauraseni, and partly of that of Mâgadhî. We know that all the languages of the Eastern Group are descended from Mâgadhî, and that the group of closely connected languages, of which Western Hindî may be taken as the type, is directly descended from Sauraseni. It now remains to state that this mixed language, or Ardha-Mâgadhî, was the parent of modern Eastern Hindî.

**Geographical position of Eastern Hindî in regard to neighbouring languages.** — Eastern Hindî is bounded on the north by the Aryan languages of the Nepal Himalayas, and on the west by various dialects of Western Hindî, of which the principal are Kanaujî and Bundêlkhaṇḍî. All these are descended from Sauraseni. On the east it is bounded by the Western Bhojpurî and Nagpuriâ dialects of Bihârî, and by Oṛiyâ. On the south it meets forms of the Marâṭhî language. These three are descended from Mâgadhî Prâkrit. It is hence surrounded on two sides by languages derived from Sauraseni, and on two sides by languages derived from Mâgadhî, and, as might be expected, is the modern representative of Ardha-Mâgadhî. Like it, it partakes of the nature of both the ancient languages.

**Its name.** — The name Hindî is popularly applied to all the various Aryan languages spoken between the Panjab on the west and the river Mahâ-nandâ on the east, and between the Himalayas on the north and the river Narbadâ on the south. From these Bihârî has already been subtracted. It is spoken in Bihar and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces. We shall also have to subtract the languages of Rajputana, and there remain, still bearing the name of Hindî, the dialects spoken in the basins of the Jamnâ and the Ganges, say, from Sirhind in the Panjab to Benares. These divide themselves into two main groups, entirely distinct from each other, a Western and an Eastern. The Western includes, amongst others, Bundêlî, Kanaujî, Braj Bhâkhâ, and the standard Hindustânî which forms the *lingua franca* of the greater part of India. These dialects are all various forms of one language, which I call Western Hindî. The Eastern group includes the three dialects that together form the language which I term Eastern Hindî. It is necessary to explain this, as no attempt has hitherto been made to name these two languages. Its very existence has hitherto been a matter of doubt.[1]

**The East-Central Group compared with the Eastern.** — The dialects of the East-Central Group differ from the languages of the Eastern Group mainly in the conjugation of the verb.

[1] The student is warned that the Eastern Hindî of Dr. Hoernle's Gauḍian Grammar is not the language here given that name. *That* Eastern Hindî is Bihârî. Dr. Hoernle himself has long abandoned the name 'Eastern Hindî,' and has adopted 'Bihârî.'

**Pronunciation.** — As regards pronunciation, the languages of the Eastern group do not agree among themselves. The three most Eastern languages of the group, *viz.*, Assamese, Bengali, and Oṛiyâ, have one marked peculiarity, in that the letter *a* is usually pronounced like the *o* in the English word 'hot.' In Bihârî, this sound is gradually flattened as we go westwards, until in Western Bhojpurî, it has the ordinary sound of the '*u*' in 'nut.' Eastern Hindî has also this pronunciation of the vowel.

**Declension.** — In the declension of Nouns and Pronouns, Eastern Hindî closely resembles Western Bhojpurî. It has the same tendency to use an oblique form in *ê*; with regard to which, however, it would be more accurate to say that Western Bhojpurî has borrowed from Eastern Hindî, the oblique form of the other languages of the Eastern group invariably ending in *â*. The post-positions attached to nouns are mostly the same as in Bihârî, the most marked exception being that of the Dative-Accusative, which in Eastern Hindî is '*kâ*' or '*kā̃*,' while, in the languages of the Eastern Group, it is '*kê*' or '*kẽ*.' It may be added that the post-position of the Locative is '*mâ*' or '*mā̃*,' while in Bihârî it is more usually '*mẽ*,' and it does not occur in the other Eastern languages at all. These two post-positions, *kâ* and *mâ*, are typical of the East-Central Group.

**Pronouns.** — The declension of Pronouns in Eastern Hindî closely resembles that of the Eastern Group of Languages. In one important test point it agrees with that group in differing from the more western ones. While in the latter the typical vowel of the genitive singular of the personal pronouns is *ê*, in the East it is *ô*. Thus, in Western Hindî 'my' is '*mêrâ*,' but in Bengâlî and Bihârî, it is '*môr*.' Eastern Hindî follows the Eastern Group in this respect.

**Conjugation.** — In regard to verbs, there are greater points of difference than in the other parts of speech. The verb substantive is in Eastern Hindî *aheũ* or *âheũ*, 'I am,' although, in the Eastern parts of Oudh, *bâṭeũ*, which is nearly the same as the Western Bhojpurî *bâṭõ*, also occurs. In the Finite verb there are three main tenses which admit of comparison, the Present Conjunctive, the Past and the Future. Of these, the Present Conjunctive, which is derived from the Sanskrit Present Indicative, is practically the same in nearly every Indo-Aryan Language. No profitable comparison can therefore be obtained from it.

**The Past Tense.** — The Past Tense, on the other hand, presents striking differences. In all the Indo-Aryan languages this tense was originally a Past Participle Passive. Thus, if we take Hindustânî, the word *mârâ*, which is derived from the Sanskrit Past Passive Participle *mâritaḥ*, does not mean literally 'he struck' or 'I struck,' but 'struck by him' or 'me' and so on. Similarly, '*chalâ*,' derived from *chalitaḥ*, is literally not 'he went,' but 'he is gone.' It will be observed that the Sanskrit Passive Participles above quoted have the letter *i* in the penultimate syllable. This is the case in regard to most Sanskrit Passive Participles, and it is important to note it, for this *i* is retained in most of the dialects derived from Saurasênî Prakrit. Thus from the Sanskrit '*mâritaḥ*,' there sprang the Saurasênî '*mâriô*,' from which came the Braj Bhâkhâ '*maryau*,' in which the *y* represents the original Sanskrit and Prakrit *i*. The change of *i* to *y* is one of spelling rather than of pronunciation. We may, therefore, say that this *i* or *y* is typical of the Past tenses of the group of dialects, which are sprung from Saurasênî Prakrit.

**Turning now to the languages derived from Mâgadhî Prakrit,** we see an altogether different state of affairs. In the Saurasênî languages, the *i* of '*mâritaḥ*' and '*chalitaḥ*' has altogether disappeared. In the Mâgadhî languages, we find in its place the letter '*l*.' Thus 'struck' in Bengâlî is '*mârila-*,' and in Bihârî *mâral-*. It is a peculiarity of all these languages that they object to using the Past Participle by itself, as is done, for instance, in Hindustânî. They have a number of enclitic pronouns,[2] meaning 'by me,' 'by thee,' and so on. These they tack on to the Past Participle, so that the whole forms one word. Thus, when a Bengali wishes to say 'I struck,' he says '*mârila*,' 'struck,' '*am*,' 'by me,' and unites the whole into one word, *mârilâm*.

[2] For the proof of this, see *J. A. S. B.* LXIV. (1895), Pt. I. pp. 336 and 352.

Similarly, the Bengali *chalilâm* originally meant 'it was gone by me,' hence, 'I went.' In process of time the way in which this word was built was forgotten, and the past tense in Bengali is now conjugated as if it was an ordinary active verb. The particular enclitic pronouns which are used in the Mâgadhî-derived languages vary in form from dialect to dialect, and for the purpose of comparison with Eastern Hindî, it will be convenient to consider those in use in the Bhojpurî dialect of Bihârî.

**Eastern Hindî combines the peculiarities of the Śaurasênî and of the Mâgadhî languages.** The typical letter of its past tense is not the Mâgadhî *l* but the Śaurasênî *i* or *y*. On the other hand, the past participle cannot stand by itself, but takes the same enclitic pronouns as those used by Bhojpurî. In order to show this clearly, the masculine singular of the Past tenses of Eastern Hindî and Bhojpurî are here given side by side. In each case the root, the tense characteristic, and the enclitic pronoun are separated by hyphens. In reading the Eastern Hindî forms, it should be remembered that, in this language, *ya*, *e*, and *i* are practically interchangeable, some localities favouring one spelling, and some another. The spelling given below is that of the Awadhî dialect:—

| English. | Eastern Hindî. | Bhojpurî. |
|---|---|---|
| I struck | *Mâr-e-ũ* | *Mâr-al-õ̃* |
| Thou struckest | *Mâr-i-s* | *Mâr-al-as* |
| He struck | *Mâr-i-s* | *Mâr-al-as* |

If we spell the Eastern Hindî words as follows, as is often done, we see the connexion, on the one hand, with the Śaurasênî dialect, and, on the other, with Bhojpurî, even more clearly.

*Mâr-y-aũ.*
*Mâr-y-as*
*Mâr-y-as*

These are the original forms, of which the forms with *i* and *e* are corruptions. This Past Tense, with, according to local spelling, the third person singular ending in *is*, *es*, or *yas*, is pre-eminently the typical shibboleth of a speaker of Eastern Hindî. In conversation this form of a verb naturally occurs with great frequency, and is hence continually heard. Speakers of the language from Oudh cover the whole of Northern India, for they are great wanderers in search of service, and, even in Calcutta, nothing is more common for a European to hear than an up-country syce saying words like '*kahis*,' he said, or '*mâris*,' he struck. Such expressions must be familiar to every Englishman, and most people would be astonished to hear that they were relics of a mixture of Śaurasênî and Mâgadhî Prakrit.

In this tense, Eastern Hindî has another strong point of resemblance with the Śaurasênî group of dialects. I have already pointed out that in the Mâgadhî languages, the memory of the fact that these past tenses are really passive in character has been lost. The suffixing of the enclitic pronouns has given the tense the appearance of an ordinary past tense of an Active verb. In Eastern Hindî we see this process of forgetting actually going on. The memory of the passive character of the tense has been partly preserved by the fact that the language possesses a literature. In the old poetry of Malik Muḥammad and Tulasî Dâs the fact that the tense is passive is rarely forgotten. The subject is put into the case of the Agent, which in this dialect does not end in *nê*, but is the same as the ordinary oblique form, and the verb is made to agree in gender and number, not with the subject, but with the object. In accordance with this, the verb has still, to the present day, a feminine form in the past tenses, and, as we go west, where the influence of the neighbouring Śaurasênî dialects has helped to keep the memory alive, the subject of such tenses of transitive verbs is still in the case of the Agent. Thus, in Eastern Oudh 'he struck' is '*û mâris*,' in which *û* is in the Nominative case, and means 'he'; but in Unao in Western Oudh, the expression used is '*ui mâris*,' in which *ui* is in the oblique form and means 'by him.' The nominative singular of *ui* is *wô*.

**The Future Tense.** — The case of the Future Tense is similar, but more complicated. In Sanskrit there are two ways of saying 'he will go.' It may be said either actively or passively,

*i. e.*, we may either use the direct expression, 'he will go;' or we may say 'it will be to-be-gone by him.' The first is in Sanskrit *chalishyati*, and the second *chalitavyam* used impersonally. We shall first trace the former into the modern languages. In Śaurasênî it first became *chalissaï*, with the same elision of *t* that we noticed in the case of the past participle. Then the two '*s*'s became changed to *h*, and we have *chalihaï*. This form has survived to the present day, and in Braj Bhâkhâ and other Śaurasênî-derived dialects means 'he will go.'[3] The whole tense is thus conjugated in Braj Bhâkhâ.

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mârihaũ*, I shall strike | *Mârihaĩ* |
| 2. | *Mârihai* | *Mârihau* |
| 3. | *Mârihai* | *Mârihaĩ* |

We are thus entitled to say that the characteristic of the future tense in the Śaurasênî group of dialects is the syllable *ih*.

The Mâgadhî group of dialects, *i. e.*, those which form the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, on the contrary prefers to form its future on the impersonal passive future participle, an example of which is the Sanskrit word *chalitavyam*, it is to be gone, equivalent in meaning to the Latin *eundum*. The impersonal nature of this participle should be noticed. It does not say who is to go. It leaves this to be supplied by a pronoun. The Sanskrit *chalitavyam* becomes in both Prakrits *chaliavvam*, and we find the next stage of growth in the word *chalaba*, in the old Eastern Hindî of Tulasî Dâs. It is here used as a pure future, and is not changed either for person or number. *Chalaba* means 'I, thou, he, we, you, they will go.' The explanation is the original meaning in Sanskrit. As in that language, the word literally means 'it is to be gone.' Who it is that has to go, is left to be defined by the aid of a pronoun. Hence the form of the verb remains unchanged.

Coming now to the present day, we may take Bengali as an example of the Eastern group of languages. Assamese and Oṛiyâ follow it in every particular. As in the case of the past tense, Bengali cannot use the future participle alone, it must add enclitic pronouns to it. Its future participle ends in *ib*. That is to say the Prakrit *chaliavvam* becomes *chalib*; while similarly the Sanskrit *mâri-tavyam*, it is to be struck, becomes in Prakrit *mâriavvam*, and in Bengali *mârib*. To this it adds the enclitic pronouns. When a Bengali wishes to say 'I shall strike,' he says '*mârib*,' 'it is to be struck,' and then '*ô*,' which he writes *a*, 'by me,' *i. e.*, *mârib-a*. The Bengali future is therefore conjugated as follows :—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mâr-ib-a*, I shall strike | *Mar-ib-a* |
| 2. | *Mâr-ib-i* | *Mâr-ib-ê* |
| 3. | *Mâr-ib-ê* | *Mâr-ib-en* |

The remaining Eastern language, Bihârî, holds fast to the same principle in forming the first two persons of the future. That is to say, it adheres to the base with *b*, in this case, *mârab*. It is, however, unable to make up its mind about the third person. In Maithilî and Mâgadhî it uses the present participle somewhat clumsily for this person of the future, but in Bhojpurî it takes refuge in the *ih*-future which we have just met in Śaurasênî, so that we have the curious spectacle of a future in which the first two persons are really impersonal passives, while the third person is active. As in the case of the Past tense, however, all memory of the

[3] The *chalûgâ* which we meet as the future in the ordinary Hindustânî of the books has an altogether different derivation.

passive origin of the first two persons has been lost. The Bhojpurî future is, therefore, as follows:—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mâr-ab-ỗ*, I shall strike | *Mâr-ab* |
| 2. | *Mâr-ab-ê* | *Mâr-ab-ah* |
| 3. | *Mârihê* | *Mârihen* |

In the first two persons, the terminations are enclitic pronouns meaning 'by me,' 'by thee, and so on. Eastern Hindî goes still further in the same direction. The Awadhî dialect closely agrees with Bhojpurî. Its future is:—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mâr-ab-ũ*, I shall strike | *Mâr-ab* |
| 2. | *Mâr-ab-es* | *Mâr-ab-ô* |
| 3. | *Mârihai* | *Mârihaĩ* |

As, however, we go west, we find in the Awadhî-speaking district of Unao the following:—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mârihaũ*, I shall strike | *Mârihaĩ* |
| 2. | *Mârihai* | *Mârihau* |
| 3. | *Mârihai* | *Mârihaĩ* |

This is a pure *ih*-future, and is identical with the one given above for Braj Bhâkhâ. The Baghêlî dialect, according to Dr. Kellogg, takes a mean position between these two extremes. It may be noted that the first person singular, *mâravyeũ* more really approaches the Prakrit form *mâriavvam* than in any other dialect.

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Mâr-avy-eũ*, I shall strike | *Mâr-ab* |
| 2. | *Mâr-ib-es* or *mârihes* | *Mâr-ib-â* |
| 3. | *Mârî* | *Mârihaĩ* |

It should be remarked, however, that the specimens collected for this survey from the Baghêlî-speaking area only show the *ih*-future, conjugated exactly as in Unao.

The Chhattîsgaṛhî future shows another mixture of these two forms. It is as follows:—

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Marihaũ*, I shall strike | *Mâr-ab* or *marihan* |
| 2. | *Mar-ab-ê* | *Marihau* |
| 3. | *Marihai* | *Marihaĩ* |

We thus see that, as in the Past Tense, the Future Tense of Eastern Hindî occupies an intermediate position between that of the Mâgadhî languages of the East, and that of the Saurasênî languages of the West.

**General Conclusion.** — We are hence entitled to state that the Eastern Hindî language, or, in other words, the East-Central group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, agrees generally in regard to its nouns and pronouns with the Mâgadhî or Eastern Group of vernaculars, but, in regard to the verb, occupies a position intermediate between that group and the Saurasênî group, whose habitat is immediately to its west. It is the modern representative of the ancient Ardha-Mâgadhî Prakrit.

# ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICH BURKHARDT.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E, Ph.D., I.C.S.*

*(Continued from p. 252.)*

## APPENDIX.

### 1. Explanation of Luke i. 1-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) چونکہ سِٹھو گنڈ کمر زِہ تِمن | (1) *Chûnki seṭhau gonḍ kamar, zi timan* |
| کامِن ہند یِمہ اِسہ اندر واقِع سپِنہ [زِہ] | *kâmen-hond, yimạ ase andar wâqiʻ sapane,* [*zi*] |
| بیان کرن * (2) یِتھ پاٹھِ تِمو یِم گڈہ | *bayân karan,* (2) *yithạ pôṭh$^i$ timau, yim goḍạ* |
| پٹھہ پانہ وچھنوآلِ تہ کلامکِ خدمت | *peṭhạ pânạ wuchhanwôl$^i$ tạ kalâmạk$^i$ khidmat* |
| کرنوآلِ آسِ اسِہ نِش کرک رِوایت * (3) مہ تِہ | *karanwôli ôs$_i$, ase nish karạk riwâyat ;* (3) *me ti* |
| زون مناسِب زِہ گڈہ پِٹھہ کوشِش تہ دریافت | *zôn munâsib zi, goḍạ peṭhạ kôshish tạ daryâft* |
| کرِت لیکھہ صحیح پاٹھِ سوری کِنھ چانِہ خاطرہ | *karit, lêkhạ ṣaḥîḥ pôṭh$^i$ sôruy kĕh châni khôṭrạ,* |
| ای فاضِل تھیوفلس بترتیب (4) یتھ تِمن | *ay fâẓil Thyôfilus, bitartîb,* (4) *yuth timan* |
| کتھن ہِنز راستی یِمن ہِنز چہ تعلِیم چھِی | *kathan-hạnz râstî, yiman-hạnz tse taʻlîm chhey* |
| ہیچھمژ زانک | *hêtsmạts, zânak.* |

### 261. Word by word analysis.

*Chûnki* (Prs.), Conjunction, because, forasmuchas; *seṭhau*, adj. instr. pl., of *seṭhạ* (§ 257), many; *gonḍ*, 3, sg. impersonal, aor. of *ganḍun*, to bind (§ 180, No. 65); *kamar*, m., waist, with *ganḍun*, to tighten the waist-cloth, to undertake; *zi* (Pers.), conj., that (= ὅτι); *timan*, dat. pl. demonst. pron. (§ 243); *kâmen-hond*, gen. pl. of *kôm*, fem., deed, work, business (3rd declension); *yimạ*, nom. pl. fem., rel. pron. (§ 245); *ase*, loc. pl. of *bo*, I (§ 228); *andar*, proposition, m., with dat.; *wâqiʻ* (Arab.), participle, happening; *sapane* (§§ 90, 158), aor. 3 pl. fem., of *sapanun*, to be, with *wâqiʻ*, to occur; *zi*, repeated on account of the relative sentence; *bayân* (Arab.), declaration; *karan*, 3 pl. pres. (subj.) of *karun*, to make; *yithạ pôṭh$^i$* (§ 259, 2, c.), adv. in what manner; *timau*, instr. pl., demon. pron. (§ 243); *yim*, nom. pl., rel. pron. (§ 245); *goḍạ*, fem., beginning, abl. *goḍạ* (for *goḍi*); *peṭhạ*, preposition, from (with abl.).; *pânạ* (§ 238), self; *wuchhanwôli*, nom. pl. masc., noun of agent, of *wuchhun*, to see (§ 84); *tạ*, conj., and; *kalâmạk$^i$*, adj. nom. pl. masc. of *kalâmuk*, *i. e.*, gen. of *kalâm* (Arab.), a word (§§ 198, 1, *b*; and 208); *khidmat* (Arab.), fem., service, ministry; *karanwôl$^i$* (like *wuchhanwôl$^i$*, from *karun*, to make; with *khidmat*, to do ministry, to minister; *kalâmạk$^i$ khidmat kar°*, men doing-ministry of the word, ministers of the word; *ôs$^i$*, aor. 3 pl. masc. of *âsun*, to be; *ase*, as above; *nish*, preposition, to, *ase nish*, to us; *karạk*, aor. 3 sg. f. + suffix *k*; by them was it (*i. e.*, *riwâyat*, delivering, *riwâyat karun*, to deliver) done; *timau ri° karạk*, by them it was delivered (§ 92); *me*, dat. pers. pron. (§ 228); *ti*, also (*quoque*); *zôn*, aor. 3 sg. impersonal of *zânun*, to consider, think (§ 180, No. 46); *munâsib* (Arab.), proper, right; *zi*, as above; *goḍạ peṭhạ*, as above; *kôshish* (Pers.), labour, energy; *daryâft* (Pers.), understanding; *karit*, participle absolute

of *karun* (§ 84); *lêkha*, 1 sg. pres. (subj.) of *lêkhun* (*lekhun*), to write; *sahih* (Arab.), adj., complete, correct; *pôthi*, instr. sg. of *pôth*, m., manner (*cf.* above *yitha pôthi*); *sôru-y kêh*, all that, the entire (§ 248); *châni*, abl. fem., possess. pron. (§ 232); *khôtra*, for the sake of (§ 208); *ay*, interj.; *fâzil* (Arab.), excellent; *Thyôfilus*, Theophilus; *bitartîb* (Arab.), adv. from *bi*, in, + *tartîb*, order; *yuth*, conj., as; *timan*, dat. plur., dem. pron. (§ 243); *kathan-hanz*, gen. pl. fem. sg., of *kath*, a word, teaching; *râstî* (Pers.), fem., rightness, truth; *yima-hanz*, gen. pl., rel. pron., agreeing with *ta'lîm* (Arab.), fem., teaching, instruction; *ehhe-y*, there is to you (§ 164); *hêtsmats* (for *hetsmats*) (m. *hyutmut*), perf. part. fem. of *heun*, to take, agreeing with *ta'lîm*; *zânak*, 2nd pers. pres. (subj.) of *zânun*, to know, to learn.

### 262. Literal Translation.

(1) Forasmuchas by many was the waistband tightened (*i. e.*, it was undertaken) that of those things which happened among us (that) declaration they should make; (2) in the manner in which by them, who from the beginner self-seers (*i. e.*, eye-witnesses) and of-the-word ministry-doers (ministers) were, to us delivery was made; (3) by me also it was thought proper that from the beginning diligence and understanding having made (*i. e.*, with diligence and understanding), I should write in a truthful manner everything for thy sake, O excellent Theophilus, in order; (4) so-that of those things the truth, of-which by-thee instruction has-by-thee been-taken, thou-mayst-know.

(*To be continued.*)

---

## THE COPPER COINAGE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

BY REV A. WESTCOTT.

### Preface.

THE numismatic enthusiast in Southern India cannot fail to be bewildered by the extraordinary multiplicity of the copper coins which fall in his way. Leaving on one side the coinage of native potentates, he finds that the early coinage of the Companies in itself offers a wide field for his energies. In the absence of any complete catalogue he knows not what to expect, and experiences much difficulty in arranging the specimens which he has secured. By the aid of Atkins' *Colonial Coins*, and Thurston's *Madras Museum Catalogue*, he can compile a fairly complete list of the gold and silver coinage, but to the copper coinage, especially in its early stages, he has no adequate guide.

With the view to preparing the way for a more or less complete guide to these coins, I have arranged a tentative catalogue comprising those coins of which mention has been made in other available lists, adding thereto some pieces in my own collection which do not appear to have been published hitherto.

### A. Copper Coins of the London Company.[1]

[Abbreviations :

A. = Atkins' *Coins of British Possessions and Colonies.*

H. = Hultzsch (article in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI.).

T. = Thurston's *Catalogue of Coins in Madras Museum.*]

---

[1] Queen Elizabeth in 1600 granted a Royal Charter to 'The Governor and Company of Merchants trading into the East Indies.'

This London Company's first settlement on the Coromandel Coast was at Pulicat, where they had a precarious tenure by favour of the Dutch. In 1620 they obtained an independent settlement at Masulipatam, and in 1625 were able to open a branch establishment at Armaghâm. Their third settlement, in Madrâs, together with the right to coin money, was purchased from the Raja of Chandragiri in 1639.

**I. — Undated Coins.**

1. H. No. 24.

*Ob.* — Srî.

*Rev.* — Kumpini (*i. e.*, Tamil for Company).

2. H. No. 25.

*Ob.* — Star of eight points.

*R.* — Kumpini.

This eight-pointed star seems to have found favour with the Company. It was revived subsequently. See Nos. 9 and 10.

3. H. No. 26.

*Ob.* — Orb and cross.

*R.* — Sri Ranga.

The orb and cross, of which this is apparently the earliest occurrence was the special device of the London Company. The Inscription Sri Ranga on the reverse doubtless is due to the instruction of the Raja of Chandragiri that the Company should retain the image of Vishnu on their coins. Figures of Venkateswara, Lakshmi, and the like are found on the Company's pagodas and fanams, but not on the cash, unless the copper coin in the Madras Museum (C. 5) is a genuine coin, and not, as is far more probable, a sham pagoda.

Some of the specimens of this coin in my collection have a different reverse. The coin is a single cash of about 10 grains weight.

4. T. No. C. 42.

*Ob.* — Traces of orb and cross, and of the letters C. C. E.

*R.* — Sri Ranga.

This is the first occurrence of the letters C. C. E., which are presumably the initials of Chartered Company to the East Indies. One writer describes these two C's as 'crescent moons.' This is, however, a mistake, and does not explain the E.

5. A. 66.

*Ob.* — Orb and cross inscribed C. C. E. within a beaded circle.

*R.* — 'Indian characters within a beaded circle.'

The inscription on this coin is undecipherable though quite distinct. It is assigned to the reign of George I. (1714-1727). But as it has the device of the London Company, I include it with their coins, though greatly suspecting its genuineness.

**II. — Dated Coins.**

6. H. No. 27.

*Ob.* — Orb and cross with 78 in the lower division of orb.

*R.* — Sri Ranga.

The 78 on this coin is understood to represent 1678. The Company received a new Charter from Charles II., with permission to coin in 1677, and this coin is probably one of the results thereof. Atkins includes this coin amongst Bombay coins; but it is clearly a Madras type, and I have obtained two specimens of it out of Madras soil.

7. H. No. 28.

*Ob.* — $\frac{16}{98}$ within a circle.

*R.* — Sri Ranga.

8. H. No. 29.

*Ob.* — $\frac{17}{05}$ within a circle.

*R.* — Sri Ranga.

9. **Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — Eight-pointed star within a beaded circle.

*R.* — $\frac{IV}{\cdot I}$ (*i. e.*, 1701).

10. **Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — As No. 9.

*R.* — 1710.

The above four coins are probably efforts of the new or English Company, but Nos. 7 and 8 are connected with the London Company's coinage by the Sri Ranga of the *R*, and Nos. 8 and 9 by the eight-pointed star of the *Ob.* (see No. 2).

11. **Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — Orb and cross inscribed $\frac{C. C.}{E.}$

*R.* — The date 1691 between wavy lines within a circle.

This coin and Nos. 12 and 13 are the fore-runners of the long series extending from 1702-1806. The coin is called 'Dudu[2] or Faluce' by Atkins. I attribute this new departure in coinage to the Company's new Charter granted by James II. in 1686 with renewed permission to coin. It has been remarked that the Company began to coin the Dutch pagoda also in 1691.[3]

12. A. 67.

As No. 11, but date 1693.

13. A. 68.

As No. 11, but date 1695.

14. **Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — Orb and cross, inscribed $\frac{C. C.}{E.}$

*R.* — $\frac{16}{91}$ within a circle.

15. **Unpublished.**

Same as No. 14, but date $\frac{16}{99}$.

The above two coins are the fore-runners of the subsequent 'Half-faluce' series. I cannot be absolutely certain as to the exact dates, as on both specimens the last figure is rather indistinct. Both No. 11 and No. 14 are indisputably clear when turned upside down.

16-47. A. 69-97.

Faluces of various dates from 1702-1806 similar to Nos. 11-13, but of irregular shape, and ruder workmanship, and with numerals larger and ill shaped. In my collection are 'faluces' of the years 1731, 1786, and 1789, being dates not recorded by Atkins.

[2] Little Tamil boys of the present day in Madras almost invariably call copper coins '*dootie*' which is their way of pronouncing '*dudu*.' They also speak of '*kās*.' The word '*anna*' is quite tabooed by them.

[3] This Dutch or Three-Swami Pagoda, as well as the old Star Pagoda should be included in the Company's Madras gold coinage. They are not mentioned by Atkins.

48 58. A. 98-108.

'Half-faluces' of various dates from 1702-1804 similar to Nos. 14 and 15, but of ruder shape and workmanship.[4]

These two long series of 'Faluce' and 'Half-faluce,' though a continuation of the London Company's coinage, and bearing their device, belong properly to the period of the United Company.

### B. Copper Coin of the English Company.[5]

**59. Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — A heart-shaped shield inscribed E. E. I. C. and surmounted by the numeral 4.

*R.* — As on some Tinnevelly Nayakar coins.

This coin probably belongs to the period 1699-1703 when the rival companies London and English were at strife, previous to the incorporation of the old one in the new. It is an interesting piece on account of its displaying for the first time the 4 above the shield, which afterwards became so familiar in the trade mark of the United Company.[6]

### C. Copper Coins of United East India Company.

**I. — Undated Coins.**

64. T. C. 38.

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark' of the Company : surrounded by a beaded circle.

*R.* — Crossed lines and symbols.

**65. Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark' V C I E.

*R.* — Crossed lines.

**66. Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark' C | V E | I.

*R.* — Crossed lines.

**67. Unpublished.**

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark' V | E I | C.

*R.* — Similar to that of No. 64.

68-73. A. 109-111.

*Ob* — In Persian and English XL Cash.

*R.* — This is Forty Cash (in Telugu and Tamil).

[4] As illustrating the rough workmanship of this resuscitated series, I may remark that T. No. C. 34 which is figured in pl. xv. 11, and is described as having an 'undecipherable inscription' on the Reverse, appears to me to be a 'half-faluce' of 17 × 6 figured upside down.

[5] In 1698 William III. granted a Charter to a new Company. This action was much resented by the old Company, whose Government was 'determined' in three years commencing from Michaelmas 1698. But as Governor Pitt remarked, "afterwards it (*i. e.*, their Government) is secured to them by their subscriptions" to the new Company. The new Company was styled, "the English Company trading to the East Indies."

[6] On second thought I omit Nos. 60-63, as I am very doubtful as to the reading of their obverse. It has been read as Kumpini, as Madura, as Sri Vira, and by myself as E. E. I. C. with flourishes. The character is supposed to be Telugu; but it is not easily recognisable as such, and I take it to be *bogus* Telugu. For the present it seems safer to suppress these coins.

Atkins notices three varieties of this coin; but including his published varieties I have observed six. Besides the variety in the form of the dividing line on the obverse, one specimen in my collection has a dividing line on the reverse also. The Tamil lettering also varies in several respects, *e. g.*, one piece reads '*yithu*,' another '*ithu*.'

This piece, and the others of the same series that follow, though undated, are known to have been first coined in 1807.

74-79. A. 112-115.

Same as Nos. 68-73, but smaller and inscribed XX Cash.

Of this piece too there are varieties not mentioned in Atkins.

80-85. A. 116-119.

Same as above but smaller and inscribed X Cash.

86. A. 120.

Same as above but smaller and inscribed V Cash.

86*a*. **Unpublished.**

Same as above but inscribed $2\frac{1}{2}$ Cash.

87. A. 121.

Same as above but smaller and with no dividing line.

88. T. No. C. 43.

*Ob.* and *R.* — 'Bale-mark of the Company.'

89. T. No. C. 54.

*Ob.* — Quarter Dub of the Company (in Tamil).

*R.* — Quarter Dub of the Company (in Telugu).

**II. — Dated Coins.**

The following, being all small coins, are for convenience sake placed in succession: —

90. T. No. A. 2 and 3.

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark.'
*R.* — 1733.

91. T. No. 4.

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark' V E I C.

*R.* — 1736.

92. T. No. A. 5.

*Ob.* — Bale-mark.'
*R.* — 1737.

93. A. 122.

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark.'
*R.* — ۱۲۱۰. (1210 = 1795) within a square.

94. A. 123.

Similar to last, but date ۱۲۱۱ (1211 = 1796).

95. A. 124.

Similar to last, but date ١٢١٢ (1212 = 1797).

96. T. No. A. 87.

*Ob.* — 'Bale-mark.'

*R.* — 1807.

97.[7] A. 125.

*Ob.* — United Company's Bale-mark, etc. — 1794.

*R.* — Company's arms, etc. '48 to one Rupee.'

98. A. 126.

As last, but Company's crest only on *R.*

99. A. 127.

As 97, but date 1797.

100. A. 128.[5]

As 97, but smaller, and '96 to one Rupee.'[8]

101. A. 129.

As 100, but date 1797.

102. A. 131.

*Ob.* — Company's arms, etc., 1803.

*R.* — Value in Persian and English, XX Cash.

103. A. 133.

As 102, but smaller and X Cash.

104. A. 135.

As 103, but smaller and V Cash.

105. A. 137.

*Ob.* — Company's crest — 1803.

*R.* — Value in Persian and English, I Cash.

106. A. 132.

As 102, but date 1808.

107. A. 134.

As 103, but date 1808.

108.[9] A. 136.

As 104, but date 1808.

---

[7] These coins were struck for the Northern Circars. Atkins states that this coin was an attempt to assimilate the Mohammedan and Hindu monetary systems. Accepting this piece as equivalent to 20 Cash the Rupee becomes 960 Cash. The relations of the two systems were complicated.

By Government Order of December 9th, 1817, the following values were fixed :—

Star Pagoda (Hindu) = 3½ Rupees = 45 fanams = 3,600 cash.
Rupee (Mohammedan) = 12 fanams + 68 cash = 1,028 cash.
Fanam = 80 cash.

According to above scale 3½ Rupees = 3,598 cash which is sufficiently near to the Pagoda Value of 3,600 cash. Eventually the Mohammedan system prevailed.

[8] This series of 48, 96 to the Rupee, should be compared with the Ceylon series of 12, 24, 48 of 1801, and of 48, 96, 192 of 1802.

[9] The above series of 1803 and 1808 were minted in England, and in immense quantities. In 1810 there were reported to be 80,000 pagodas worth of these coins in Madras, and it was recommended that they be shipped to Bengal. They are still common in Madras and continued current until the general Indian Copper Coinage was introduced.

109. T. No. A. 89.

*Ob.* — Persian legend. Three Faluce, etc. ۱۸۰۷.

*R.* — Value in Tamil and Telugu (three new dubs and one little fanam).

110. A. 138.

*Ob.* — Persian legend: Double Faluce, etc. ۱۸۰۷.

*R.* — Value in Tamil and Telugu.

111. A. 139.

*Ob.* — Persian legend: Little Fanam or Faluce, etc. ۱۸۰۷.

*R.* — Value in Tamil and Telugu.

112. A. 140.

Similar to 110, but Half-faluce.

113.[10] A. 141.

As 110, but date ۱۸۰۸ (1808).

114.[10] A. 142.

As 111, but date ۱۸ ۸ (1808).

115.[10] A. 143.

As 112, but date ۱۸۰۸ (1808).

116.[11] T. No. A. 62.

*Ob.* — Persian Legend: Two faluce, etc. ۱۸۰۸ (1808).

*R.* — Value in Telugu and English 2 Dubs.

117. A. 144.

As 116, but smaller and 1 Dub.

118. A. 145.

As 117, but lighter and ½ Dub.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### MR. SCAPE.

(See Yule's *Hobson Jobson, s.v.* Bandanna: ann. 1848: 4[illegible], i.; but it is only a quotation from Thackeray's *Vanity Fair.*)

Scape is a Suffolk name. Rich. Scapy is mentioned under date 6, Nov. 1626 in Bacon's *Annalls of Ipswche*, p. 488. J. Scapey is mentioned under date 17 May 1660 in Stowmarket Churchwardens' Accounts (Hollingsworth's *Hist. of Stowmarket*, p. 196, i). On 23 Ap. 1731 there was a marriage-licence for Rich Martin and Ann Scapey both of Earl Stonham (*Archd. Suff.*, No. 2579), and on 23 Jan. 173⅘ for Rob. Sceby or Scapy and Mary Marriot both of Earl Stonham (*Archd. Suff.*, No. 2860). In Earl Honham churchyard there is a head-stone to Will. Scapey (1740-1807), and in the neighbouring churchyards of Coddenham and Badley the spelling is Scapy. In Beyton churchyard Scarpe is found. Tho. Ward of Great Finborough m. Pleasance Scapy (1753-1815), and their grandson Tho. Scapy Ward of Theeler's Farm, Elmstead, Essex, died in 1867. Scapy Tydeman, farmer, was living at Earl Stonham in 1844 (White's *Suff. Directory* for that year).

CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

[10] I have not yet seen any specimens of these coins. I insert them on the authority of Atkins. Their relation with the three following is interesting. They are of the same year, and of the same values, and apparently intended to circulate in the same district.

[11] Thurston catalogues 2 Dubs and half Dub of 1801, but I take this to be an error for 1808. (*Cf.* T. No. A. 62 with its figure Pl. ii. 8.)

# HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

*(Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âṣir.)*

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

*(Continued from p. 247.)*

## CHAPTER XII.

### Reign of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, son of Humâyûn Shâh.

HISTORIANS have related that, when Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh was on his death-bed, he summoned **Khwâjah Jahân** and Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gîlanî, and by the terms of his will left them to decide as to which of his sons — *viz.*, Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, or Jamshîd Shâh — was best fitted for the succession. Since the tokens of sovereignty were manifest in the appearance of **Sulṭan Niẓâm Shâh,** after the death of the Sulṭân, Khwâjah Jahân, in concurrence with the *amîrs*, nobility and grandees, on the date above mentioned, in the capital Bîdar, seated Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh at the age of eight years on the throne in place of his father. According to the customary service devolving upon the *saiyids* as heads of the people, **Shâh Muhabb-Ullàh,** son of Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh, and **Saiyid-i Sharîf Saiyid Manjalah,** son of Saiyid Hanîf, each taking a hand of the Sulṭân, seated him on the throne; and the *shekhhs* and learned men who were present recited the *fâtihah* and they as well as the nobles and ministers uttered the customary praises and congratulations and plighted their fealty; and having received suitable gifts recited these lines :—

"O king, may thy high fortune be everlasting!
May the dust of tranquillity be the collyrium of thy penetrating eyes!
May the mirror of thy heart be always as free from blemish as the precious gems in thy sword!"

The prince being still only a boy in the flower of youth, the administration of the affairs of government was entrusted to the **Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân,** who was daughter of Mubârak Khân, son of Sulṭan Fîrûz Shâh; and with the aid of the sound judgment of the wise minister Khwâjah Jahân Maḥmûd Gâwân the affairs of State were wisely administered. First of all their attention was given to the comfort of the subjects, and they busied themselves in repairing the injuries inflicted by Humâyûn Shâh. All the innocent persons who had been imprisoned by him were set at liberty, and the agents of government were confirmed in the offices and rank which they formerly held. But as most of the *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, through fear of the vengeance of Humâyûn Shâh, had fled and become scattered abroad, and the affairs of the subjects in general and the army had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder, and oppositionists and breeders of disturbance had withdrawn from their allegiance and raised rebellions, the **Râya of Orissa** with a large force of infantry, cavalry and elephants had invaded and devastated the whole territory of Islâm. The nobles and ministers of State who were present at court assembled large forces, and Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh set out with them from Bîdar to repel the invasion. When they had gone only ten *farsakhs*[9] from Bîdar the army of Orissa arrived from the other direction, and between the two forces not more than three *farsakhs*[10] remained. Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh with a force of 160 armour-clad cavalry armed with lances, placing his reliance on God, started at daybreak against the infidels, and encountered the enemy's vanguard, which consisted of nearly 10,000 infantry, 400 cavalry and some elephants. An engagement took place which lasted from mid-day till sunset. Many of the enemy were killed and the dust was defiled with the impure blood of the cursed infidels. The *saiyid* fought with the greatest bravery and the enemy's force was completely defeated. When the remainder of the enemy's force saw what had happened they wavered and fled, leaving their tents, baggage and other valuable goods on the spot.

[9] About 34 miles.

[10] About 10 miles.

### Sultân Maḥmûd Khiljî wages war against Sultân Nizâm Shâh.

Just when the mind of the guardian of the Sultân was at rest on the conclusion of the Orissa affair, letters arrived from the protectors of the frontiers saying that **Sultân Maḥmud Khiljî** having become aware of the dispersion of the army of the Dakhan and the disorder which reigned in it, and the ascendancy of the infidels, had — at the instigation of the Ghûrîs who had taken refuge with him to escape chastisement from Humâyûn Shâh — come with an immense army, and crossing the frontier had encamped in a desolate part of the country. Immediately upon hearing this news the Sultân with his army proceeded to oppose Sultân Maḥmûd, and at the distance of about ten *farsakhs* from Bîdar the two forces met and drew up in order of battle

Malik Shâh Turk, on whom the title of Khwâjah Jahân had been conferred, and another Turkî slave who held the title of Sikandar Khân were in the centre of the army, in attendance on Sultân Nizâm Shâh with a hundred elephants and 11,000 cavalry. The right wing was under the command of Nizâm-ul-Mulk Turk with 10,000 spearmen and forty elephants; and in the left wing was **Khwâjah Maḥmud Gâwân**, who at that time held the title of **Malik-ut-Tujjâr**, with 10,000 cavalry and forty elephants.

On the other side Sultân Maḥmûd Khiljî drew up his army, both right and left wings, and strengthened his position; and he himself with 20,000 cavalry and 150 elephants raised his standard in the centre; but notwithstanding the overwhelming number of his force he dug a deep trench round his position so that horses or other animals could not cross it.

The two armies were drawn up in this manner in front of one another. From the clamour of drums and trumpets the heavens were in anguish, and sleeping Tumult raising its head from its pillow awoke at the noise.

Malik-ut-Tujjâr with the left wing attacked the enemy's right where Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn had raised his standard. The latter though he advanced and fought with much bravery was unable to meet the attack, and at last gave way, and his father being killed he took to flight. Nizâm-ul-Mulk also from the right attacked and broke the enemy's left, and numbers of them were dispersed. Muhâbat Khân, governor of Chanderî, and Zahîr-ul-Mulk as well as other *amîrs* of Sultân Maḥmûd who were on the enemy's left were killed. When Sultân Maḥmûd saw both wings of his army thus broken and most of his *amîrs* and troops disheartened, he was about to take to flight; but in the midst of this the elephant-keepers of the (Bahmanî) Sultân seeing the order of the enemy broken had drawn up in line fifty formidable elephants in expectation that the enemy would fly before them, and at once drove them towards the enemy's force. The Turkî *amîrs* who had been delicately nurtured from their youth and were unacquainted with the tactics of warfare, neglected to send a force in rear of the elephants, as they should have done, and so left the elephants unsupported in the midst of the enemy. Sultân Maḥmûd Khiljî who still remained in his place, seeing this move in the game of chess, showed a fresh rook and sent a force of infantry and cavalry to cut off the elephants from the Dakhanî army and shut them in. At this time it occurred to the mind of the foolish Sikandar Khân[11] that the Sultân owing to his youth was unable to ride well, and fearing that he might be wounded, he lifted the Sultân from his saddle and seating him in front of himself tied the Sultân's *kamar-band* firmly to his own waist; but this unseasonable movement caused the army to be disheartened, and when the troops no longer saw the Sultân in his place they turned and fled from the field of battle. The elephants which had been driven at a rapid pace, remained in the hands of the enemy. The centre of the Dakhanî army without experiencing any reverse, and though the Sultân was still alive, like a flock of sheep without a shepherd, turned towards the desert; and contrary to their custom those brave men, every one of whom was skilled in fight, looked like the disordered locks of women.

[11] Sikandar Khân, son of Jalâl Khân Bukhârî, was killed during the previous reign (*vide* p. 164), so this must be some other individual of the same name.

Khwâjah Jahân and Sikandar Khân, who were with the centre of the army in attendance on the Sultân, saw the flight of the army, and taking the Sultân with them proceeded to Bîdar. Sultân Mahmûd from excessive fear and amazement did not move from his place, but fell into this reflection: — "The army of the Dakhan are practising a stratagem: they have placed a force in ambush and pretend to run away, so that when we pursue them they may surround us; otherwise why should the army fly after gaining the victory?"

At midnight the *amîrs* brought Sultân Nizâm Shâh into the city of Bîdar; and next day when the sun rose, Makhdûmah Jahân, the mother of the Sultân (who through fear of Humâyûn Shâh had fled to Râyachûr, but now — encouraged by a royal written agreement — had returned to court), gave orders for the defence of the fortress of Bîdar, and appointed Nizâm-ul-Mulk also to assist her. Then taking the Sultân with her, led the whole force to Fîrûzâbâd Kalburgâ.

Sultân Mahmûd waited three days in the same place till he was assured of the **real flight of the Dakhanî army.** After that he marched to **Bîdar** and encamped within sight of the city, and proceeded to plunder and devastate the city and district. He razed to the ground the houses of the nobility and inhabitants; so that both the great and small of that country recited the *takbîr* of death over their household goods and habitations, and lost all their money and effects.

The enemy's army surrounded the citadel and laid siege to it.

From olden times — as has been formerly mentioned — the foundations of mutual friendship had been firmly laid between the Bahmanî dynasty and the Sultâns of Gujarât; so in this interval Makhdûmah Jahân, who was the most sensible woman of her day, wrote a letter to **Sultân Mahmûd, king of Gujarât,** complaining of the tyranny and oppression of her enemies, and sent it by the hand of an eloquent messenger imploring assistance from the Musalmâns of that country.[12]

When Sultân Mahmûd heard this news he resolved to proceed to the Dakhan to repel the tyrant Mahmûd Khiljî; but his nobles and ministers expostulated with him, saying: — "Dâ,ûd Khân who had possessed the sovereignty for a week is still lying in wait, and though this is the third year of Your Majesty's reign your rule is still not as firmly established throughout the country as it should be, nor have the important affairs of government been furthered as much as could be desired; therefore at such a time as this to leave the seat of government, and for the benefit of others to go on a campaign is a matter for serious consideration."

Sultân Mahmûd, though still in the flower of youth, replied to the *amîrs* in elegant language: — "God is with him who is with God, and to assist Musalmâns and friends is praiseworthy and necessary, for the regulation of the affairs of the world and of mankind is founded upon concord; and it is certain that if the heavens and the elements did not agree with one another and join together in this manner, the organization of the universe would be annihilated; and if the race of men were to break the chain of mutual assistance and reciprocity the foundations of the laws of Nature would be overthrown. . . . . "

When Sultân Mahmûd had ended this manly discourse and had inspired his people with manliness and bravery, after expressing their regret to the Sultân for their unworthy thoughts they changed their minds and said:— "If there is no help for it but to send an army into the Dakhan, the best course seems to be to enter the kingdom of Mâlwâ, and so cause anxiety to the mind of the Khiljîs: by this means you will not have to travel so far from your own territory; and if (which Heaven forefend!) any disturbance should arise in this country, you will be able to return quickly to quell it. By this plan assistance to Sultân Nizâm Shâh will also be assured, for when Sultân Mahmûd Khiljî shall hear of your advance towards his territory, he will quit the Dakhan and hurry back to his own kingdom."

12 *Vide* Bayley: *Gujarât*, pp. 175-6, and *Mir,ât-i Sikandarî*, litho. ed., p. 99.

When they had explained this plan to Sulṭân Maḥmûd he taxed his courtiers with meanness and want of spirit, and ignoring their advice he without delay marched with his army towards the Dakhan; and in due time arrived at Sulṭânpûr and Nandurbâr, near the frontier of the Dakhan, where he encamped.

In the meantime the army of the Dakhan, which by the accidents of fortune had become scattered like the constellation of the Bear;[13] like the Pleiades soon re-assembled under the shadow of the Sulṭân's victorious standard. The personal property and the families of most of the troops being in the citadel of Bîdar, their sense of honour, zeal and bravery was roused, and attracted them back to their allegiance to the Sulṭân. Just then the news of the arrival of Maḥmûd (Gujarâtî) at Sulṭânpûr reached the Sulṭân, and inspired both him and the army with fresh courage. A continuous correspondence then took place between the two Sultâns.

* * * * * * * *

Sulṭân Maḥmûd (Khiljî) was for a long time engaged **in the siege of Bîdar**: every day he used to fill the ditch of the citadel with earth and rubbish, but when night came the defenders used to come out and entirely remove it and restore the ditch to its former state. A number of historians have related that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî on his journeys used to carry about with him various kinds of vegetables growing in wooden frames, so that at each halting-place he might, at the time of eating, have fresh vegetables on his table. During the siege of Bîdar his supply of vegetables being exhausted, he ordered that somehow or other by lawful means vegetables should be procured for him. He summoned one of the *shekhs* of Bîdar, called Maulânâ Shams-ud-Dîn the Truth-teller — who on account of his friendship for Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh, had remained in Bîdar — and consulted him, saying :—

"If we buy vegetables in this place for the use of the Sulṭân, and pay for them, will it be lawful?" The above-mentioned *maulânâ* fearlessly replied: — "You must surely be in jest: to invade the territories of Musalmâns; to lay waste their country and houses, and rob them of their property; and then to ask for a legal decision from the doctors of the law on the subject of vegetables, is not the act of people of understanding."

When **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî** heard the news of the assembly of the army of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, and that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî was coming to his assistance, **he raised the siege,** and taking Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh and his followers with him, marched from Bîdar and set off two or three stages towards Kalyâṇî so as to escape by way of Châṇdor; but in the meantime spies brought the news that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî with his army was proceeding in that direction; so Maḥmûd Khiljî in fear of his life turned from that direction and hastened towards his own dominions by way of Burhânpûr and Asîr.

When the news of the flight of Khiljî reached Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh he ordered Khwâjah Jahân with a large force to go in pursuit of him, and to hang on the rear of the enemy's army, and slaughter and plunder them wherever he found them. Marching with all speed he came up with the rear of the enemy's army, plundered their baggage and killed great numbers of them.

On the road news again reached Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî that the Gujarât army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the district of Sulṭânpûr, so, seeing that that road also was closed against him, he summoned the chief of Gondwârah and soothed him with various kinds of favour and kindness in order that he might lead them by some other route by which they might avoid molestation from the enemy. The chief said: — "In this neighbourhood there is no practicable route for the army and baggage; but there is a road like the place of Hârût and Mârût[14] towards Akot and Elichpur, far removed from the route of the army of the king of

[13] As having the stars scattered, in opposition to the Pleiades where they cluster.

[14] Names of two angels who, having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man was subject. They could not withstand them: they were seduced by women, and committed every species of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment. — Johnson's *Dictionary*.

Gujarât; but for several stages, owing to the difficulties of the road and the thickness of the jungle, it is hardly practicable.

*Verse.*

The earth is more waterless than brimstone,
The wind more heart-burning than hell."

As a matter of necessity Sulṭân Maḥmûd chose that route for the passage of his army, and said: — "The difficulty of the route is easier than throwing one's self into the jaws of destruction."

Turning aside from the direction of Daulatâbâd, which was the route of the Gujarât army, he marched with as much speed as possible towards Akot. When the tyrannical army entered that valley and desert of which the chief of the Gonds had told them, owing to the numbers of the army and the length and narrowness of the road, the hot winds and the scarcity of fresh water, the troops were excessively distressed; and in the first march five or six thousand of them died of thirst. A band of Gônds who were robbers on that road, when they saw the sufferings of the army from want of water, took the opportunity to plunder them from front and rear and right and lett. The remainder of the army, after encountering a thousand difficulties and dangers, had managed — half dead — to reach **Karân.**[15]

Notwithstanding the trouble and torment suffered by the army of Sulṭân Maḥmûd from want of water on the first march, immediately upon hearing this news, being in terror of their lives they started on, sometimes rising and sometimes falling. It is stated on reliable authority that on that march a cup of water was sold for two rupees, and was thought very cheap at the price. The truth is that since the designs of Sulṭân Maḥmûd were not accommodated to propriety and rectitude towards mankind no result but disaster and reverse of fortune accrued to him from that improper and unfair movement. From the seed of trouble and tyranny which he had sown he neither saw nor gathered any fruit but regret and affliction. On the second stage of his march he lost a great number of men; and those who escaped death were so knocked up by the fatigue of the journey that they would have preferred death to life. Maḥmûd Khiljî, who was himself the originator of his own unpraiseworthy movement, put to death the chief of Gondwârah whom he suspected of purposely misleading them, though he had graphically decribed the difficulties of the route.

After the flight of Maḥmûd Khiljî, Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh wrote and sent to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî a letter thanking him for his kindness.[16]

A year after this **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî again** took it into his head to wage war, and with nearly 90,000 cavalry he **set out towards the Dakhan.** When **Sulṭân Nizâm Shâh** heard of this he assembled his army and unfurled his standard for the purpose of repelling the aggression; and at the same time despatched a letter to **Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât** informing him of the enemy's invasion. When the ruler of Gujarât was informed of the boldness of Maḥmûd Khiljî he at once prepared to oppose him.

Maḥmûd Khiljî through fear of him shrank from the encounter, and halted on the frontiers of Devagiri (Daulatâbâd), where he contemplated his own territory with a look of reflection and anxiety, thinking that perhaps the flood of destruction might surround him, and there might be no opportunity for retreat by the way he had come. When he was assured of the approach of the army of Gujarât, like a gnat which flies from the sound of the wind he beat the drum of return, and hastened away.

When Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh became aware of the flight of his enemy he wrote the following letter to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî:— [17]

[15] This is probably meant for Karanja, Lat. 20° 29′ N., Long. 77° 32′ E.

[16] The letter occupies a page and a half of the MS., and being written in extremely ornate style, and interspersed with Arabic quotations, the reader will probably thank me for omitting it.

[17] The greater portion of this letter is omitted for the same reason as the other.

"The sum of the matter is that the envious and malevolent Khiljî had marched towards Daulatâbâd, but on the 1st of the month Rajab, A. H. 867[18] (22nd March, A. D. 1462) his spies informed him of Your Majesty's arrival near Sultânpur and Nandurbâr for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of our mutual friendship, and eradicating and destroying that troublesome one. As soon as he heard of our alliance that disappointed wanderer retreated by the same road as last year; at which we were much rejoiced. Such being the state of affairs it seemed right to inform you. May the enemies of your country always be vanquished, and the rulers of your State always be victorious!"

In this year Sultân Nizâm Shâh, son of Humâyûn Shâh died suddenly in the thirteenth year of his age. His nuptial feast had been prepared, when from the *ḥaram* sounds of lamentation and wailing arose, and the assembly of pleasure was changed into one of mourning. The nobles and ministers, the inmates of the *ḥaram* and the court attendants shed tears of blood in their anguish.

His age was eleven years, and the period of his reign, according to the best authorities, was two years and fourteen days. This event occurred on the 13th of Zî-ul-K'adah in the year 867 (30th July, A. D. 1463).

CHAPTER XIII.

**Reign of Sultân Muḥammad Shâh II., son of Sultân Humâyûn Shâh.**

After the death of Sultân Nizâm Shâh the nobles and generals consented to the succession of his brother, **Sultân Muḥammad Shâh,** who was then in his tenth year; and according to precedent, on the above-mentioned date, Malik-ul Mushâ,ikh Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh and the chief *saiyid*, Saiyid Manjalah bin Saiyid Khasîf, seated him on the throne, recited the *fâtihat* and wished him long life and prosperity, and the nobles and generals plighted their fealty to him.

The Sultân behaved with liberality towards the doctors of the law, the nobles and ministers, and subjects and army; and invested them with robes of honour, and distributed many valuable presents.

In truth Sultân Muḥammad Shâh was a king endowed with dignity, of high abilities as a ruler; and his magnificence and pomp exceeded that of any other king of Hindûstân as well as his own ancestors. Among other articles of luxury and regal dignity a thousand Turkî slaves from Kibchâk of exceeding beauty waited on him, each standing in his (?) place with folded hands and lowered head. In the time of this monarch the laws of justice and equity were strengthened and confirmed, and the foundations of tyranny and oppression were destroyed.

In the beginning of his reign the affairs of government were conducted by **Malik-ut-Tujjâr Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân**; and with the approval of Makhdûmah Jahân and all the *amîrs* and grandees Khwâjah Jahân Turk Shâhî was punished because in the time of the late Sultân he had been guilty of negligence in the war with Maḥmûd Khiljî. The power of Malik-ut-Tujjâr was now vastly increased, and his orders were everywhere obeyed throughout the dominions of the Sultân.

At this time **Nizâm-ul-Mulk** was sent with an army against the fortress of **Khêrlah.** On arriving there he encamped within sight of the fortress and laid siege to it. After the siege had lasted some time the defenders capitulated, and Nizâm-ul-Mulk agreed to give them quarter, so they came out; but the governor of that fortress, who was an infidel, had treacherous designs concealed in his heart, and at the time of taking *pân* he stabbed Nizâm-ul-Mulk to the heart with a dagger.

[18] The year is not stated here; but we see from what follows, as well as from the *Mir,ât-i Sikandarî* (lith. ed. p. 92) that it was A. H. 867.

A learned man has composed a chronogram giving the date of his death.

After this occurrence the soldiers of Islâm drawing the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of hatred cut down that fearless impure accursed one who had committed so shameful a deed; they also killed his followers, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence. They then plundered and devastated the fort and surrounding country, seizing all the goods they could lay their hands upon, and levelling with the ground the dwellings of the idol-worshippers.

The deceased Niẕâm-ul-Mulk had two adopted sons, slaves of Humâyûn Shâh, whom he himself had educated; one entitled Yaḳrush (or Yag͟hrûsh) K͟hân, and the other Fatḥ-Ullâh Wafâ K͟hân. The two sons taking the body of their father went with the army to the court of the Sulṭân, and making their reverence at the foot of the throne exposed to the view of the Sulṭân the booty which they had brought. The Sulṭân invested the sons of Niẕâm-ul-Mulk with robes of honour, and conferred on them as a *jâgîr* the whole of that country (K͟hêrlah) and its dependencies. He gave Abd-Ullâh[19] the title of 'Âdil K͟hân, and Fatḥ-Ullâh that of Daryâ K͟hân, and exalted them above their equals. This event occurred in A. H. 870 (A. D. 1465).

### Marriage of the Sulṭân.

In this year[20] the Sulṭân desiring to marry, orders were given to prepare the marriage feast.

* * * * * * * * * *

After the conclusion of the marriage festivities robes of honour and princely gifts were conferred on the nobles, ministers and generals.

In the midst of these affairs the ruler of Mâlwâ sent an ambassador named Sharf-ul-Mulk to the court of the Sulṭân with valuable presents and a letter applying for the restoration of K͟hêrlah, which from olden times had belonged to the rulers of Mâlwâ, but had recently been taken by the Dak͟hanî *amîrs*.

When he understood the contents of the letter, the Sulṭân appointed Shek͟h Malik Aḥmad Muḥtasib to proceed to the court of the king of Mâlwâ with a letter and valuable presents. When Shek͟h Malik Aḥmad arrived in Mândû he waited on Sulṭân Maḥmûd; and laying the foundations of peace and prosperity, presented the letter of which he was the bearer, and which was to the following effect: —

"Your Majesty's letter reached its destination, and its contents are understood.

As regards the districts of Aḥmadâbâd Mâhûr which in the reigns of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh Walî-al Bahmanî and Sulṭân Al-Halîm Al-Karîm Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ahmad Shâh, were conquered from the districts of the infidels and have come into our possession; and for the most part under the *ṭarafdârî* of Niẕâm-ul-Mulk G͟hûrî the revenue of those parts has been paid into our royal treasury; and up to the present time they have been in our possession: you shall therefore withdraw your claim to them, and there shall be no further dispute in the matter.

As for K͟hêrlah; since it is known on reliable authority that during the reign of the late Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh Walî Al-Bahmanî it belonged to Hushang Shâh,[21] it shall be restored to you.

As regards the other districts of the infidels, which are for the most part in a state of war and have never professed the faith of Islâm, and the inhabitants of which are continually plundering and devastating the dominions of both of us, they shall belong to whomsoever shall take them with the sword.

---

19 This is not one of the names previously given.

20 The Sulṭân was then only thirteen.

21 King of Mâlwâ.

After ratifying these terms of agreement, which are not subject to alteration, the messenger is to return."

According to his orders, Shekh Malik Aḥmad ratified the terms of the treaty, and then returned to the capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân one day gave a public audience, and having conferred titles on the nobles and ministers, made the following eloquent speech in *darbâr* :—

* * * * * * * * *

With the consent of the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân, the office of prime minister and the regulation of the affairs of the country and people was conferred on Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, who was ennobled by the title of Khwâjah Jahân, and was given unlimited authority over all the affairs of State. He used his power wisely; and in whatever direction he turned, he reduced the countries to submission and compelled them to pay tribute. He thus increased the Bahmanî dominions to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns.

After the affairs of government had been put into the hands of Khwâjah Maḥmûd, entitled Khwâjah Jahân, orders were issued for the assembly of a large army with which he proceeded on an expedition against the infidels of Hublî and Bâgalkot, and the troops surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it. The sound of drums and trumpets reached to the heavens, and they took to their arrows, cannons and guns. Eventually the Dakhanî troops took possession of the fortress. They put many of the garrison to the sword, plundered the houses and seizing whatever they could carry off, levelled the rest with the ground.

The Sulṭân by that attack having gained possession of the fortresses of Hublî and Bâgalkot and the remaining forts and districts of that country, reduced the chiefs of those parts to submission, and the latter after having paid the revenues of their districts into the royal treasury, were exempted from further molestation by the troops.

After that the Sulṭân returned to his capital.

**The Sulṭân sends Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân with a large force against the infidels of the Koṇkan.**

When the Sulṭân had spent a short time in enjoyment and recreation in his capital he conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels of the forts and hills of the Koṇkan; so he summoned the nobles and ministers of State, and explained his intentions. Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, standing up among the nobles, respectfully saluted the Sulṭân, and said :— "We are ready to sacrifice our lives in your service and to save you from the trouble incidental to conducting a campaign yourself in person: if Your Majesty so orders it, I will undertake this duty, and by the aid and favour of God and Your Majesty's good fortune I shall clear the base infidels out of all the forts and towns of that country, and take possession of them, and so free Your Majesty's slaves from all anxiety from them."

The Sulṭân highly approved of this proposal, and presented many royal gifts and a special robe of honour to Khwâjah Jahân. A number of nobles and generals were appointed to co-operate with Khwâjah Jahân in conquering the Koṇkan.

Khwâjah Jahân with a large force set out on the march from Bîdar, and halting in the district of **Kolhâpur**, made preparations for the campaign. He summoned the army which was in that place; and from Junnar and Châkan Asad Khân joined him with a large force. Kishwar Khân also arrived with his force from Kalar (?) and **Dâbhol**.

When a sufficiently large force had assembled Khwâjah Jahân proceeded against the rebellious people of that land, and ordered his troops to cut down and burn the jungle which served as a hiding-place for the enemy. When the base infidels of that country became aware of his approach they joined one another in numbers like ants and locusts to oppose him, and

nearly fifty engagements took place between the Muhammadans and the infidels. After that the rainy season arrived with its clouds, rain and storms; so Khwâjah Jahân unavoidably adjourned the campaign, and with his army returned to Kolhâpûr, where he remained till the conclusion of the season of damp and mud. Then Khwâjah Jahân raised his standard and resumed the conquest of the country of the infidels. First of all, marching to Rabankana (?)[22] he took the fort immediately upon his arrival there; and thence he marched to the fort of **Mâchâl**[22a] and quickly succeeded in gaining possession of that also. After that the army marched towards the fortress of **Sangameshvar** which in strength was second only to **Junnar.** As has already been related in these pages, the infidels of those parts in the time of Khalf Hasan Malik-ut-Tujjâr had massacred him and the brave soldiers of Islâm.

When the Râya of Sagameshvar heard the news of the approach of the brave minister with his army, and had also heard of the conquest of the forts of that country, fearing vengeance, he was overpowered with terror; and having no other resource he sent a person to Khwâjah Jahân to sue for quarter, and delivered up the fortress of **Khêlna**[23] to the agents of Khwâjah Jahân.

This unrivalled minister passed nearly two years in that country and mountainous region. He put many of the base infidels to the sword, and seizing most of the forts and towns from the hands of the infidels, threw the fire of rapine and plunder into the homes of the idol-worshippers, and immense booty and valuable goods, such as horses, elephants, maidens and female slaves of cypress-like forms and tulip-like cheeks, as well as precious jewels and pearls fell into the minister's hands.

Khwâjah Jahân with his army took this immense booty to the court of the Sultân, and after making his obeisance, presented so many offerings from the booty which had fallen into his hands in his numerous victories that the beholders were astonished. The Sultân, by royal favours and kindnesses, exalted Khwâjah Jahân above all his equals, and conferred on him the titles of Majlis-i Karîm and 'Azîm-i A'zam Humâyûn Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân; and orders were given that in the royal assembly none of the nobles or grandees should take precedence of Khwâjah Jahân; and that he should have supreme authority in the government of the Dakhanî dominions.

In this year the **Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân died,** and in A. H. 875 (A. D. 1470) the Sultân assumed the reins of government.

In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingânâ and informed the Sultân that **the Râya of Orisa,** who was the principal *râya* of Telingânâ, **was dead.**

The Sultân was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of those dominions; accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. **Malik Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî,** who was one of the favourites of Humâyûn Shâh, said: — "With Your Majesty's permission I will undertake this duty." The Sultân invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction.

When the base infidels of those parts heard of the approach of the royal army they assembled an army more numerous than ants and locusts, in the midst of heat like the flames of hell, and came out to oppose the army of Islâm; but however much they strove, attacking and retreating before the conquering army, they were at last reluctantly compelled to take to flight, and the royal army pursued them and put many of them to the sword.

After this victory, Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî marched towards the fortress of **Râjamundarî** (Râjamahendrî), and in a short time obtained possession of it. Thence he proceeded towards the **fort of Kondâvîr,** which is situate on the summit of an extremely high mountain and built on hard rock. This fortress he laid siege to and after great exertions it was taken like the others.

[22] Not identified.

[22a] A hill close to Vishâlgaḍh, in which rises the river Muchkundi.

[23] The modern Vishâlgaḍh.

Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk took most of the forts of those districts, and assigned them to the nobles and ministers on feudal tenure; then hastening back to the royal court he made his obeisance to the Sulṭân and presented to him the booty which he had obtained from the land of the infidels, and he was rewarded by kingly gifts and a robe of honour.

At this same period the prime minister, **Khwâjah Jahân, founded four lofty and beautiful domes and colleges in the bâzâr of Bîdar.** Maulânâ Maḥmûd Shîrâzî has composed a chronogram recording the date of the building of the college[24] (A. H. 876, — A. D. 1471). Up to the time of the writer of these pages — which is a thousand years from the *Hijrah* (A. D. 1591) — those buildings and the four domes, in ornament and elegance, are still the admiration of the world.

In the year 879 (A. D. 1474) the Sulṭân sat in state on his throne and gave a public audience to the *amîrs* and nobility, and in elegant language explained as follows:—"The announcers of news have informed me that the district of **Wairagaḍh,** which is in possession of **Jatak Râya,** the ungrateful, is a mine of diamonds; and I am resolved that that district also, like all the others, shall be brought into the possession of the servants of this court; and that in those districts the rites of Islâm shall be introduced, and the symbols of infidelity and darkness be obliterated."

Majlis Rafî' 'Abd-Ullâh 'Âdil Khân; or — according to one historian — Fatḥ-Ullâh Daryâ Khân[25] (according to the diversity of opinion of historians) stood up, and saluting the Sulṭân, said: — "I hope that I may be intrusted with this duty in order that at the risk of my life I may, by the aid of God and the favour of Your Majesty's good fortune, take the fortress of Vairâgaḍh and conquer the infidels of that country."

The Sulṭân rewarded 'Âdil Khân with kingly gifts, invested him with a special robe of honour and despatched him in that direction with several nobles and ministers. The said 'Âdil Khân with a large force marched towards Wairagaḍh, and in due time encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, which was exceedingly lofty and strong, and laid siege to it. The troops displayed much gallantry and strove their utmost, so that the defenders were at last reduced to extremities. When Jatak Râya witnessed the strength and bravery of the attacking force he was overcome with fear, and sued for quarter. He sent a message to Majlis Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, tendering his submission; and said that if a written promise of safe conduct for his family were granted, he would surrender the fort. 'Âdil Khân accordingly gave the required written promise, and took possession of the fort; and leaving some of his troops in charge of it, returned with the rest of his army to the royal court, and presented to the Sultân the valuable booty which he had obtained. The Sulṭân rewarded him handsomely, invested him with a special robe of honour, and assigned to him as a *jâgîr* the districts which he had conquered.

**The Sulṭân's army proceeds to repel the faithless Parkatapah.[26]**

In this same year,[27] and in the midst of these occurrences Khwâjah Jahân Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân informed the Sulṭân that the perfidious Parkatapah had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added: — "With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of **Kânara and Vijayânagar** and annex them to the dominions of Islâm."

The Sulṭân was astonished at the military ardour and bravery of that pure-minded, incomparable minister; but, preferring to enjoy the happiness of himself waging a *jihâd*, he

24 The words recording the date are ربنا تقبل منا

25 These are the two sons of the murdered Niẓâm-ul-Mulk mentioned on page 194.

26 In nearly every place in which this name occurs in the MSS. it is spelt differently, *e. g.*, Parkatapah, Birkanah, Parkatabtah, Parkatîyah, Parkîtak and Barkabtah. It ought to be written Birkâna Rây, or, perhaps, Vikramâdatya — *vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 638.

27 A. H. 879 (A. D. 1474).

ordered his army to be assembled, and from all quarters countless troops flocked into the court.

The Sultân with an army more numerous than drops of rain or the sand of the desert proceeded towards the fortress of **Balgaṇw** (Belgaum); one which is distinguished and exceptional in strength among all the forts of the Dakhan: from the foundation of the walls to the niched battlement, all built of cut stone,[28] and it had a deep wet ditch. In due time the Sultân encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and being anxious to take it he ordered his troops to be drawn up in great force in front of it. The royal engineers apportioned the ground to the different *amîrs* and heads of the army, and in a few days the attack commenced with loud noise and they battered the towers and battlements with cannons, guns, mangonels[29] and all the implements of war. Each day they used to throw the day of resurrection into the fortress of the infidels, and with the crash of cannon and mangonels destroyed the buildings and dwellings of the infidels and filled in the ditch with earth and rubbish.

When for a long time the troops of Islam had been contending in this manner with the infidels, the hearts of the latter were filled with the greatest dread of the army of Islâm, and they began to give way. But Parkatapah, who was the chief of the lords of hell, seeing the state of terror of his followers, resolved to resort to stratagem and deception to induce the royal army to raise the siege. He therefore sent a person to the *amîrs* and ministers and bribed them to induce the Sultân by some means or other to refrain from taking the fortress. Next day, when the nobles went to make their obeisance to the Sultân, they all, with one accord, interceded for the cursed Parkatapah. When the Sultân saw the unanimity of the *amîrs* in interceding for the worshippers of idols he smiled a forced smile, and spoke as follows in elegant language: — "What boldness is this on the part of the cursed Parkatapah, that he dares to contend against our forces! Against us, the foremost among the sons of men, who have inherited the name of 'Sultân' and the title of 'Kayân' from our illustrious ancestors: against us who from the time of Bahman, son of Isfandyâr,[30] to Kayûmars have been illustrious sovereigns. With God's help I will make into fuel for hell that accursed, contemptible one with all his kindred, in order that other rebels may take example from him."

The Sultân then urged his troops to make fresh endeavours; and in order to see the progress of the fight, and encourage the hearts of his brave warriors, he rode his pie-bald charger; and from his regal dignity and majesty the strength of the army was increased so that each one became equal to a thousand, and instilled the utmost fear into the hearts of the infidels.

When Parkâtapah saw the helpless state of the garrison, he trembled and himself sent his family from the towers of the fortress to make their obeisance to the Sultân, while he himself came out from a tower in front of the royal court, with a rope round his neck, and tying himself to a pillar stood like a slave. The Sultân on seeing this and the coming of his family, took pity on the wretched creatures, and forgiving their offences spared their lives; and bestowed the fortress on his minister Khwâjah Jahân.

After that the Sultân returned towards his capital; but on the way stopped some days at Bijâpûr, and bestowed handsome presents on his nobles and ministers, and rewarded all according to their several merits and services. He then returned to his capital.

In the same year a great famine occurred in the Dakhan; and since that sudden misfortune originated in Bijâpûr it was generally known as the famine of Bijâpûr: it extended to most of the districts, and many people died of hunger and destitution. After that the Creator of the world and Provider of the necessaries of life opened the doors of comfort in the face of man-

28 Laterite. 29 *Manjaniḳ.*

30 Bahman, son of Isfandyâr, is commonly known as Ardshîr Darâz-dast — the celebrated Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. The name Bah-man is a Sanskrit compound signifying "possessing arms." — Malcolm's *Hist. of Pers.* Vol. I., Chap. IV.

kind and all kinds of animals; and in His great mercy freed the people from trouble and disquietude. Praise be to God for His beneficence!

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân was informed that the perfidious **Râya of Orissa**, with a large force of foot and horse, had invaded the territories of Islâm. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islâm, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards **Wazîrâbad.** The Sultân ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of **Malikpur**,[31] near **Ashtûr**,[31] on the bank of a tank which was one of the innovations of Malik Ḥasan Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî. According to orders they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled; and the Sultân marching with them, in due time arrived near the fortress of **Râjâmundrî** (Râjâmahendrî). From that innumerable force the Sulṭân picked out 20,000 men with two horses each, and leaving the minister Khwâjah Jahân in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (Maḥmûd Khân) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to Râjâmundrî; and was accompanied on this occasion by the Prince of the Apostles, Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh, grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ulláh.

When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Râjâmundrî, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel **Narsiṇha Râya** with 700,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narsiṇha Râya heard of the arrival of the Sulṭân's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

When the Sulṭân became aware of the flight of the enemy he appointed Malik Fatḥ-Ulláh Daryâ Khân with several other *amîrs* of his conquering army to go in pursuit, and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Daryâ Khân, accordingly, with his division pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Râjâmundrî, and laid siege to it. The Sulṭân also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress. The noise of the war-drums and trumpets was such that the infidels imagined it was the trumpet of Isrâfîl.[32] Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessaries of life.

It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirror of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sulṭân in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on those unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sulṭân. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turkî, Tilangî and Habshî slaves.

The Sulṭân with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his wish that the rites of the faith of Islâm should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned.[33]

After that the Sulṭân went forth, and exalting his victorious standards, proceeded towards his capital, where he turned his attention to the administration of justice and looking after his subjects and army. He liberally rewarded the officers and brave men of his army.

In the midst of these events **'Âdil Shâh, Wâlî of Âsîrgaḍh and Burhânpur,** who had been constantly in subjection to the Sulṭâns of the Dakhan, and recited the *khuṭbah* and

[31] Not identified. [32] The angel of death, who is to blow the last trumpet. [33] Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî.

coined money in the name of those kings, and been a staunch friend and ally of theirs, came to Bîdar to pay his respects to the Sulṭân; and the latter several times took part in festive entertainments in the society of 'Âdil Shâh.

**The Sulṭân marches to Kâṇchîpura and that neighbourhood.**

**Khwâjah Jahân is put to death through the deception of people jealous of him.**

In the months of the year 885 (A. D. 1480) the Sulṭân was informed that his subjects in other of Kondâvîr had broken out in rebellion, and throwing themselves on the protection of Narsiṇha Râya had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islâm. Undoubtedly to defer or neglect to admonish and chastise them would give rise to sedition and disturbance, and probably lead to the destruction of the country; so the Sulṭân on hearing the news, in the month of Ramaẓân in the above-mentioned year (November, A. D. 1480) ordered his army to be assembled; and marching with it towards **the kingdom of Vijayânagar**, in due time arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of **Kondâvîr**, and encamping there, completely surrounded it, so as to prevent all entrance or exit on the part of the infidels.

Immediately upon this movement of the army, the rebels in the fortress were much disturbed, and the swords, spears and arrows struck terror to their hearts; so they hoisted flags of submission on the towers and battlements. They all then begged to be forgiven, and said:— "The cause of our swerving from the road of obedience, and travelling in the desert of error was this, — Certain ministers of the royal court, who wished to seize for themselves the government entrusted to them, set over us as their agents a clique of disreputable, tyrannical oppressors who stretched out the hand of oppression and authority over our property and worldly goods; and would not refrain from their unjust practices, however much we represented the circumstances. They would not allow the tale of our oppression to reach the Sulṭân; so at last we were driven to desperation."

When the Sulṭân became aware of the circumstances of those guiltless oppressed people he pardoned their past offences, and in his exceeding kindness bestowed the fortress with all its dependencies on **Malik Ḥasan Humâyûn Shâhî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî** in order that he might exert himself in cherishing the subjects. But from the words of the inhabitants of the fortress the dust of vexation towards Khwâjah Jahân settled on the margin of the Sulṭân's mind, and he secretly resolved on his destruction.

After the conclusion of the affair of Kondâvîr agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sulṭân that the extensive plains are only open to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of Lât and Manât and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired; and as the infidel Narsiṇha, — who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Teliṇgânâ and Vijayânagar — had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *n'al-bahâ*;[34] therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this Narsiṇha had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kânarah and Teliṇgânâ, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayânagar.

The Sulṭân now, because of the above-mentioned considerations, marched with his army from the above-mentioned fort,[35] and advanced about forty *farsangs*[36] into the country of Narsiṇha, and on arriving within sight of the fortress of **Malûr** — which was the greatest of the forts of that country — encamped there.

[34] Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation. [35] Kondâvîr.

[36] About 136 miles. The actual distance of Malûr from Kondâvîr in a straight line is about 270 miles.

When the cursed Narsiṇha obtained information of the approach of the royal army, he became uneasy and took to flight without giving battle; and used to pass each day in a house and each night in some jungle or other.

One day the Sulṭân ordered a letter to be written to the impure Narsiṇha founded upon threats and intimidation, and reminding him of his hostility both former and recent. When this angry and terror-inspiring letter reached that undiscerning infidel, trembling for fear of being attacked by the Sulṭân's army, and having no other resource, he sent a quantity of valuable presents of jewellery and other valuables, elephants and horses to the Sulṭân's court, and confessing his weakness, promised obedience and submission.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân was informed that at a distance of fifty *farsakhs*[37] from his camp was a city called **Ganjî (Kânchîpura or Kânchî)**, situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable beautiful slave girls. From the rise of Islâm up to this time no Muḥammadan monarch had set foot in it: no stranger had laid hand on the cheek of the bride of that idol-temple; and it was suggested that if the Sulṭân were to send an expedition against it, immense booty and treasures would doubtless be obtained.

On hearing this news the Sulṭân left the prince and the pure-minded minister, Khwâjah Jahân and some of the nobles and great men in charge of the camp, whilst he himself with nearly 10,000 horse made forced marches from that place; and after they had for one day and two nights, travelled a long distance through an uneven country, on the morning of the second day, which happened to be the 11th of Muḥarram in the year 886 (12th March, A. D. 1481) the Sulṭân with Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, Khân-i 'Âzam 'Âdil Khân and 150 special slaves of the Sulṭân, outstripped the whole army, and having surrounded the city of Kânchî, entrapped the people of that city of sinners. Out of a number who had been appointed for the protection of the city and temples, some were put to the sword, whilst others by a thousand stratagems escaped with their lives, and took to flight. The royal troops moment by moment and hour by hour following one another were assembling till a large army was collected under the Sultân's standard. After that, at a sign from the Sulṭân, the troops took to plundering and devastating. They levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity; and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands, that they were beyond computation.

After the successful accomplishment of his desires, the Sulṭân returned from that place to his camp. On arriving there he ordered an elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions.

In the midst of these affairs a clique of jealous and malevolent persons who play with the understanding of everyone, and by deceit and knavery under the semblance of friendship, create ill-feeling between father and son, having conceived pure lies and vile inventions which had the appearance of truth, reported them to the servants of the Sulṭân.

The details of this summary and the abridgment of this digression is this — that a number of spiteful persons, "disease in their hearts," who were continually making malignant imputations against the Khwâjah, with a large sum of money, bribed one of his confidential slaves who always kept his seal about him, to affix his seal to a paper, and return it to them; so that by this cunning device they might accomplish their designs. The misguided slave, according to the wishes of those evil persons, readily consented to do that shameful deed.

The conspirators wrote a letter purporting to be from Khwâjah Jahân to Narsiṇha Râya, full of treachery and ingratitude towards his benefactor; and at the time of leisure they pre-

[37] About 170 miles. The actual distance in a straight line from Malûr to Kânchîpura is about 120 miles.

sented that letter to the Sulṯân in his private apartment, and secretly gave him that manifes, calumny in the garb of sincerity and certainty; and this served to verify the statements of the former calumniators. Since, from the passage of the complaint of the inhabitants of Kondâvîrt the dust of alleged injury from the minister had already settled on the mind of the Sulṯân, the contents of this letter put the former matter into motion, and he fully determined to put to death that incomparable minister.

On the 5th of Ṣafar, in the year last mentioned (A. H. 886 = **5th April, A. D. 1481**), the nobles being all assembled in the court, the Sulṯân, on pretence of having taken an aperient, retired from the assembly, and sent some one to summon Khwâjah Jahân, and called him into his private apartment.

It is said that when the Khwâjah was mounting, with the intention of waiting on the Sulṯân, an astrologer represented to him that it would be advisable for him to put off going into the Sulṯân's presence on that day. The Khwâjah replied: — "The merit of attendance on His Majesty may be productive of eternal happiness and honour to me. Praise be to God, to Whose goodness I bear witness!"

It is related that before the Khwâjah attained the grade of martyrdom, he used continually to repeat this verse: —

"As martyrdom to love is glorious here and hereafter,
"Happy should I be to be carried dead from this field."

And in an ode which he had composed in the previous year in praise of the Sulṯân, he foretold this circumstance.

* * * * * * * * * *

When the Khwâjah arrived in the presence of the Sulṯân, he kissed the ground in salutation. The Sulṯân asked him: — "If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?"

Khwâjah Jahân, without hesitation, replied: — "The abandoned wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword."

The Sulṯân then showed Khwâjah Jahân the forged letter; and when the wretched Khwâjah saw it, he exclaimed: — "By God! this is an evident forgery."[38] He placed his head on the ground and emphatically swore: — "Although this letter is sealed with my seal, your slave has no knowledge of its contents. God forbid! that such base ingratitude should emanate from this slave, with so many past services and risking of life; who has experienced so many acts of kindness from Your Majesty, and who has been distinguished and selected above all his equals.

By God, the jewel of whose commands
The spiritual perforate with their hearts' blood,
It is like the false story of Yusuf and the wolf —[39]
That which his enemies say of this slave."

However much Khwâjah Jahân spoke in this strain, it was of no avail. The Sulṯân, on some excuse, rose up. **Jauhar Habshi** and some of the slaves had previously been ordered to watch for the Sulṯân's signal, and whenever he might look towards them, to kill Khwâjah Jahân, and clear the mind of the Sulṯân from anxiety on account of that minister. At a sign from the Sulṯân they now martyred Khwâjah Jahân by blows of their swords, and threw him in the dust of destruction. And having called As'ad Khân inside they put him also to death.

But the clique who had designed this plot, in a short time met with their just recompense; for shortly afterwards their fraud and deceit became manifest to the Sulṯân: their treachery

[38] A quotation from the Ḳur,ân.

[39] Alluding to Joseph's brethren telling Jacob that he had been torn by a wild beast.

and ingratitude was proved, and they receiving the punishment due to them, were put to death, and the remainder were banished.

* * * * *

After the execution of Khwâjah Jahân, the Sultân proceeded towards his capital, and looked after the comfort of his soldiers and subjects, treating all with much kindness. After some time he repented of having killed that minister; but since the arrow had sped from the bow and the shaft of fate lodged in the butt, regret was of no avail. For this reason delay and deliberation in punishing is advocated by the greatest of sages, who says: — "One cannot remedy the punished, while he who is not punished can be judged."

In some histories it is related that after the martyrdom of Khwâjah Jahân, the Sultân one night in a dream saw the Prophet seated on the throne of judgment, and the father of Khwâjah Jahân appealed against oppression, and demanded retribution for the blood of his son. The Prophet asked him for his witnesses, upon which he produced them; and in accordance with the orders of the Prophet, the law of retaliation was enforced upon the Sultân, who from terror of that dreadful dream, awoke; and by compulsion and uneasiness related the dream to his intimates. He was in a constant state of terror owing to that dream.

A year after that the Sultân again conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, and having collected an army in numbers like the sand, he resolved **to invade Vijayânagar and seize the Konkan.** On the way there the Sultân was seized with asthma and fever, and his strength suddenly failed owing to the severity of the fever. Although skilled physicians applied remedies and did their utmost, they could not cure him: in fact, they only increased his illness. The Sultân seeing death approaching made his will. He sent for Prince Ahmad — afterwards called **Sultân Mahmûd**, and having appointed him heir to the throne, died.

The nobles and statesmen rent their clothes and put dust on their heads and began weeping and wailing.

* * * * * * * * * *

Sultân Muhammad Shâh was a king characterized by mildness and bravery, and celebrated for his mercy and generosity; but he had sold the gem of his precious soul for the jewel of the liquid ruby of pure wine, and had burnt the nest of the bird of his spirit in the desire of pleasure. He had a great partiality for the Turkî slaves, and left in their hands the management of all the important affairs of State.

The Dakhanî *amîrs* — who had been brought up by the ancestors of the Sultân — after his death unanimously agreed to the succession of Sultân Mahmûd Shâh. Outwardly they had mixed with that clique [the Turkîs], like dice of ivory and ebony on a chess-board, but in the end they played with false dice, and suddenly falling upon the Turkîs, threw them on the chess-table of annihilation and misfortune, and arrested them. But eventually the Dakhanî *amîrs* treated one another in the same manner, and crossed swords with one another; so that a country which was adorned like the faces of the fair became utterly dishevelled and confused like the curls and hair of women: some of which occurrences shall after this, please God, be written in the account of Sultân Mahmûd Shâh.

The age of Sultân Muhammad was twenty-eight, and the duration of his reign, twenty years and two months. His death occurred on the 5th of the month Safar, in the year 887 (26th March, A. D. 1482). An excellent man has composed the following chronogram of the date of his death:—

"The king of kings of the world, Sultân Muhammad,
"Who was suddenly plunged into the ocean of death;
"Since the Dakhan became waste by his departure,
"So the 'ruin of the Dakhan'[40] was the date of his death."

(*To be continued.*)

[40] The words giving the date are خرابی دکن The same chronogram is given in Firishtah.

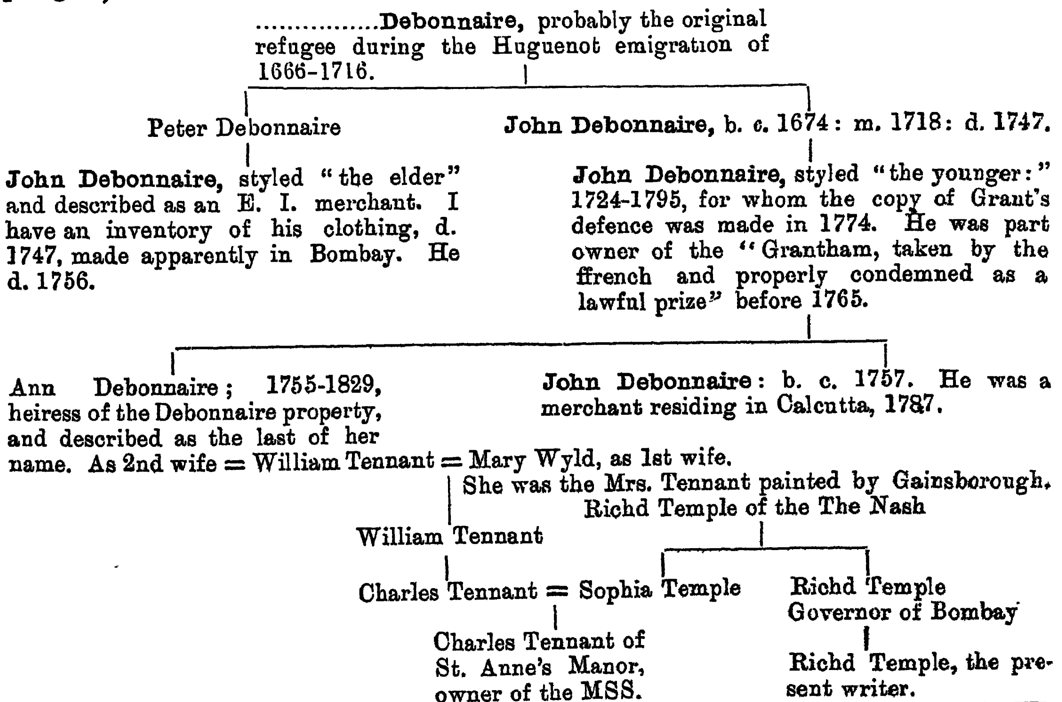
# ALEXANDER GRANT'S ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF CALCUTTA IN 1756.

**Preface by R. C. Temple.**

THE story of **the Black Hole of Calcutta** is of perennial interest, and hence no apology is necessary for the publication of this document, which is **a letter by Capt. Alexander Grant, "Adjutant-General" of the forces engaged in the Defence of Calcutta** against the army of Surâju'ddaula, evidently intended to excuse his conduct. Major Minchin, the Commander, and Capt. Grant were **dismissed** from the E. I. Company's service **for deserting their posts,** and Dr. Busteed, who extensively quotes, in his *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, from this document now under consideration, and puts the case as to the deserters very mildly, says : — " Desertion in the presence of the enemy on the part of those to whose lot had especially fallen the duty of seeing the struggle, however hopeless, to the end, is a charge not to be lightly made. Any reference, therefore, to an occurrence, which carried with it so deep a stigma, should in fairness be accompanied by what has been alleged in exculpation of their conduct by those chiefly concerned. Both the Governor [Roger Drake] and the Adjutant General [Alexander Grant] have liberated their consciences on this subject. Their personal narration, though it may not quite fulfil the object of the writers, will perhaps help us to realise more vividly the scenes in which they were prominent actors: " (p. 18 f.) Weak as Grant's letter may appear to us nowadays, it and his other representations had the effect he desired, in that **he was finally re-instated in service.**

It was on the 19th June, 1756, that Grant deserted from Calcutta, and his letter was written on the 13th July following. The document now published is not, however, the original, but **a copy made on 22nd February, 1774, for John Debonnaire,** from whose heirs I have received it, together with several other most interesting MSS. relating to India, which I hope to publish in this *Journal* in due course.[1]

This John Debonnaire was one of several of identically the same name, who were wealthy **merchants of Huguenot descent in London and India** during the XVIIIth Century. **The pedigree,** so far as the wills and documents I have been able to see, is as follows :—




[1] *E g.*, The Voyage of the *Wake* round the Coast of India, from the Hughli to Bombay in 1746 during the capture of Madras by the French under Labourdonnais. The wreck of the *Doddington* in 1755 on "a desert island" off the coast of Africa and the Voyage to India of the *Happy Deliverance*, built by the shipwrecked crew.

The copying of the letter by the old writer is obviously incorrect in places and the style is involved throughout. I have, by means of brackets, tried to elucidate the greatest of the difficulties, where possible. Also, in the MS. the text runs continuously without paragraphs or regular stops, and such stops as occur are, after the fashion of the day, wrongly placed or of a description not understood at the present time. For the sake of clearness I have, therefore, paragraphed the text and placed the stops after the current practice, so far as that has been possible. Otherwise the text is presented to the reader *verbatim*.

**Letter.**

**Fulta from on board the Success Gally 13 July 1756.**

SIR, — As the **Loss of Calcutta** will undoubtedly be represented in various ways, my Duty, as well as my having once had the honour of your Acquaintance and Continance, demands my giving some account of it, especially the Military Transactions. **My having been Appointed to act as Adjutant General** during the Troubles, enables me to do it in a more particular manner, than I otherwise could have done, had I been stationed at my post, as I issued out all Orders from the Govenour, and saw most of them put in execution. For what relates to private Correspondance must refer you to a long Narrative of Mr. Drakes which he informs me he intends to transmit by this conveyance.

You must have already rec'd the Accounts of the **Surrender of Cossimbuzar** on the 4th of June, and the manner Mr. Watts was decoy'd and made Prisoner in the Nabobs Camp and obliged to deliver up the fort. We have dispatched Patamors for that Purpose when we rec'd the news on the 7th. We may justly impute all our Misfortunes to the Loss of that place, as it not only supplied our Enemy with Artillery and Ammunition, but flush'd them with hopes to make as easy a Conquest of our cheif Settlement, not near so defensible against any Number of a Country Enemy, and were no Apprehensions but it could hold out, had they attacked it, till we were enabled by the Arrival of Supplies from your Settlement to march to its releif. It is defended by 4 Solid Bastions, each mounting 10 peices of Cannon, 6 and 9 Pounders, besides a Line in the Curtain to ye River of 24 Guns, from 2 to 4 Pounders, all tolerably well mounted and most of them on field carriages, 8 or 10 Cohorns Mortars, 4 and 5 Inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and a proportionable Supply of all kinds of Amunitions. It is Garrisoned by a Lieutenant and 50 Military, most Europeans, and a Sergeant, Corporal and 3 Matrosses of the Artillery and 20 good Lascars. 1 or 2 Houses that stood close to the Walls were Commanded by so many Guns that the Enemy cou'd not keep possession of them.

When we receiv'd the News of Cossimbuzars being taken by the Nabob and of his Intentions to march against us, with the Artillery and Amunition of that place and with an army, as we where Informed, of 50000 Horse and foot, elated with the promise of the Emence Plunder expexted in **Calcutta**; We began to think of our **Long neglected defenceless State** and our Situation, and to receive our Enemy, which we always despised, but now thought worth our Consideration. That we were in this defenceless Situation can't be imputed to our Masters in England, as our Governour and Counsil have had reapeted Injunctions wth in this twelve months past to put the place in the best posture of defence possible. But such orders the Representations [?] have been made by some Officers of the Necessity and manner of doing it have been constantly neglected, being always Lull'd in such an unfortunate State of Security in Bengal, that nothing but an Army before the Walls cou'd convince us but every Rupee expended on Military Services was so much lost to the Company.

I will now proceed to Inform you as well as possible **what our Situation was to stand a Seige.** The Plan of Fort Wm and a part of Calcutta, which I here inclose you, and which since my comming on board I have sketch'd out from memory to give a clear Idea of the manner we were attacked, will represent to you the Situation of our small Fort in respect to the Houses that surrounded it and the Number of Guns mounted upon it. Our Military to defend it, exclusive of those at the Subordinate Factory, amounted only to 180 Infantry, of which number there were not 40 Europeans, and 36 Men of the Artillery Company, Seargeants

and Corporals included; hardly a Gun on the Ramports with a Carriage fit for Service. We had about 3 Years ago 50 Pieces of Cannon, 18 and 24 Pounders, with 2 Mortars, 10 and 13 inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and Balls for each; but they been allowed to lay on the Grass, where they were first landed ever since, with out Carriages or Beds. Only the 10 inche Mortars we made shift to get ready by the time we where Attacked, but neither Shells filled nor Fusees prepared for Mortars or Cohorns, made as well as the rest of little use. Our Grape were eat up by the worms, and in short all our Amunition of all sorts, such as we had, in the worst Order; not a Gun with a Carriage fit be carried out of the fort for any use, except the two feild Pieces, which was sent us from your Settlement. What Powder we had ready, for want of care the greatest part was damp and the Season of the Year improper to dry it.

It's true, on the Receipt of ye Letters by the *Delawar*, there was orders given to repair the Line of Guns before the fort, and Carriages to be made for those 50 pieces of Cannon to be mounted upon, and likewise to repair the Carriages upon the Bastions; but those things where just began when we received Intelligence of y[e] Loss of Cossimbuzar and Contributed little to prepair us for what we expexted. The Military Captains were ordered to attend Council to give their Advice in Regard to what was Necessary to be done for the Defence of y[e] Place, as it was all along proposed to defend the Town as well as y[e] Fort. An Extensive Line was first form'd for that intent. So Little notion had the People of any Vigorous attack, that it was estemed sufficient to have a Battery of 1 or 2 Guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of a Black Enemy; but the Consideration of our small number of Troop determined us to contract our Batterys to the places marked in the Plan. The Militia was formed in to three Companys: One of Europeans to the Number of 60 and the other two Consisted of Arminians and Country Portuguesse to y[e] Number of 150, exclusive of those 50 of the Companys Servants, and young Gentlemen of the Place entered as Volunteers in the Military Companys and [who] did duty in every Respect as Common Centinals and on every Occasion shewed the greatest Spirit and Resolution. Carpenters and Workmen of all sorts were taken into Pay to make Gun Carriages &c[a], and every thing else ordered to be got in Readiness that might be necessary for a Seige.

From the 7, when we reced the news of Cossimbuzars being lost and the Nabobs intentions to advance to march to Calcutta, to the 16th June was all the time we had to prepare every thing, from the defenceless state we where in to what was Necessary for the Reception of such a numerous Enemy; and such was the Nabobs Rapidity that in 12 days from his getting possession of Cossimbuzar he was with us at Calcutta. The 4th, he march'd, with a numerous Army and a large train of Artillery upwards of 100 Miles cross Rivers and swampy Roads, to his first attack of Calcutta. The 16th, Messrs. **Holwell, Macket, and Mapletoft** were appointed Captains of the 3 Millitia Company, Mr. **Frankland** Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr. **Manningham** Colonel, with Subalterns in proportion. The Military Volunteers and Militia were disposed of, when the Batteries were finished and Carriages made for the Guns as you see in y[e] Plan, in which Situation we stood prepared to receive our Enemy; tho to the last scarce any cou'd be persuaded that he wou'd attack us in any other way than by forming a Blockade; till he obtained a Sum of Money and a Compliance with his demands.

**On ye** 16, he Attacked y[e] Redoubt at **Porrin** [? Perrins] with 6 pieces of Cannon; but on the approach of a Reinforcement with 2 field pieces, they withdrew them and inclined to the Southward, where, taking Possession of a Top of a Wood, they fired very briskly from the Opposite side of a Ditch on a part of the Detachment, which was Advanced beyond the Redowbt, kill'd one of y[e] Gentlemen Volunteers and 4 Europeans Soldiers. On the Enemy's Approaching still more to y[e] Southward, along y[e] great Ditch that Surrounded y[e] Town, and we having Intelligence they had crossed it, and taking Possession of **Onychaunds Garden** and y[e] great road by it, the Reinforcement was ordered back from **Perrins**; and Ensign **Piccard** left in his post, as before. The Enemys Cannon had play'd at ye same time on a Sloop

that lay'd cross to ye Redoubt to recower the Ditch and killed 4 Europeans. We had no further molestation from [them] that Night, nor any further Intelligence than that they Occupied the Esterly corner of the Black Town from Onychaunds Garden to the Bread and cheese Bunglo, [and] that the Nabob himself had taken possession of Dumdum House for his Head Quarters.

**The 17th,** in ye Morning, we planted 2 small pieces of Cannon in ye Goal House to scour the Different Roads, which terminate at the Place, and which way we expected the Enemy would advance: likewise sent 12 Military and Militia and 40 Buzeries to take Possession of it, under the Command of Monsr. **Le Beaume,** a french Officer who had taken the Protection of our Flag sometime before, and fortified the house with Loophous [loop holes]. The enemy did not appear in sight of any of our Batteries this Day; but the Plunderers ravaged all ye Black town. We had numbers of Prisoniers brought in by our Buxeries; but their Accounts of the Nabobs situation and Strength varied so much, that we could not lay any stress upon it. Our own Intelligence all along from our Spies was Equally so. These Prisoniers in General told us that he had all the Cossinbuzars Cannon, and 10 or 15 pieces, which he brought from Muscadabad of a Larger Size, besides numbers of Swivils and Wallpieces mounted on Camels and Elephants; that his Troops Consisted from 20 to 30000 Horse and foot. This night our Peons and Buxeries, to the Number of 500, deserted us, as did our Lascars and Cooleys some days before; that we had not a Black Fellow to draw or worke a Gun, not even to carry a Cottin Bale or Sand bag on ye Ramports; and what work of that kind had been done was by the Military and Militia. This want of Workmen at Last, and Scarcity at ye Beginning, harras'd us Prodigeously and prevented our doing several Works that could have been necessary.

**The 18th,** pretty early the Enemy began to make their appearance in all quarters of ye Town; but did not seem as if they would advance Openly against our Batteries, rather as if they were resolved to make their approaches by taking possession of the Intervening Houses. We accordingly fortified such houses as we thought commanded our Batteries with as many men as could possibly be spared. They first advanced towards the Goal by the road that leads to perrins through the black town, and brought 2 pieces of Cannon against it; one of them by the Size of the Ball not less than an 18 Pounder. We were likewise advised by our Spies and Prisoners that the Nabobs Artillery was Commanded by a French Renegado, who had been an Officier at Pondecherry and gave him self the Title of Marquis **De St. Jaque,** and had under his Command 25 Europeans and 80 Chittygan Fringees.

On their Advancing their Cannon against the Goal, we detached from the Battery H an Officier, 20 men and ye 2 field pieces, to reinforce Mr. Le Beaumes Fort, who maintained it from 11 to 2 in ye afternoon, exposed to every warm fire from 2 pieces of Cannon and a Quantity of Musquetry. The Enemy having lodg'd themselves in all ye Houses that Surrounded the place, [and] Monsr. Le Beaume and Ensign **Curstains,** the Officer who was advanced to support him, being both wounded, and several of their Men killed, they had Orders to retire with their 2 field Pieces. The Enemy took immediate Possession of ye Place, as soon as we abandoned it; as they did off [= of] Mr. **Dumbletons, Alsops,** ye Play House and the Houses behind ye St., **Lady Russels**; from which Places, and every hole the[y] could creep into, under any sort of cover, they keept a very close fire on the battery and houses, whenever they saw any of our men Lodg'd. By firing our Cannon on such Houses as they could bear upon, We obliged them often to quit them; but fresh Supplies came up to relieve them. We must in this manner have destroyed Numbers, tho all we could do, from ye Cannon of the Batteries and Forts, and our small Arms from the Tops and Windows of the different Houses we Occupied, was of no Effect in Retarding their progress. Had our Shells been properly serv'd, they must have been of greater Use for this purpose than all our Artillery; but such as we tried either burst as they quitted the Mortars or before they got half way.

They had now possessd the Houses in all Quarters of the Town in Multitudes, and by their Superioty obliged most of our Men to quit their houses they Occupied. The first place they broke in upon our Lines was through Mr. **Nixons** House and the breast work close to Mr. **Puthams**, the Sergeant of that place having retreated and left some of the Gentlemen Volunteers to free their way through the Enemy from Capt Minchins House, where 2 of them were left a Sacrifice to their mercy. They poured into the Square in Swarms, planted their Colours at the Corner of ye Tank, and took immediate Possession of all ye Houses in that Square. We had only 2 Guns from ye flank of ye N. Et Bastion that could bear on that part of ye town. Their footing was now too firm, by being in Possession of so many Houses within our Lines, that it was impossible to think of Dispossessing them from so many strong Houses, which semed as Forteresses against our small Numbers. They brought up their cannon soon after to play upon ye passages to and from our Batteries.

This Situation of ye Enemy within our Lines made it necessary to Order Capt **Burchanon** to retire with his Canon from **ye Battery B** to D, as his Communication with the Fort might have been cut off by ye Enemys advancing in his rear, through the Lane that Leads to my house and betwixt Captn **Claytons** Battery at H; where on my arrival, I was supprized by finding the Guns of ye Battery Spiked and Orders given them to retire with only the 2 field pieces into the fort. I requested their patience, as I found no Necessity for so precipate a retreat, till I had speke to ye Govenour. He told me the post [was] represented to him as no longer tenable by the Enemy's getting Possession of all ye Houses around them, and numbers of their Men killed and Wounded: [and] That if ye Guns were already Spiked, it would be in vain to think of keeping it Longer. I return'd towards ye Battery and found Captn **Clayton** half way to ye fort with only the fie'd Pieces. I prevailed on him to return wth his Men, that if Possible we might withdraw the Guns of ye Battery, especially an 18 Pounder Carried their about noon to play on the [? houses which the] Enemy possess'd, and [might] prevent the Shame of leaving them to convince the Enemy of ye Panic that must have seiz'd us to be Obliged to make such a retreat. I desired one half to defend ye Batteries, while the other Lay'd down their Arms to draw off the Cannon; but not a man would be prevailed on to touch a Rope. I then left them to march off in the most regular manner they could. The Adandoning this battery was of ye utmost Consequence to us, as it necessarily occasioned the withdrawing the other two and Confining our defences to ye walls of ye Fort. It therefore ought not to have been done till after every mature deliberation.

The other two **Batteries C and D** were soon after ordered to be withdrawn, and all their Troops were ordered to return to ye Fort Gate by 6 in the Evening. By retiring into ye Fort we must expect that before next morning the Enemy would take Possession of all ye houses close to our walls, and from each of them greatly command our Bastions and Ramparts. This determined us, as ye only thing farther to be done to retard their Progress, to dispose of ye Troops returned from ye Batteries in ye Houses of Mr. **Cruttendon, Eyre,** the Company and ye Church; which was accordingly done before 8 at night.

The detachment in ye Companys house, on ye Enemy's Approach and their getting possession of Captn **Renny's** house, Thought their Situation too dangerous to be maintain'd on ye Approach of Day, and that their Communication was liable to be cut off from ye fort by ye Lane that leads to ye Water side by ye new Godowns. [They] therefore applied to ye Govenour and obtained leave to retire into ye fort. The withdrawing this fort gave general discontent and discouragement, as ye Enemys getting possession of it would not only expose the Southerly Bastions and Godowns to a very warm fire, but likewise the Gaut, were the boats lay, to be so flanked that it coul'd be almost impossible to keep any there. And as many people at this time (by ye Vigorous attack of ye Enemy, and withdrawing our Batteries so very suddenly, and leaving the Companys House to be taken Possession of by them in ye night, attended with many other Circumstances of Confusion and Disorder which then could not be remedied) begun to think that a retreat on board our Ships would be the only means,

by which we could Escape the hands of y^e Enemy. Therefore with y^e utmost concern [we] saw this our only means of safety indangered by our forsaking that Post.

We had lay'd in a sufficient store of **Provisions**, but y^e Irregularity of not appointing proper persons for y^e Management of this, as well as other particular duties, a fatal neglect all along, [and] the Desertion of our Cooks, amongst y^e rest of y^e black fellows, left us to starve in the midst of Plenty. Our out Ports had no refreshments all the proceeding day and there was nothing but constant Complaints and murmurings from all quarters for want of water and provisions, and but little prospect for a Possibility of supplying them. There was not even people to carry them to ye out ports, had they been ready dressed, as every one in ye fort had been so harrased and fatigued for want of rest by constant duty for 2 day before, that it was impossible to rouse them, even if the Enemy had been scaling ye Walls. Thre different times did ye Drums beat to Arms but in Vain, not a man could be got to stand to their Arms, tho we had frequent Alarms of ye Enemy's preparing Ladders under our Walls to scale them.

We had by this time thousands of Portuguesse **Women** within the Fort, which caused the utmost Confusion and Noise by filling up y^e Passages in all parts, and crouding the back Gate to force their way on board y^e Ships. Shuch was the Consternation that prevailed in general at **a Council of War** that was held at 9 o Clock, [that] the Europeans Women were ordered on board the Ships, and Colonel **Manningham** and Lieutenant Colonel **Frankland** permitted to see them there safe. It was at ye same time resolved to clear the fort of y^e other Women, and if possible to regulate the Confusion that then prevailed; but little was put into Execution towards it. The men for want of refreshment, rest and by getting in Liquor, become very mutinous and riotous, and being mostly Militia within y^e fort subject to no Command. The same Complaints were brought from y^e out ports, which could hardly be remedied without supplies of Provisions and men to relieve them from their hunger and fatigue bore for several days past.

In this Situation of Affairs **a second Council of War** was called about one in y^e Morning to Consider of what was possible to be done, and how long under such Circumstances the place was defensible against such Vigorous attacks as the Enemy made the proceding Day. You will be surprized to hear that all this time neither the Govenour no[r] Commandants orders could Obtain **a return of the Stores and Ammunition from Capn Witherington.** I often represented to y^e Govenour the necessity of such a return, as likewise to have a strict obedience paid to whatever Orders he issued out, but all to no purpose. He had a good Opinion of the man, and did not chuse to carry things to extremity. There was likewise a great Annimosity, subsided [subsisted] between the Govenour and Commandant, as well as between the Commandent and Capt^n Witherington, which did not contribute to the Advantage of the Service. The first thing done then in this Council of War was to know the State of our Ammunition, and Capt^n Witherington, being ask'd for what time what was then in Store coud be sufficient at the Rate of y^e Consumption of the proceeding day, He answered it woud hardly be enough for three days, and that he was afraid a great part that was esteem'd good might prove damp, and that neither the weather nor our Conveniency wou'd admit of its' being dry'd. This unexpected shock alarm'd every body and [it] was thought very extraordinary that this state of our ammunition was not known before. We had no medium left, but either **must Retire on board our Ships** before that time expired or Surrender at direction [discretion] to the mercy of an Enemy, from whom we had reason to expect no Quarters. It was therefore unanimously agreed, [upon] in the most expedient and regular manner and taking every Circumstance under consideration the majority were of Opinion, that it ought to be done that night, as next such consequences as [next night circumstances] would either make it impracticable or liable to ye greatest risque and precipitation. For instance should the enemy get possession of the Company's house, as we made no doubt of it before morning, and Mr. Cruttendon's, they might with out much difficulty force the way thro the Barriers that leads to y^e back gate from

those two Houses, or from the windows and top of them so flank and scour y^e^ gaut with small Arms that it would be morrally impossible for a boat to lay at y^e^ Gaut, or any were else before the fort. Either of these Circumstances would have effectually made a retreat impossible. This Opinion was strenuously maintain'd by Mr. **Holwell** in particular; and as a Retreat had been already determined, to defer it till next night cou'd have been attended with no Advantages. On the Contrary, had it been put in execution then, According to Mr. Holwells and several others Opinions, the Companys whole treasures and ye Lives of more than 150 Europeans would have been saved; but it so happen'd that we dally'd away the time till almost Day light, and nothing soled or positive determined. It was proposed to send **Onychaund** to treat with ye Nabob, but he absolutely refused to go, and our Persian Writer with the rest of Blacks left us, which disabled us from writing to him. In this state of Confusion, uncertainty and Suspence did we remain till the Approach of Day.

**The 19th**, in ye morning finding that the Enemy had neglected to take Possession of the Companys house, Ensign **Piccard**, who had been ordered in the night back from Perrins, Offered himself voluntary on that service with 20 Men, which was permitted. The day produced no regularity. The same Complaints of want of Provision, rest and refreshments was heard from all quarters, and little done to remedy it. The Enemy advanced a pace and their fire increased from all Quarters, having in ye night lodg'd them selves in all the adjacent Houses. Lieutenant **Bisshop**, who commanded in Mr. Eyres house desired leave to retire about 9 o Clock, the fire from Onychounds House and the other houses round him being so thick that it was impossible to stand it. He was ordered to maintain it till evening, but repeating the necessity of leaving his men killed, he was permitted to retire. Captn **Clayton** who commanded in ye Church was allowed to withdraw on ye same Account.

He had some heavy Pieces of Cannon, besides small Arms. From ye Houses to the E. and N. E. of them they play'd constantly from behind the Battery A and Playhouse Compound which did a great deal of Execution amongst his Men. About this time, Ensign Piccard was brought in Wounded from ye Company's house, and the Enemy had filled ye Compound of it, tho our Men kept possession of it above Stairs. The Detachment in Mr. Cruttendings house was soon after withdrawn. Our Bastions were in a very improper state to be maintained against such a close fire of small arms, as was now likely to Command them from so many adjacent houses; all of them the strongest Pecca Work, and all most proof against our Mettal on ye Bastions. And the Parrapets were not 4 foot high and only 3 in thickness, [and] the Embrasures so wide that they afforded but little shelter to our Men at ye Guns. These defects might in some measure be supply'd by Cotten Bales and Sand Bags, which we had prepared for that Purpose, had we not been in want of all kind of Labourers to bring them on ye Ramparts; and both Military and Militia were so harrased that it was impossible to make them stand to their Arms, far less to carry Bales. This was our Situation **twixt 10 and 11 'o' Clock.**

**About this time the Govenour made his retreat on board the Ships.** As his Conduct in this Respect, as well as that of those that followed him, will most likely be a good deal Canvais'd, and the affair be represented according to the prejudice and Interest of different Persons, and I myself amongst the rest of those who thought it justifiable to follow the Govenour in such a general state of Confusion, when nothing further was to be done, I must beg leave to represent the Affair in as particular a manner as I can recollect about the above hours. We recev'd an Alarm on the S. Est Bastion that the Enemy were forcing their way through the Barrier that leads to the Company's House. I run down to learn the truth of it and to see the Situation of the Guard placed there. I found the report to be false and the enemy not then advanced from the Companys Compound. On my return back to the Gate **I perceived the Gouvenour standing on the top of the Stairs at the Wharf**, and stept up to him to know if he had any Commands. He was then beckoning to his Servant that stood in a ponsy above the Gaut. At the same time numbers of Budgerows and Boats had been setting of below and

above full of Europeans, and only one Budgerow left where Captn **Minchin** and **Mr. Macket** were ready to step into, at the Gaut besides the Ponsey were the Gouvenours Sevt was. He observd to me that as Colonel Manningham [and] Lt Colonel Frankland were on board, not having return'd in the night, [and] as he expected that the *Dodly* as well as the other Ships and Sloops which were before the Fort were fallen down below ye Town, and finding that every body were preparing for their own Safety, by their crouding off in ye boats as he saw them, he thought it was high time to think of himself. So without given me time to make an Answer, he run down stairs and up to the side of the river to get into the Ponsey. Every body, who saw him go on board in this Manner, Crouded to the Gaut and Stairs to follow. I just had time to represent to him ye Irregularity of such a retreat and earnestly beg'd him, and entreated he would first communicate his Intentions to Mr. Holwell and ye rest of the Garrison; but his answer was he saw things in such a situation as would make it impossible to retreat any other way, [and] That he supposed every person that could find Boats when they saw him go off would follow. I then lookd behind me towards the Gaut Stairs and seeing it crouded with multitudes, and Captn Minchin and Mr. Macket setting off in the Budgerow, **I concluded the Gouvenours retreat caused a general one,** and that those who could lay hold of boats to escape falling into the hands of a Cruel Enemy were the happiest. **Therefore with Mr. o Harea got into the same Ponsey were the Gouvenour was** and set off the last boat that left the Gaut. The rest that crouded to the water side, finding it impossible then to make their escape for want of boats, returned to the factory and the Gates were immediately shut of [after] them.

We proceeded on board the *Dodly*, where were Messrs Manningham and Frankland, with more than half the Militia Officers, several of the Volunteers and Gentlemen of the Militia, with most of the European Women. The rest of the Ships and Sloops were likewise crouded with men and Women, who had come away from the fort since the Morning, as they could meet with Opportunitys. In this manner the Govenour made his retreat. How far he is Culpable I will leave you to judge and shall only assure you the Account of it is faithfull as far as my judgement can enable me to give it.

I likewise, on my comming on board, **proposed to ye Gouvenour to move up before ye Town** with the whole fleet, in order to assist the retreat of those who were necessitated to remain behind for want of Conveyance; but ye Captn of ye *Dodley* represented such a motion as attended with great Danger, and told him if ye Ships moved up again before the Fort, there was but little Chance of getting them back. The *Prince George* that remaind there that night never got back again, but was destroyed by ye Enemy. The Gouvenour, on what ye Captn Said, thought no further of moving up for ye Assistance of those left behind. He ordered a Sloop in the Night to move up to see what could be done; but she was not able to proceed as far up as ye Fort, the Enemy being in Possession of all the Water side. **We fell down the River just in sight of the Town,** and could Observe numbers of Houses on fire all night.

**The following accounts we have from such as escaped after ye place was taken.** They informed us that as soon as the Govenour retreated, all hopes of a retreat being cut off for want of boats, **Mr. Holwell was unanimously declared Govenour,** and the Gates shut; every person in such a desperate Situation being resolved to die on the ramparts, rather than surrender to ye barbarity they expected from the Enemy. **The place held out till ye 20th about 3 in ye Afternoon.** The Enemy soon got possession of Mr. Cruttendons house, Mr. Eyres, the Companys and the Church; after which, Especially when they got to the top of ye Church, scarce a man was able to stand [in] the N. E. and S. Est Bastions. Before the place was taken, upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on those Bastions, and they were obliged to abandon that side of the Fort intirely.

**The Enemy got Possession in the following manner.** About 2 in ye Afternoon of the **20th, They made a** Signal for a truce, and some of their Leaders spoke with Mr. Holwell from

some of the Bastions, and told him that the Nabob had given him orders to desist from firing in order to accomodate. This proposal was readily agreed to by Our People, and accordingly ceas'd firing likewise, and our men were ordered to lay down their Arms and refresh themselves. In the mean time the Enemy made use of this pretended truce, and I suppose they intended it for no other purpose, (was) to croud in swarms under the Walls of ye Etern Curtain and Bastions, and under the cover of there fire from the Church &ca. We having before been obliged to abandon that side, with Ladders and Bamboas scall'd the walls in an instant, and put to the sword such as offered to resist. Every Red coat was destroyed without mercy. To conclude the scene, **such as were taken Prisoners to the Number of about 200 Europeans, Portuguesse, and Armenians, were at night shut up in ye Black hole,** a place of 16 foot square; where by the heat of ye Place and for want of water, which was absolutely denied them, not above 10 of them survived till morning. And amongst the dead there were near 100 Europeans, Companys Servt's, Officers &ca. Mr. Holwell amongst the Number that survived and is now Prisoner with the Nabob, who stay'd but a few days at Calcutta and is return'd to Muscadabad, leaving some thousands of his Troops to keep Possession of our Fort and Town. The Factory and the Church they have destroy'd. [They have destroyed us, hear no other Houses that their being set on fire.][2]

**The French and Dutch** have in a manner accommodated matters with him [the Nabob], the first by paying 4 and ye other 5 Lacks of Rupees; Tho each of their settlements are now crowded with Moors, and no Business can be carried on without particular Perwannas for that purpose, so that it is supposed he has not done with them yet. Messrs. **Watts** and **Collet** are Prisoners at Large now at the French Factory, who have Orders to send them to ye Court by their first Ships. The rest of the Gentlemen belonging to the Cossinbuzar Factory, by the last Account we had, were Prisioners at Muschadabad and in irons. The Decca Factory are safe with ye French at that place. Both ye Luckepoor, and Ballasore factorys got off and are now with us. We know to have been killed during ye Siege and dead in ye black hole, 30 Company Servants and 15 Officers. **Minchin, Keen, Muir** and myself, being all that now remains of Calcutta Settlements, are now heare on board 6 Ships and some sloops.

Messrs. **Drake** [the Governour], **Maningham Frankland** and **Macket,** with **Amyal** and **Radham** whome they lately join'd, from [form] a Council and Order that they think necessary for ye Company's Advantage. The Nabob seems satisfied with what he has already done and I fancy is very well pleased to see us leave his Dominions. Mr. Drake seems inclinable to maintain some footing in the Country, especially till Advices from the Coast. After the Receipt of this news, in Consequence of our Letters to you on the taking of Cossinbuzar and ye Nabobs intentions to march to Calcutta, **We are in expectations,** in case french War dont prevent it, **of a strong reinforcement to arrive in ye river about ye 18th of August;** but I'm afraid such numbers as you will think necessary to send to reinforce the Garrison of Fort William, not expecting it to be taken, will be too few to establish a footing in ye Country now it is lost. For which reason I wish your [our] Govenour and Council had thought proper to dispatch one of their Sloops to advise you sooner; as it might arrive before the Embarkation of such Troops, and enable you to send such a force as would not only reestablish Calcutta, but march in our turn to the Nabobs Capitol at Muschadabad; which I think might be done, not withstanding the loss of Calcutta, with 1000 or 1500 Regular Troops, and proper field Artillery. The conveniency of ye river that runs through the heart of ye Country, and a most healthy Climate from October to March or April, would afford us every Opportunity we could desire. The resolution our Enemy have shewn behind ye Walls and Houses would all Vanish in an instant in ye Open field, and I am sure they are worce Troops than any you have. I need not tell you what hand they would make against Artillery well serv'd. It was first intended to send Mr. **Mapletot** and myself with these Advices, but they have altered their Minds.

2 [This sentence has evidently been mutilated in copying. — ED.]

I could wish that if any thing was to be done, for the Resettlement of a Place of such Consequence to ye Trade of India, that I had an Opportunity personally to Communicate my Opinion; as my residence so long at Cossinbuzar in y^e Neighburhood of y^e Court gave me some Opportunity to know y^e State of y^e Country and nature of y^e People better than I could have done else were. In case of no Supplies to enable us to resettle, I suppose we shall be able to sail out of y^e river about y^e 20 of August for your Settlement. What shall become of us Afterwards God knows, most having made their escape, Men and Women, only with their Cloaths on their back, which I believe is all our Fortunes, except such as had resques at Sea. I hope you will Pardon what may appear tedious in this Narrative, and believe me with great Respect,

Sir,
Yours &ca,
**Alex^r Grant.**

John Debonnaire.
*February* 22, 1774.

---

## A FOLKTALE FROM CENTRAL INDIA.

BY M. R. PEDLOW.

*The Murder of a King.*[1]

MANY, many centuries ago, in a certain country, there lived in the greatest harmony a king and his minister. The king, one day to enjoy the morning air, ascended the highest turret of the palace, in company with the ladies of his court.

"Nature is dead! Nature is dead!" cried out the king in a voice louder than that of the yeomen of the castle.

Those who heard his words, in immense numbers, instantly flocked to the front of the palace to execute the behests of the king. "There comes the minister," all cried out together, as he appeared.

"My lord is in good humour," thought the minister to himself, when he saw the king not far from him.

"Minister," said the king, "I allot a million *mohars* for the construction of a splendid garden, on the western side of the palace."

No sooner was the order issued than a few men started for distant countries to procure beautiful trees; some to collect tinted marble, granite, porphyry; and others to fetch highly skilled gardeners with all that was needed for the garden. Within a short time the new garden became as it were a terrestrial paradise. But without the knowledge of the king, a similar garden was planted by the minister close to his own mansion.

"Nature is smiling," cried the king in delight. Then he looked to the other side and saw a garden. On enquiring to whom it belonged, the minister replied that it was his.

"To-morrow, I shall come to see your garden, Minister," said the king.

About dusk the king on horse-back, with no attendants, entered the garden, where he saw no one but the minister. Both of them strolled along every road, and finally stopped near the cistern, where the fountain sparkled in the sun.

Attracted by the beauty of a tiny flower, the king stooped down to pluck it for his wife, when he beheld the ground open, and at the same time appeared a large metal pot filled to the brim with costly ornaments and money of every description.

---

[1] Narrated by C. Anthony, butler, Baudass's Imperial Boarding-house Nagpur.

Surprised and delighted, said he: — "Minister, call my men to carry the pot home."

Hoping to obtain it and to put an end to the king's life, the minister said: — "Why do you distress yourself about a trifle? It will be sent safely home by to-morrow's dawn."

Then drawing his sword behind the king, he murdered his master. The minister himself buried the corpse in a dirty pool of water, and rode home. Now the king was in the habit of dining at a fixed time but that day the queen waited for her husband much longer than usual, and still he never appeared. Messenger after messenger went in search of him but no trace of him could be found, and every one mourned his loss. Then the nobles met to arrange for the government of the country, because the king had left no heir to the throne, and his wife was not entitled to ascend it, for she was pregnant. In the meantime the leading man in the city was appointed regent, but that traitor by the minister's advice drove the queen into exile.

In due time a son was born to her, and when he was five years old she made him over to a learned man. One day the queen was lamenting her downfall and the boy asked the reason of her grief. She replied that all their stores were exhausted and no food left. The boy consulted his book of magic which directed him to start sword in hand. He came to a robber's home and pushed open the door.

"Who are you?" cried the thief.

"The master thief," replied the boy. "Load a cart with wheat and rice and money, or I'll cut your throat!" He had to do what he was told, and filled the cart.

One evening the lad went to the minister to ask for some vegetables from his garden. In this garden there was a fruit-tree, and the minister had ordered that whoever dared to pluck it should die. A goat by chance ate the fruit, and the gardener struck it dead on the spot. Dragging along the dead goat, the gardener cried out:—"Here is the thief!"

The minister descending the staircase exclaimed:—"Well done!"

"The she-goat would have brought forth a black and a spotted kid, had the gardene. not killed her," said the boy.

The minister owed the boy a grudge because he was the son of the late king. "If it is not true," said he, "you must be hanged."

"What matter?" replied the boy.

When he cut open the goat's side, the gardener found a pair of kids as the lad had foretold. Both the gardener and his master were amazed; and the minister calling the gardener into his room, whispered:—"Spill a quantity of the boy's blood in the depth of a forest and bring it to me." Binding him with a thong the gardener led the boy to a forest and told him the order.

"Save me," implored the lad; "I will make you my minister."

Believing his promise, the gardener took compassion on him, said:—"How can I get the blood?"

The boy thought for a while and said:—"There is an old woman, in yonder village, who was once rich, but is now reduced to poverty; she sold all that she had, except a kid, which she cherished. She has determined to sell this one too, and this will answer the purpose."

He bought the kid and slaughtered it and poured the blood into a vessel. The gardener leaving the boy then took the blood to his master who was delighted to see it. Now, since his treachery, evil dreams beset the new king, and he could not sleep.

At day-break he said to his minister:—"Every night an awful giant strikes me and frightens the life out of me. Explain this mystery or within a month your life is forfeit."

The minister in terror consulted all the interpreters of dreams, but none could explain the matter. At last the king remembered the boy and learned his fate from the gardener. So he sent for him. The boy at first refused to follow him, and required a written order from the

king. The king sent him a humble letter, requesting him to come. The boy replied :—"Put a saddle on the back of your minister and send him to me"

So the boy mounted the minister's back, and made him carry him to the king. He expounded the dream and demanded the throne of his father. The nobles expelled the traitor, and acknowledged the boy as their king. A few days afterwards, the new king convened an assembly, and with tears narrated his and his father's fate. All cried out :—"Let the traitor be burnt to death." This the executioners did ; and the people lauded the king and the gardener. Till his death the gardener remained a faithful minister to the king.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

A blow from a broom, at the time of sweeping (especially if struck by a woman), makes one as thin as a lamp-post; to avoid this, a twig of the broom is broken and waved three times round the head, after spitting on it.

When a mortar or a pestle is worn out by incessant usage, the owner of it, choosing a lucky morning, pays homage after his ancestral fashion and takes it to a running stream or to a neighbouring well, to get rid of it, by throwing it away. It is notable that, if, by chance, it be burnt as fuel, Lakshmî, the goddess of wealth, will leave him for ever.

Hindus who are learned in the *Vêdas*, Hindu mythology and other sciences, whilst bathing their feet, look over their persons to see any spot left untouched by water. If they see any spot dry, they again bathe. Sani, the god of misfortune, awaits an opportunity of reducing a person to poverty by entering into any spot untouched by water.

Likewise a man falls into misfortune, when his baby goes and sits on a winnowing pan.

A younger sister of a brother or a younger daughter of a parent, hesitates to erect a hut on elevated ground, against the house of a brother or parent, when she is separated from them by wedlock. Neglect of this caution will result in death in either family.

The following are omens of ill-success to a person in search of a vacant post, a loan from a rich man, and other attempts of a similar kind :—

A cat, a man dressed in black raiment, a washerman with a bundle of dirty clothes, a bald-headed woman, a Brâhman widow, an oil-monger, a crying man, and a person with a stick on his shoulders.

Some Hindus object to eating garlic and a sort of pulse called *tur*, and chewing tobacco, and the cause of abstinence is suggested by the following tale :—

Once upon a time, a king was invited by an ascetic, who having prepared food by the power of his prayers and sanctity, served it in the leaf-vessel; and facing towards his hut he made a prayer to all the gods for a milch-cow, which they immediately supplied. He milked two bowls of milk, and brought it to the king to use instead of water.

The king remarked the wonderful proceedings of the ascetic; and, after finishing dinner, with joined hands said: — "Ascetic, an invitation without contentment to the heart is to no purpose."

"Contentment!" replied the ascetic smiling.

The king flying into a rage answered: — "Yes, contentment."

"My lord," said the sage, "my eyes discern passion in thy face but not thy desires."

"That's true, but if you want to know and fulfil my desire, I can explain it," said the king in a low tone, and began thus: — "Lend an ear to me, Holy Father, your wondrous acts greatly surprised me, and that led me to ask you for the milch-cow, for by your power you can procure as many as you please."

Hearing this the ascetic ran hastily to loose the cow, that it might fly away to its home high up in the skies.

The king seeing it disappear shot an arrow at it which only made a small wound in one of its legs, but drops of blood fell on the ground and one turned into a garlic plant, and another a tobacco plant, and the third a *tur* plant.

The ascetic ran away to save his devoted life, running headlong through hill and dale to escape the revenge of the king, and hid himself in the recesses of a forest.

The king in anger returned home and ordered his minister to tell all the Hindus of the origin of the three plants, and also prohibited them to eat them. Whoever eats such things is as great a sinner as an eater of beef.

M. R. PEDLOW.

# HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

*(Founded on the Burhân-i Ma,âsir.)*

BY J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 292.)

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Reign of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh II.

AFTER the death of the late Sulṭân, the *amîrs* and ministers and leaders of the army unanimously agreed to the succession of **Maḥmûd Shâh,** and accordingly seated him on the throne, and tendered their congratulations.

When Sulṭân Maḥmûd succeeded to the throne, he liberally bestowed presents and conferred favours on all, and spread the wings of mercy and justice over his subjects; and in the early part of his reign all his subjects passed their days in safety and ease.

From the time of the late Sulṭân up to the present the Turkî slaves, who were brave and warlike, had obtained great power, and had brought into their own grasp most of the important affairs of the sovereignty; and in the time of the present Sulṭân also, in the same manner as fomerly, most of the State affairs were in their hands, and they had assumed supreme power.

The *amîrs* and *maliks* of the Dakhan now made overtures of friendship with the Turks; but among the great men of the age — or even among the human race in general, as long as it exists — friendship has no possibility of permanency or durability. The Dakhanîs entered into an alliance and made a firm compact with **Kawâm-ul-Mulk Turk,** who was the minister of the principality. The Turkî *amîrs,* relying upon the compact of the Dakhanîs, were careless of [the consequences of] its binding terms.

Some of the Dakhanî *amîrs* told Kawâm-ul-Mulk that Abd-Ullâh 'Âdil Khân, Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the Dakhanî *amîrs* and *maliks* intended, after doing homage to the Sulṭân, to take their leave and set out for their own country; but as they were in dread of the Turks, it was necessary that on the following day none of the Turkî attendants should show themselves in the city until these had taken their departure. The simple-minded Kawâm-ul-Mulk, deceived by his enemies, complied with the request; and on the appointed day, in the manner promised, the Turkî *amîrs,* enjoying themselves in their own habitations and assemblies were heedless of the happening of the accidents of fate. But the Dakhanî *amîrs* with their, troops fully armed entered the fort, and while every one of the Turkî *amîrs,* according to instructions, were off their guard in their own houses, the Dakhanîs fell upon them and slaughtered them. A few only, with great difficulty, managed to escape, and hid themselves in out-of-the-way places.

After **the massacre of the Turks, Malik Ḥasan Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî was** distinguished by royal favours and was exalted to the title of **Malik Nâ,ib,** and all the affairs of government were placed in his hands. But as for the Dakhanîs who had massacred the clique of Turks after having made a compact with them: in a short time the consequences of that action recoiled on them, and caused them endless misfortunes. Some of that clique hoisted the standard of revolt, and having collected a large army, had the boldness to march against the Sulṭân.

**Sulṭân Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk,** who had been carefully reared under the special superintendence of his father, the Malik Nâ,ib, and who, notwithstanding his tender age, was adorned with abundance of bravery and generosity, learning, justice and all human qualities; in accordance with the Sulṭân's orders had had the districts of Junîr and Châkan and that part of the country conferred on him as a feudal tenure and *jâgîr* — as will hereafter be related in detail in the history of that king. When the news of the revolt of the army of the Dakhan against the king

reached him [Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk], he marched with his army to the assistance of the Sulṭân.[41]

When the rebel army heard of his approach they were much alarmed, and began to waver. The prince with his brave troops attacked the rebels, and in one engagement put them to flight, and pursuing them for several *farsangs*, slaughtered many of them, both great and little. A few only managed with much difficulty to escape. The prince after being greatly distinguished by royal favours, took his leave, and returning to his own country, looked after the welfare of his subjects in Junîr and Châkan.

After that the Sulṭân marched with his army to make **war against the country of Teliṅgânâ** and on reaching **Warangal** pitched his camp within sight of the fortress.

At this time a clique of Ḥabshîs in the service of the Sulṭân had the utmost confidence placed in them; and owing to the power they possessed in the affairs of government, used to behave in a very imperious manner; and being at enmity with the Malik Nâ,îb were constantly trying to get rid of him by repeating to the Sulṭân speeches and stories tending to prejudice him against the minister. So many slanders and lies did they concoct against that incomparable minister that the heart of the Sulṭân was turned against him, and they obtained from the Sulṭân an order for the minister's execution, but waited for an opportunity of carrying it out. When the Malik Nâ,îb became aware of their treacherous intentions towards him, he fled from the camp of the Sulṭân and hastened to the capital, **Bîdar**. Since the cup of the life of that minister of pure disposition had become full he did not [as he ought to have done] go to Junnar to the prince, Sulṭân Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, but instead went to Bîdar in hopes of assistance from Pasand Khân, who was one of his dependents. The unreliable Pasand Khân at first made him solemn promises. Outwardly he showed him obedience and submission, but, secretly he sent a person to the Sulṭân and gave his promise that when the Sulṭân should arrive in the neighbourhood of the capital, he would put to death the Malik Nâ,îb and send his head out from the fortress, on condition that the Sulṭân should accord him his favour and grant him immunity from his royal displeasure. The Sulṭân, in accordance with the proposal of the foolish Pasand Khân, sent him a written promise of support, and afterwards himself proceeded to Bîdar.

When the Sulṭân arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital, **Pasand Khân** — who after that became notorious for ingratitude — **martyred the Malik Nâ,îb**, and having cut off his head, threw it outside the fortress. The Sultân then proceeded to his palace and took his ease.

At this time the power and authority of the people of Ḥabshah and Zangbâr in the service of the Sulṭân had increased a thousand-fold, and the other State officials had no longer any power except in name. The whole country and the offices and political affairs of the kingdom and the government treasuries they divided among themselves, and arrogantly ignoring the sovereign, themselves governed the kingdom. But since the star of their good fortune had now reached its zenith, after continuing for a long time undiminished: as is invariably the rule with fortune as well as the revolving heavens — the star of that clique began to decline. The Turks, who are a war-like and blood-thirsty race, got into their hands most of the affairs of importance and the highest dignities; thus Ḥasan Khân Khurâsânî became Khwâjah Jahân, Jamâl-ud-Dîn Ṣâḥib-i Ḥauẓ obtained the title of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and 'Alî Turk that of Jahângîr Khân.

[41] It was this Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk who, a few years afterwards, became the founder of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. Though here called "Sulṭân" and "Shâhzâdah," he of course did not bear either of those titles at this time. I have not translated the numerous ornate phrases prefixed to his name. The reason why the author speaks of him in such flattering terms is obvious when we remember that the *Burhân-i Ma,âsir* is essentially a history of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty: the Bahmanî portion being only an introduction to the rest.

The whole of this paragraph is one long, involved sentence in the text, and I have been obliged to invert the order and split it up in order to make it intelligible in English.

At the same time the **Sulṭân**, following the example of his illustrious ancestors on the throne, **for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his bed, married his own sister Fâtimah,** daughter of the late Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, **to His Highness Habîb-Ullâh Shâh 'Atîyat-Ullâh,** son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh; and according to the time-honoured custom of the kings of India, gave a great entertainment on this occasion. **The fort of Medak,** which is situate in the country of Teliṇgânâ on a piece of solid rock, he gave to them as a wedding present. His other sister he gave in marriage to **His Highness Mîrzâ Adham,** son of Shâh Muḥabbb-Ulláh, and settled upon them in feudal tenure the district of Jûkâtî.[42]

**Account of the open Rebellion of the Amîrs of the Dakhan and their shameful fighting against the Sulṭân.**

It is related that the Sulṭân made a beautiful flower-garden with a rivulet running through it, the banks of which were lined with trees; and in that garden he spent his time in pleasure and amusement from morning till evening, continually drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine. One night the Sulṭân proceeded to his royal villa, and his troops having dispersed he indulged in pleasure and conviviality; but in the midst of this a great tumult was heard from the streets and bazars of the city and fortress. The whole of the army had gone to the royal palace with **the intention of deposing the Sulṭân.** At that time ten able-bodied and brave young Turks presented themselves before the Sulṭân, and showing dauntless courage, killed numbers of the rebels with their bows and arrows and swords. The Sulṭân with those brave warriors stood in **the Shâh Burj** of the fortress, which was surrounded by countless infantry and cavalry. Of the ten men who fought so valiantly in the service of the Sulṭân, five were killed. The Sulṭân calling for bow and arrows himself engaged in battle, and killed many of the rebels. He summoned Hasan Khwâjah Jahân with all the Khurâsânîs and ordered them to guard the tower and walls. They went to the palace, but as the evil-doing rebels had barricaded the fortress from inside, they scaled the tower and walls of the fortress by means of ladders, and dispersed the rebels from round the Shâh Burj. When the active Turks and foreigners in attendance on the Sulṭân were assembled in the Shâh Burj in numbers beyond computation, the Sulṭân ordered them to extend themselves round the towers and walls of the fortress, and fire on the enemy; and this they did. 'Alî Turk Jahângir Khân with a number of the brave foreigners occupied the streets and cut off the retreat of the rebels, while Ḥasan Khwâjah Jahân with a few of his men hastened to the gate, and killed numbers of the enemy. When the day dawned the Sulṭân ordered his troops to mount and prepare for battle. He himself, fully armed, was mounted on a swift horse. Then being joined by Ḥasan Khwâjah Jahân with the Turkî and Khurâsânî troops, all well armed, they attacked their opponents. Since the Sulṭân in person took part in the fight, by his good fortune and the valour of his troops, the enemy were routed and put to flight. When the sun rose, the rebels from fear of the Royal troops hid themselves. Many of them, in fear of their lives, threw themselves from the towers and battlements, and by the same road went to the dwelling of perdition. A few who were hidden in nooks and corners, the royal troops sought out; and dragging them out from their hiding-places, put them to death.

After this defeat of his enemies the Sulṭân indulged in pleasure and amusement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân ordered his architects to build a lofty and beautiful palace inside the fortress, near the Shâh Burj. The skilful builders, according to orders, laid the foundations, and the Sulṭân himself for a long time used to watch attentively the progress of the work.

* * * * * * * *

After the completion of the palace, the Sulṭân used to spend most of his time in it in a continual round of voluptuous amusements.

42 موضع ابنه جوكاتي I have not been able to identify this place.

In the midst of these events the Sultân receivedintelligence that **Kâsim Turk** — who had received the title of **Khawâṣṣ Khân**, and afterwards that of **Barîd-ul-Mamâlik**,[43] and had been given the town of **Kaṇdhâr** and its dependencies on feudal tenure — was in a state of rebellion. It was necessary to endeavour to put out the fire of this rebellion as quickly as possible, in order that the injury caused by the sedition might not spread through the whole country, and render the remedying of it not easily practicable. Consequently the Sulṭân being firmly resolved to suppress it, appointed **Dilâwar Khân Habshî** (who, owing to the abundance of his followers, the multitude of his army, his wealth and magnificence, had been selected for the command of the army) to put down **the rebellion of Kâsim Turk.** Dilâwar Khân, according to orders, with his warriors and well-trained cavalry moved towards Kaṇdhâr. When Ḳâsim Turk became aware of his approach, he prepared for battle and engaged Dilâwar Khân.

* * * * * * * *

As Ḳâsim Turk had not sufficient strength to oppose the army of Dilâwar Khân, he thought the best thing he could do was to retreat; so he ceased fighting, and taking to flight set out from Kaṇdhâr towards Bâlkoṇḍa. Dilâwar Khân pursued the enemy and wished to separate them and slaughter them. But suddenly a vicious elephant from the army of Dilâwar Khân getting beyond the control of his driver ran into the midst of the army, and overthrowing the horse of Dilâwar Khân, trampled him to death. Kâsim Barîd on hearing of this was much rejoiced, and turning round hurried towards Dilâwar Khân's camp; and without the trouble of fighting, obtained possession of all Dilâwar Khân's baggage, elephants and horses. Then binding the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forelock of revolt, he hoisted the standard of rebellion.

At that time most of the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* of the different provinces of the dominions having withdrawn their necks from the collar of obedience and subjection, had hoisted the standard of rebellion in their own districts; consequently the Sulṭân was quite incapable of subduing the rebellion of Ḳâsim Barîd. The only remedy he could see was to enter with him through the door of reconciliation and forgiveness by promising him a share in the government and making a treaty with him to that effect, render him secure. On this account **the Sulṭân sent Kâsim Barîd a written treaty**; and the latter having hopes of realizing his ambition of obtaining the government of the kingdom of the Dakhan and the rank of Mîr-i Jumlah, proceeded to the royal court; and taking in his own hands the reins of government, he assumed sovereign authority; so that, except in name, no power remained to the Sulṭân. And not content even with this, he quarrelled with the *amîrs* and *wazîrs*, his object being to make them all subject to him. But the *amîrs* would not submit to the government of Ḳâsim Barîd. They opened the door of opposition and strife, and joining together in opposing Ḳâsim Barîd, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. From all quarters of the dominions armies being assembled marched towards the capital, Bîdar. When this distressing news reached Kâsim Barîd in the city of **Bîdar** he told the Sulṭân to issue an order for the mobilization of the royal army; and an immense army being assembled, the Sulṭân marched with it to meet the rebels.

In the midst of these affairs the prince, **Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Nizâm-ul-Mulk,** coming **from Junnar,** joined the royal camp, and after kissing the Sulṭân's hand made ready for the undertaking and was treated with kingly courtesy.[44] After that, the Sulṭân marched towards **Udgîr;** and at the town of Devatî[45] the opposing forces met one another. Although the hostile *amîrs*

[43] Ḳâsim Barîd, who shortly afterwards founded the Barîd-Shâhî dynasty. Sulṭân Ḳulî, who afterwards founded the Ḳuṭb-Shâhî dynasty, also had the title of Khawâṣṣ Khân before he acquired that of Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk. He took a prominent part in the fighting above described, and the latter title was given him in recognition of his services on this occasion. — *Vide* Briggs, Vol. III. p. 343.

[44] Aḥmad Baḥrî does not appear to have shown any resentment on account of the murder of his reputed father, the Malik-Nâib.

[45] Not identified, but must be somewhere between Bîdar and Udgîr.

entered into a correspondence with the Sulṭân, imploring him to oust Ḳâsim Barîd from the government of the dominions of the Dakhan, in order that they might submit themselves loyally to the Sulṭân, and cease fighting; yet as the Sulṭân had no longer any control over the affairs of State, he was unable to comply with their request.[46] The *amîrs* were then under the necessity of fighting against the army of Sulṭân Maḥmûd. It is related that when the Dakhanî *amîrs* attacked the army of the Sulṭân, both sides fought so furiously that they made the dust of the battle-field like a tulip garden, and the dead were thrown in heaps on the surface of the ground. Ḳâsim Barîd seeing the bravery of the *amîrs* knew there was no use in continuing the battle, so he took to flight. In the midst of this the Sulṭân, from the charging of the warriors of the army, and the horses and elephants dashing against one another, fell off his horse, and his delicate body became acquainted with the dust of the battle-field. When the *amîrs* saw their king fallen, they were excessively afflicted and ashamed. They dismounted from their horses and kissed the ground before the Sulṭân; and mounting him on a swift horse, sent him on to the capital. Each of the *amîrs* then turned towards his own country. Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk also, taking his leave of the Sulṭân, turned towards the district of Junnar. After the *amîrs* had dispersed and gone to their own districts, Ḳâsim Barîd again went to court and assumed supreme power. In several histories it is stated that this event occurred in the latter days of the reign of the Sulṭân, and that he died one year after that: as will hereafter, please God! be related.

In the midst of these events there came to the ears of the Sulṭân a memorial to the following effect from **Malik Yusuf Turk**, who had obtained the title of **Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân**, and was at that period in possession of **Râyachûr**, **Belgâon**, **Targal** [**Naregal**?] and other towns[47]: —

"**Malik Dînâr Dastûr-i Mamâlik**, an Abyssinian eunuch, having placed his foot outside the path of obedience and subjection, has become a traveller on the paths of rebellion and resistance. This slave of the court, in concert with Your Majesty, will bring about the punishment of that perfidious unbeliever by placing the lightning-striking sword in his embrace, and so recompense his ingratitude and rebellion. At this time again, **Malik Khûsh Kadam Turk Azîz-ul-Mulk**, who was formerly a ruler, having become a fellow-traveller with that black-faced, abandoned one, they have scratched the face of fidelity and agreement with the nail of oppression and hypocrisy."

Immediately upon hearing these dreadful words, the fire of the Sulṭân's world-consuming anger blazed up, and he ordered the royal army of Turks and Khurâsânîs to be got ready for battle and assembled at court in order to extirpate these worthless enemies. When the Sulṭân heard of the assembly of the army he mounted his horse and hoisted the royal standard. Ḳâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik — who was the [real] ruler of the kingdom of the Dakhan — with other *amîrs* and nobles set out with the Sulṭân.

When Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Alî Fakhr-ul-Mulk obtained information of the approach of the Sulṭân, they hastened to join the royal camp and make their obeisance.

The Sulṭân then paying attention to the arrangement of his army, gave the command of the right wing to Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk; and that of the left wing to Malik Ḳâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik and Ḳadam Khân and Jahângîr Khân; while the Sulṭân himself with the armed Turks and Afghâns and the warriors of Hind and Khurâsân, with all the flower of the army, hoisted his standard in the centre. The proud rebels too busied themselves in preparing to encounter the royal army. They disposed their forces in perfect readiness, and hoisted the standard of bravery and boldness. After that, the warriors of each of the two forces, like two mountains of iron and steel, getting into motion, rushed on one

[46] From this period may be said to date the establishment of the Barîd-Shâhî dynasty and the overthrow of the Bahmanî.

[47] He was the founder of the 'Âdil-Shâhî dynasty.

another, and drawing the sword of hatred from the scabbard of vengeance, separated the heads of the leaders from their bodies and threw them on the dust of destruction. Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk charging from the right wing, overthrew many of the cavalry of his opponents. Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik also fought bravely with the left wing and killed numbers of the enemy; and the warriors and active Khurâsânîs, who were posted in the centre, fought with much valour and killed many of the enemy. **Sultân Kulî Khawâss Khân Hamadânî** (who afterwards became entitled **Kutb-ul-Mulk**, and ascended to the highest of the steps of dignity and greatness),[48] with Hasan Turk Sultânî, showed such valour in that battle that he out-did Rustam and Isfandyâr. Malik Dînar Dastûr-i Mamâlik, who was the leader of the opposing forces, was taken prisoner by Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân; and the rest of the wretched and contemptible rabble, withdrawing from the field, took to flight; and half of them managed with much difficulty to escape.

After this defeat of his enemies, the Sultân dismounted and gave thanks to God; and the *amîrs* and *khâns* making their obeisance, congratulated the Sultân on his victory. Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân in the assembly of *maliks, khâns, amîrs* and nobles, placing his head on the ground of submission, entreated the Sultân to pardon Malik Dînâr. The Sultân lending a favourable ear to the request of 'Âdil Khân, pardoned his enemy, and ordered that all his property in money and goods, whatever the troops had carried off, should be restored to him.

After that, the Sultân, with his victorious army, marched towards **Kalburgâ** and **Sagar**, and, chastising his adversaries there with the sword, freed the subjects and inhabitants of that part of the country from the evils of sedition and injustice. His troops laid siege to the fort of Sagar and took it by force. From that place the Sultân moved towards his capital, Bîdar; and, on his arrival there, the *shekhs*, *'ulamâ* and learned men hurried forth to meet him; and having made their obeisance, each of them, according to his rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

When the Sultân had taken up his abode in the capital, he turned the light of his justice, kindness, benevolence and favour — like the sun at mid-day — on his subjects and all the inhabitants of the country; and tyranny, oppression, ruin and desolation he changed into justice, equity, prosperity and cultivation.

In this year[49] **Bahâdur Gîlânî**, who after Kishwar Khân Khwâjah Jahânî, had taken into his own possession the country of the **Konkan Dâbhol**, **Goa** and all the ports and coast-line of the Dakhan, and had collected a large army. Several ships freighted with valuable property and Arab horses, belonging to Sultân Mahmûd Gujarâtî and his merchants, had come into ports which were in his possession, and, having tyrannically seized them, he looted the whole of the cargoes of the ships. Sultân Mahmûd Gujarâtî sent a *farmân* about this to Bahâdur Gîlânî, demanding the restitution of the ships and their cargoes. In reply to this Bahâdur Gîlânî used

[48] He afterwards founded the Kutb-Shâhî Dynasty of Golkonda. According to the *Târîkh-i Muhammad Kutb-Shâhî*, this victory was chiefly due to the personal exertions of Kulî Kutb-ul-Mulk, and his services on this occasion were rewarded by his being appointed governor of the province of Telingânâ, with the title of Amîr-ul-Umrâ.

[49] The year is not stated, but we see from Firishtah that it was A. H. 899 (A. D. 1493).

The late minister, Mahmûd Gâwân Khwâjah Jahân, was a native of Gîlân — a province of Persia (*vide* p. 153) — and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. Bahâdur Gîlânî was doubtless one of these countrymen. This Kishwar Khân is not mentioned elsewhere, but one can see from his name that he was a *protégé* of the late Khwâjah Jahân's. He seems to have been governor of the Konkan and that part of the kingdom formerly governed by Khalf Hasan Malik-ut-Tujjâr; and was succeeded in that government by Bahâdur Gîlânî. The latter broke into rebellion on hearing of the unjust execution of his patron (see Bayley's *History of Gujarât*, pp. 217-19, where the cause of Bahâdur Gîlânî's hostility to Gujarât is explained), and but for this quarrel with Gujarât, would probably have succeeded in founding a kingdom for himself: as it was, he exercised independent sway, unchecked for thirteen years, over the whole of the Konkan, besides holding several districts and forts of the Dakhan — such as Sâtârâ, Pânâlâ, Miraj and Jamkhandî.

intemperate language, and sent back nothing. Having no other resource, **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî** sent an ambassador with many presents to the court of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Bahmanî, and sent by his hands a letter concerning the high-handed conduct of Bahâdur Gîlânî, to the following effect :—

"For a long time a strong friendship has existed between our dynasties, and, moreover, the friendship which existed between our ancestors has descended by heritage to their progeny. At this time Bahâdur Gîlânî, the servant of Kishwar Khân Khwâjah Jahânî — who is seated in the place of Kishwar Khân, and who has shut in his own face the doors of obedience and subjection[50] — has taken possession of all the sea ports and fortresses of the coast of the kingdom of the Dakhan from Dâbhol, Goa, Barbolî,[51] Chandan-Wandhan, Sâtârâ and Panâlâ[52] to Miraj, Jamkhandî, etc. In the excess of his presumption he has hoisted the standard of rebellion, and has forcibly taken possession of twenty ships laden with various goods, jewels, cloths and thorough-bred horses, and seized the merchants also. Not content even with this he has sent to the port of Mâhim [Bombay] 200 ships and *ghurâbs* filled with his tyrannical army; levelled that place with the ground; burned several *Kur,âns* and *masjids;* thrown into the sea most of the merchants of the country, and having made prisoners of two *amîrs* of Gujarât, who were in the port at the time, has carried them off with him. When I heard this news I wrote and sent to him a *farmân* on the subject, and he sent an excessively rebellious reply. As he is one of the servants of Your Majesty's court, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion, in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel; for his expulsion is an absolute necessity, from religious as well as from worldly motives. If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side."

When the Sulṭân had heard the contents of the letter of Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât, he said :— "The driving away of that synopsis of the lords of rebellion and sedition is absolutely necessary. For the sake of my own peace of mind that man of evil disposition must, by some means or other, be chastised as an example to others." But it occurred to the royal mind that in the first instance the ears of the understanding of Bahâdur Gîlâni should be weighted by the pearls of kingly exhortation and admonition; then if he did not act according to orders, but persisted in opposition, he should be handed over to the executioner. A letter to the following effect was therefore written to Bahâdur Gîlânî according to the Sulṭân's orders :—

"Be it known to you that a letter has arrived from Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî, containing such and such matters, on hearing which the king was much astonished. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this royal *farmân*, you shall send to the royal court all the goods belonging to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî and his merchants, and send the ships back by sea. Do not on any account put your foot beyond your own blanket.[53] The prisoners, with the elephants and goods, are to be handed over to the deputy of the court. Show no delay or negligence of any kind; and in future do not open on yourself the door of sedition and trouble, nor set your foot on the road of rebellion and ingratitude."

When the royal mandate had been written and despatched to Bahâdur Gîlânî, the Sulṭân ordered eloquent secretaries to write in elegant language a reply to the letter of Sulṭân

---

[50] From this it appears that Kishwar Khân was the legitimate governor of the Konkan province, and Bahâdur Gîlânî a subordinate under him; but Bahâdur Gîlânî ousted Kishwar Khân, and then broke into rebellion. The words of the text are :—

درینوقت بهادر گیلانی چاکر کشور خان خواجه جهانی که بجای کشور خان نشسته و ابواب اطاعت و انقیاد بر روی خود بسته

[51] Not identified. Perhaps Dâpoli.

[52] An isolated hill fort a few miles from Kolhâpur.

[53] *I.e.,* mind your own business.

Mahmûd Gujarâtî. According to orders, the secretaries wrote a letter in exceedingly ornate language; the substance of which was as follows:—

"From the olden days a strong friendship and unanimity has existed between our two dynasties, and the relations were such that the enemies of this State were also the enemies of your dynasty; and on the other hand the same was the case with the friends of each. On this account a *farmân* has been sent to Bahâdur Gîlânî: if he obeys it and sends to you the property, elephants, cloths and ships, he will be secure; otherwise the flame of my world-consuming wrath shall burn up the harvest of his life, and he and his followers shall be given to the wind of destruction. What necessity is there for Your Majesty to send an army against him?"

When the answer to Sultân Mahmûd's letter was written, the Gujarâtî ambassador was given permission to return, taking with him rarities and presents innumerable.

But when Bahâdur Gîlânî heard of the coming of the Sultân's *farmân* to him, he sent a person to stop the messengers on the road, and not to allow them to go on and show the Sultân's *farmân*. The messengers then wrote to court an account of what had happened to them, and the rebellious conduct of Bahâdur Gîlânî. When the Sultân was informed of the open rebellion of Bahâdur Gîlânî, he issued an order that the royal troops from all quarters should proceed to the court; and in accordance with orders, from every town and fortress, immense numbers of troops marched towards the royal court, and mustered there.

After that the Sultân mounted his horse and marched with his army towards **Mangalberah** [Mangalvedhâ].[54] In due time the Sultân arrived at Mangalvedhâ — a fort, the towers and walls of which Bahâdur Gîlânî had, with much trouble and tyranny, constructed of hard stone, and had committed the defence of the fortress to a numerous force of cavalry and infantry. Notwithstanding the strength of the fortress, immediately upon the arrival of the royal army, the defenders were overpowered with terror. Abandoning the fort they took to flight; and the royal troops without trouble or difficulty took that fort which in strength was like the azure vault. The Sultân assigned the fort on feudal tenure to Masnad-i 'Âlî Fakhr-ul-Mulk; and from there he marched towards the fort of Jamkhandî. Bahâdur Gîlânî at this time was engaged in besieging this fort, but when he obtained information of the arrival of the royal army, he abandoned the siege; and through fear of the royal army, thinking caution necessary, he withdrew into hiding.

Mukaddam Nâ,ik, when relieved from the difficult affair of the siege, setting out with followers, dependants, cavalry and retinue, hastened to the royal court and was enrolled among the special servants of the State and distinguished by kingly favours.

At this time Malik Sultân Kulî Hamadânî, who was entitled Khawâss Khân, being approved of by the Sultân, was exalted to the title of "Kutb-ul-Mulk;" and the towns of **Kotâghir** and **Durgi**[55] and several villages were given to him on feudal tenure. Abr Khân, son-in-law of Ulugh Khân Jân Begî, making himself commander of the right wing, took the title of Haidar Khân, and had the town of Pâtrî and the Nânder direction, besides other places, conferred on him on feudal tenure. And having given the title of Abr Khân to Malik Muhammad, son of Ulugh Khân, the Sultân marched towards Mubârakâbâd Miraj. At that time the *wâlî* of that place was an infidel named Bûnah,[56] who had about 1,00,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. In attendance on the royal stirrup, on behalf of Sultân Ahmad Nizâm-ul-Mulk, were Zarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân and other *amîrs* beside him who were sent for the purpose; and on behalf of Majlis-i 'Âlî Fath-Ulláh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk of exalted dignity was Daryâ Khân — the greatest of the *khâns* of the time — with 2,000 men. There was also Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân with the whole of his

[54] Scott makes a curious and very confusing mistake in calling this place "Mangalore." — Scott's *Ferishtah*, Vol. I. pp. 190 and 192, 4to ed.

[55] درگی — not identified. This Kutb-ul-Mulk shortly afterwards founded the Kutb-Shâhî Dynasty.

[56] This name is variously written Bûnah, Pûnah and Bûtah. I cannot say which is the correct spelling. Briggs writes it Pota.

troops; and the whole of the Habshî, Turkî and Dakhanî *amîrs* and *wazîrs* were in attendance on the Sulṭân. Though several of the Turks and intrepid Dakhanîs secretly sympathised with the blood-thirsty Bahâdur, yet, through fear of the Sulṭân, they did not hasten to show it.

The royal army surrounded **the fort of Miraj,** and engagements used to take place daily, till the son of Bûnah Nâ,îk, the governor of Miraj, was killed. Bûnah Nâ,îk and his followers then, becoming terrified at the assaults of the royal army, cried for quarter; and their agreeing to give a reasonable amount of money, Arab horses and elephants was made the condition on which their freedom was granted and their lives spared. Bûnah and his followers went forth from the fortress, and had the honour of kissing the ground before the Sulṭân, and were made content with kingly favours and courtesies; and through the infinite kindness of the Sulṭân all the people of Miraj obtained security for their lives and the lives of their families. The troops of Bahâdur Gîlânî who were in that fort were given the option of accepting pay and service under the Sulṭân's government or going to join the misguided Bahâdur. Of that band, each one who accepted service under the State was distinguished by rewards and kingly courtesies; and all who elected to join Bahâdur were given permission to depart with their horses and arms. In truth never have any of the kings of the world shown such mercy and kindness as he who after defeating his enemies gave permission to depart, and sent on to his opponents 2,000 cavalry of the enemy with their horses and arms.

The tyrant Bahâdur after hearing this news was much confounded, and coming forth from Dâbhol, hid himself in the uncultivated country and jungle. He then sent to the royal court Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh Yazdî (who was Malik-ut-Tujjâr of that province) to make terms with the Sulṭân. Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh taking with him a written agreement from Bahâdur, in which the latter promised to abstain from opposition and rebellion, hastened to the royal presence, where he had the honour of kissing the ground, and was treated with much kindness and courtesy. The Sulṭân in his infinite mercy and kindness lent a favourable ear to the requests of Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh. **He consigned to Bahâdur the whole of the territory of which he was in possession,** and drew the pen of forgiveness through the volumes of his crimes on condition that he restored the property and elephants of the Sulṭân of Gujarât and the goods of the merchants; also that he should send a reasonable sum of money each year without delay or negligence to the public treasury, and in future not practise tyranny or sedition or become a traveller on the road of rebellion and resistance.

Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh, having obtained the completion of his wishes, took his leave of the Sulṭân and proceeded towards the fortress of Kalhar [Karhâd ?]. After that, Bahâdur Gîlânî at the suggestion of the devil got a perverse idea into his head; evil impulses made him proud and threw him off the right track of obedience and subjection; and the agreement he had made through Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh he considered as though it did not exist. The fortresses which he held on feudal tenure he garrisoned with experienced veteran troops; and the whole of his army and followers he gratified by increased rewards; then making the jungle his own fortress he took up his abode there. When the Sulṭân heard of the flight of Bahâdur into the jungle and uncultivated country he ordered Dilâwar Khân Ḥabshî and 'Ain-ul-Mulk Turk with 5,000 cavalry armed with spears and 1,00,000 well-armed infantry to lay siege to the fortress of Kalhar and not fail to take it. He sent 7,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry under the command of several celebrated *amîrs* to seize the towns and districts of that province; and he himself with all the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* went after Bahâdur, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the jungle in which that evil-doer remained and had concealed himself by a hundred artifices When the Sulṭân had remained a long time in that place Bahâdur's predestined moment drew near; the jungle became his prison, and the claws of the falcon *Ajal*[57] seized him by the collar and drew him out of that jungle. The eye of his judgment became sightless and unable to discern the advisable course; consequently, with the intention of fighting, he left

[57] The period or end of life, the predestined moment, death.

the jungle for the open country. When the spies reported to the Sulṭân that the base rebel had come out of the jungle, he directed Fakhr-ul-Mulk with his eldest son, Ratan Khân, and Zarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân (one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who had come to the assistance of the Sulṭân) with 3,000 brave spearmen to oppose the ungrateful Bahâdur. And he gave strict injunctions to the *amîrs* that if they should catch Bahâdur they should refrain from killing him, and bring him alive to the foot of the throne. But since the measure of the life of that unworthy one was brimful, the period of his security had expired, and the orders as to sparing his life were of no avail. According to orders the *amîrs* and brave troops of the Sulṭân proceeded towards that synopsis of the lords of rebellion, and the two armies, eager for the fray, met in the neighbourhood of that jungle, and an engagement ensued.

* * * * *

The bark of Bahâdur's life fell into the whirlpool of destruction and death, and all his valour availed not to prevent it. In the midst of the battle he was engaged in single combat with Ratan Khân, who was the Rustam of the age, and they stained the dust of the battle-field with one another's blood; but the royal good fortune aiding him, Ratan Khân overcame his antagonist, and with his spear he dragged Bahâdur from his saddle and threw him to the ground, so that the resigned his soul to its Creator. **Ratan Khân then cut off the rebel's head** and threw his body on the ground; thus freeing the world from his sedition.

When Ratan Khân cut off the rebel's head and sent it to the royal court, the Sulṭân exhibited much regret; for Bahâdur Gîlânî in manliness and bravery was unrivalled. In the presence of the court assembly the Sulṭân said :—"Would to heaven he had been caught alive! that I might have pardoned his crimes and given him back his government: it is a pity that so brave a man should be killed." After that, in accordance with orders, the head of that tyrant was sent to the capital, Bîdar, and despatches announcing the victory were sent in all directions. This event happened on the 5th Ṣafar, A. H. 900 (5th November, A. D. 1494).

After the mind of the Sulṭân was freed from anxiety regarding Bahâdur, he marched with his army towards the fort of Panhâḷâ, which is situate on the summit of a hill. In loftiness its towers rivalled the heavens, and the battlements of its portico used to boast of superiority to the seventh heaven. * * * * *

Notwithstanding its elevation, the fort had a very extensive, beautiful and pleasant open space inside the fortress with abundance of good water, trees and fruits innumerable and much cultivation.

* * * * *

When the victorious standards of the Sulṭân appeared round that fort, the garrison, being unable to resist the attack of the royal army, asked for quarter and a written treaty of favourable terms. The Sulṭân gave them hopes of their obtaining favourable terms, and the *muḳaddam* of the fortress delivered the keys to the servants of the court. The Sulṭân, for the purpose of viewing the fort, ascended the hill and gave thanks to God that such a fortress had been taken without trouble. The Sulṭân with much booty and countless treasure then descended from the fortress to the foot of the hill, and ordered his army to proceed to Bijâpur, whilst he himself with some of his favourite *amîrs* and intimate companions went to see the **Port of Mustafâ-âbâd Dâbhol.**

When he arrived there he conferred many favours and kindnesses on his subjects and the people of that place; and having spent several days in the happiness of viewing the sea-coast and the gardens of that country he bestowed several of Bahâdur Gîlânî's districts on Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, some on Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân; and the remainder he gave on feudal tenure to Malik Ilyâs Turk; and it was arranged that he should send to the public treasury each year the sum of ten *laks* of *tankah*; and, living in a manner the reverse of Bahâdur Gîlânî, should not become a traveller on the paths of sedition.

After that, the Sulṭân proceeded towards his capital, and, stopping in the town of Miraj, divided among his troops the booty which he had collected in that country and in that war. He then returned with his army to the capital; and those *amîrs* who had accompanied him on that occasion, such as Daryâ Khân, son of Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, and Dilâwar Khân Ḥabshî and Ẓarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân — one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk — he distinguished by handsome robes of honour and increased dignities; after which he dismissed them to their own districts.

In the beginning of the year 903[58] (A. D. 1497) from the abundance of royal favours conferred on him, the power of **Sulṭân Kulî Kuṭb-ul-Mulk Hamadânî** being much augmented, and he becoming distinguished above all his equals, obtained suzerainty over all the feudatory chiefs of Telingânâ — such as Jahângîr Khân, Sanjar Khân, Kiwâm-ul-Mulk, Ullugh Khân, Mukrab Khân and others besides — and added to his former possessions the towns of **Warangal**[59] and **Kovilakoṇḍâ** with their dependencies. In these days perverse ideas again found their way into the brains of several rebels — such as the young Yusuf, Râ,î Khân Kinnaujî, Muḥammad Âdam, Kabîr Yaghrush Khân and others beside them who had procured the favour of the Sulṭân — and they entered into a compact with one another for the purpose of exterminating the Turks. Mîrzâdah Shams-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâhî (who of all the members of the assembly was most nearly related to the royal family) became a confidant of theirs in this affair. But before their seditious ideas could be carried into action the Turkî *amîrs* obtained information of the conspiracy; and according to the saying that "A misfortune should be remedied before its occurrence,"[60] they took the initiative by going in a body to the royal court; and the foolish Yaghrush Khân with the whole of the other conspirators, who were off their guard in their own houses, were summoned to the court and put to death. Mîrzâ Shams-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâhî was also put to death as an accomplice of those misguided people. As much disturbance arose in the city and fortress the Sulṭân went up into the Shâh Burj, and shut the doors of entrance and exit. The Turkî *amîrs* sent some one to summon Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh. They brought him into the court of the Sulṭân; and in his presence they emphatically swore, saying: — "These slaves, with regard to the Sulṭân, except devotion and obedience, have no thought in their hearts; and have no idea whatever of rebellion against the Sulṭân. Not like that clique of intriguers who had thoughts of rebellion in their hearts, and who allowed thoughts of deception to enter their minds; on which account we brought them to punishment. We are the same servants of the court of the king as we have always been."

Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh then waited on the Sulṭân, and repeated their speech to him *verbatim*, and the Sulṭân extinguished the fire of that sedition and disturbance, but his kingly authority both in the distant and near parts of the dominions died out. Each of the *amîrs* in his own district proclaimed his independence, and shut in his own face the door of obedience and submission. The government of the kingdom of the Dakhan now devolved on Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk; and the Sulṭân, as in former days, again treated that intrepid servant with much kindness and graciousness, and now increased his rank above that of all the other *amîrs* and *wazîrs* by making him *amîr-ul-umrâ* of the whole of the dominions of Telingânâ. At this period he also removed the provinces of Bîjâpur and Mangalveḍhâ and their dependencies from the possession of Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân and consigned them to Majlis-i Rafî' Malik Yusuf Turk 'Âdil Khân. The *parganah* of Ausâ and Kaṇdhâr, as in former times, was held in *jâgîr* by Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik, and there was much quarrelling and opposition beteween him and the other *amîrs* of the districts; and now, when Barîd-i Mamâlik was in the fort of Ausâ, the *amîrs*, thinking it a good opportunity, represented to the Sulṭân that he was continually in opposition to this dynasty, and that it would be advisable to crush him before he could raise an insurrection. Although

[58] 902, according to Firishtah. [59] Written Karangal in the text; but it is evidently a mistake.

[60] *Anglice*, "Prevention is better than cure."

this was contrary to the good pleasure of the Sulṭân, yet on account of his affection for the Turkî *amîrs* he could not act upon that advice; for at this time the Sulṭân had not much power in the affairs of the kingdom.

Of necessity, in the latter part of Ẕî-ul-Ḥijjah A. H. 906 **June, A. D. 1500),** the Sulṭân, with the *wazîrs* of the capital and his brave troops, moved from the capital and laid **siege to the fort of Ausâ.** Some of the *amîrs* who outwardly were on the side of the Sulṭân, but who were secretly in alliance with Barîd-i Mamâlik, hastened to make their obeisance to the Sulṭân. After the expiration of the month of Muḥarram, the Sulṭân, with the dissembling *amîrs*, as well as those who were really on his side, mounted with the intention of battle, and surrounded the fortress of Ausâ; but in the midst of the fighting the dissembling *amîrs* left the Sulṭân and joined Barîd-i Mamâlik. Consequently the greatest slackness found its way into the royal army, and their ranks were broken. Malik Sulṭân Ḳulî Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk took the road of Telingânâ, and Adil-Khân also turned towards his own province. When **Malik Ḳâsim Barîd-i Mamalik** obtained information of the dispersal of the Sulṭân's army, thinking it a favourable opportunity, he hastened to do homage to the Sulṭân, and with him proceeded towards Bîdar. By order of the Sulṭân he then **again assumed the government of the capital Bîdar.**

After the lapse of one year, the *amîrs* again becoming disgusted with the government of Barîd-i Mamâlik, as on the former occasion. the idea of his extermination became fixed in their minds, so they united together, and, after making great preparations, turned towards the capital, Bîdar. Among the greatest of the *amîrs* who at that time went to the capital were Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân, Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk and Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides. When the Sulṭân heard of the approach of the *amîrs* bent upon eradicating Barîd-i Mamâlik, he sent to them Majlis-i Mukrâm Khân Khân-i Jahân, Malik-ul-'Ulumâ Ṣadr-i Jahân, Saiyid Khaṭîb and all the learned men in order that after ascertaining the cause of their coming and the motive of their leaguing together, the affair might be settled amicably. When the above-mentioned company, according to the Sulṭân's orders arrived in the assembly of the *amîrs* and delivered their message, the *amîrs* heard their words; and after some controversy it was resolved that each of the *amîrs* and *maliks* should hasten to his own district, and that Barîd-i Mamâlik also should go to Ausâ and Kandhâr, which was his district; and that once in each year the whole of the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* should come to the royal court and join in a *jihâd* against the idolaters of Vijayânagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islâm, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants. A treaty containing many terms to this effect was then drawn up, and at the request of Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân 20,000 horses of the country were added to the *jâgîr* of Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk. After that, the *amîrs*, having kissed th- Sulṭân's feet and been presented with robes of honour and other distinctions, obtained permise sion to depart. **Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân hastened to Bijâpur Kânara and made it his capital; while Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk Hamadânî took up his abode in the town of Golkoṇḍâ.**

In the middle of the year 908 (A. D. 1502) the Sulṭân, in accordance with the agreement, being resolved on waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, marched out of the capital, Bîdar, with the *amîrs* and his victorious army. He had then with him, of Turks, foreigners and Dakhanîs, not more than 5,000 horse and 30,000 veteran infantry; but when he pitched his camp at Arkî,[61] Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk joined him with 500 Arab cavalry, thirty elephants and 5,000 foot. The Sulṭân received him with kingly courtesy, and added that town to all his other feudal lands. When the royal army marched from there and encamped at Ankûr,[62] Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân joined the royal camp with 5,000 Turkî, Khurâsânî and Dakhanî horse, 6,000 infantry armed with spears, and fifteen elephants. Dastûr-i Mamâlik also joined with 3,000 horse, 3,000 foot and forty elephants.

When the army marched from that place a royal order was issued that Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Ain-ul-Mulk with his force should go on in advance into the **Vijayânagar territory by way of**

[61] Or Argî. Probably Pargî is meant.

[62] Or Angûr. Probably Atakûr is meant.

**Kalhar**[63] **and Kôlhapur**, and over-running the territory of the infidels, strike terror into their hearts. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, according to the orders, proceeded with 5,000 horse, 50,000 foot and eighty elephants.[64] The Sultân subsequently marched from that place and encamped within sight of the fortress of **Râyachûr**. The garrison being terrified at the assaults of the royal army tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute in order to get immunity from plunder. They also agreed to surrender to the servants of the court the revenue of the fort of Mudgal which in former times they had farmed from the agents of the Sultân, but which hitherto they had failed to pay into the public treasury; also some *parganahs* of Râyachûr which they had forcibly taken from the royal troops. The Sultân bestowed these *parganahs* on Majlis-i Rafî' Âdil Khân; and on 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the other *amîrs* and generals he bestowed robes of honour, and gave them leave to depart. The Sultân then returned to the capital.

When the *amîrs* and *maliks*, according to the Sultân's orders, turned towards their own districts, and the Sultân with his troops and some of the *amîrs* of the foot of the throne returned to the capital, Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, thinking it a good opportunity, with the *amîrs* already in alliance with him, had dispersed and routed a body of the royal troops; and then turning towards the capital, entered the city on the 9th of Ẓî-ul Ḥijjah[65] and laid siege to the fortress. After some days the people of the fortress, siding with Barîd-i Mamâlik, opened the gates; and Barîd-i Mamâlik then entered the fort and put to death Khân-i Jahân who at that time had superseded him in the government. He then once more without opposition became firmly seated on the throne of government of the capital of the Dakhan.

When the news of Barîd-i Mamâlik's usurpation of absolute authority reached the *amîrs* and *maliks* of the different parts of the dominions, they did not assent to this, and took counsel together in order to overthrow the foundations of his sovereignty and eradicate the young plant of his power. In the beginning of the year 909 (A. D. 1503) Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, Masnad-i 'Âlî Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others beside them formed an alliance with one another and marched towards the capital. When they arrived near the capital the Sultân *nolens volens* resolved upon war with them, and hoisting his standard endeavoured to repel the hostile *amîrs*. When the two forces met a great battle took place. Finally the hostile army prevailed over that of the king, and Haidar Khân the commander was killed in the action. When Barîd-i Mamâlik saw the state of affairs he took to flight and went to his own districts. When Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk and all the other *amîrs* heard of the flight of Malik Barîd, which was their chief object in this war with him, they hastened to wait on the Sultân and were presented with special robes of honour; then taking their leave, each of them after obtaining the completion of his wishes, returned to his own district.

In the middle of this year (909) it occurred to the mind of **Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân** to arrange a **marriage between one of his daughters and one of the royal princes**, so as to strengthen his position by the bonds of relationship. Accordingly he rolled up the secret of his mind in a letter which he sent to the Sultân. The latter lent a favourable ear to the request of 'Âdil Khân, and in order to make arrangements for the nuptial entertainment marched towards Aḥsanâbâd Kalburgâ with the principal *amîrs* and his troops. When he arrived at this celebrated place Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk hastened to the royal presence. On the third day Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk paid their respects to the Sultân, and the latter hoisting his standard made preparations for the nuptial entertainment.

* * * * *

63 Probably Karhâḍ. There must be some mistake in this; for he could not have reached Vijayânagar territory through these places without making an immense detour afterwards.

64 The number of infantry and elephants in 'Ain-ul-Mulk's force must be very much over-stated, for the total strength of the *combined* forces as given above was 13,500 cavalry, 44,000 infantry and 85 elephants.

65 The year (though not here stated) was 908 = 5th June, A. D. 1503.

In the midst of the royal hospitality and entertainment Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik and Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân obtained the happiness of kissing the ground before the Sultân in Kalburgâ. As a cordial hatred existed between Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Barîd-i Mamâlik, Dastûr-i Mamâlik, on account of a grudge which he had against Majlis-i Rafî', allied himself with Barîd-i Mamâlik, and with his army joined the camp of the latter and Khwâjah Jahân. Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk then joined together against Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik and his adherents. Again the doors of contention among the *amîrs* were opened afresh, and the young plant of enmity sprouted up in the climate of hypocrisy, The Sultân at this time, on account of the relationship by marriage with Majlis-i Rafî 'Âdil Khân, took the part of the latter and treated him with favour.

War broke out between the two forces, and the table-cloth of entertainment and hospitality was folded up. For about two or three months the fires of slaughter blazed up between the two armies. At last Malik Ilyâs 'Ain-ul-Mulk was killed by one of the soldiers of Malik Barîd, and after that the fire of contention and war became extinguished.

After the death of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Sultân, in order to secure possession of his district, proceeded to **Miraj and Panhâlâ. Malik Barîd** with his eldest son, Jahângîr Khân, and Khwâjah Jahân with his eldest son, Malik-ut-Tujjâr (who before that was known as Ratan Khân), and Dastûr-i Mamâlik Malik Dînâr **marched to Bîdar and laid siege to that fortress.** When the Sultân after taking possession of the district of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, returned to the capital, Barîd-i Mamâlik and his *wazîrs* obtained information of his approach and hastened out to meet him. Masnad-i 'Âlî Barîd-i Mamâlik and the remaining *amîrs* made their obeisance and were received with royal favour, and attended the Sultân to the capital. The Sultân conferred on Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik the title of Majlis-i Mukarram Humâyûn Nâ,ib-i Bârîk, and increased his rank beyond that of Majlis-i Karîm Khwâjah Jahân, and again consigned to him the government of the capital.

In the year 916 (A. D. 1510) discord and contention arose between Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik on account of an old quarrel; and as Dastûr-i Mamâlik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis-i Rafî', he put his trust in the protection and favour of Sultân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, and took refuge at his court. This celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis-i Rafî'. When the latter heard of the movement of this army, feeling himself unable to oppose them, he took refuge at the court of the Sultân, He entirely forbade Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân to quarrel with Dastûr-i Mamâlik. Majlis-i Rafî', according to orders made a compact that in future he would become a traveller on the road of friendship and unity with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and not traverse the valley of perverseness and sedition. After that, the Sultân sent to that prince of men [Sultân Aḥmad Baḥrî] a *farmân* full of affection, and kindness, together with numerous presents; and told him how he had prohibited Majlis-i Rafî' from quarrelling with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis-i Rafî'. The prince, conformably with his desire returned to the seat of government.

In the end of the year 912 (A. D. 1506), on account of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân the dust of vexation settled on the mirror of the mind of the Sultân: for this reason he gave orders for summoning Malik Sultân Kulî Kutb-ul-Mulk. When the latter heard the contents of the *farmân*, he hastened to the court and made his obeisance. By the Sultân's orders another *farmân*, to the following effect, was sent to summon Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk: — "In these days the demon of sedition and rebellion has carried 'Âdil Khân off the straight road of obedience and submission to this court, and has placed his foot in the desert of ingratitude. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this *farmân* you shall come with all speed, and arrange the affairs of the government and the army and the subjects in accordance with the wishes of the Sultân."

As Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk on the whole showed negligence and want of haste in attending at the royal court, having no other resource, the Sulṭân with Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk and all the celebrated *amîrs*, hoisted his standard. When the Sulṭân arrived within sight of **Kalam,** Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk made his obeisance to him there. Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the *amîrs* becoming the advocates of Majlis-i Rafî', on his behalf made smooth the preliminaries of obedience and submission; then the dust of vexation which had settled on the Sulṭân's heart was obliterated by the polisher of intercession. The Sulṭân pardoned the offences of Majlis-i Rafî', and rolled up the carpet of war and contention. The *amîrs* and generals in attendance on the Sulṭân returned with him to the capital; and on arrival there he turned his attention to the affairs of Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the other *amîrs* and *maliks;* he bestowed on them valuable robes of honour and other presents, and gave them permission to depart to their respective districts.

After that, Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk died in **Elichpur,** and **Majlis-i Rafî, Âdil Khân died within sight of Kovalakoṇḍâ.**[66] The Sulṭân conferred the title of 'Âdil 'Khân and the province belonging to Majlis-i Rafî' Malik Yusuf on Ismâ'îl, the eldest son of the latter; and also settled on him a quarter of the kingdom of the Dakhan, which had been entrusted to Malik Yusuf. The affairs of the province of Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk remained for nearly a year in a state of confusion, for his eldest son, Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Daryâ Khân, was a prisoner in the fort of **Râmgîr**; but in the year 906 (A. D. 1500)[67] by the assistance of the son of Khudâwind Khân, governor of Mâhûr, he escaped from the fort of Râmgîr and reached Gâwîlgaḍh, and in his father's place took his seat on the throne of government of most of the province of **Varhâḍ (Berâr).** At the entreaty of Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân, the Sulṭân conferred on Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn the title of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk with the province which had belonged to Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. In the same year Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân died in the town of Sandlâpûr [Sholâpur?], which belonged to him. As his eldest son, Ratan Khân, had died before his father, the Sulṭân conferred the title of Khwâjah Jahân on the younger son, Nûr Khân, and added the town of Pareṇḍâ with its dependencies to his other possessions. Sandlâpûr [Sholâpur?] which previous to that had belonged to Khwâjah Jahân, he conferred on Kamâl Khân, Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân's general.

In the year 920 (A. D. 1514) the Sulṭân, by the advice of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Adil Khân, marched towards **Aḥsanâbâd Kalburgâ,** and took the fortress of Kalburgâ by force, and from the fire of rapine and plunder of the conquering army it became like the dust of the road. From this time in the country of the Dakhan the plunder and devastation of the territory of Islâm and the Musalmâns became a regular custom.

Dastûr-i Mamâlik, flying from those perils, took refuge with Barîd-i Mamâlik. The latter met him with the greatest respect, gave him hopes of his assistance; and sending a person to Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, strengthened the bonds of friendship with him. In the year 921 (A. D. 1515)[68] Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk and Malik Dastûr-i Mamâlik Malik Dînâr went to the royal capital and laid siege to the fortress of Bîdar. However much the *saiyids, shekhs* and learned men strove to arrange the matter peaceably it was of no avail, and Ḥamîd Khân Ḥabshî, the reputed son of Dastûr-i Mamâlik, who was inside the fortress, was killed in the fighting. At last 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk —who on behalf of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân used to be in attendance on the Sulṭân — came out and had an interview with Majlis-i Mukram Malik

[66] There is something palpably wrong in the dates here. Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk died in 1504. The date of Yusuf 'Âdil Shâh's death is variously given: thus, according to the author of the *Tabakât-i Akbari*, he died in 1507; according to Firishtah in 1510, and according to Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn Shîrâzî and Mîr Ibrahim Asad Khân, in 1519. Our author says the two died at the same time, but omits to mention the date. The last date mentioned is 1506, and here he says, "after that" these two kings died

[67] This date is inconsistent with the previous statements.

[68] Our author makes no mention of the death of Kâsim Barîd, and the succession of his son, Amîr Barîd, which — according to Farishtah — occurred in 1504.

Barîd-i Mamâlik. With the pure water of exhortations and advice he extinguished the fires of killing and fighting in which they had been engaged, and acted as arbitrator of the supplications and claims of the *amîrs.*

In the month of Jumâdî I. of the above-mentioned year (921) vexation showed itself between Dastûr-i Mamâlik and Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, and the latter in the excess of his impetuosity and anger, marched from Kamtânah[69] and set out for his own province. At this time the Sultân pardoned the offences of Dastûr-i Mamâlik and treated him with royal favours; and sent to Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân a *farmân* about pacifying Dastûr-i Mamâlik.[70] He then dismissed the latter to his former *jâgîr*, which was Kalburgâ. Majlis-i Rafî' obeyed the order of the Sultân and made friends with Dastûr-i Mamâlik.

In the midst of these affairs **an ambassador from Shâh Ismâ'îl Husainî Safawî** — who had succeeded by inheritance as king of the dominions of Khurâsân and 'Irâk and the whole country of Îrân — with many valuable presents, jewels fit for kings and fleet Arab horses, arrived at the royal court and had the happiness of kissing the royal vestibule. But as the king and the army were at that time of the Sunnî persuasion, and the religion of Shâh Ismâ'îl was that of the Imâm Ja'far-i Sâdik (on whom be the blessing of God, the Creator!), and the royal crown [*tâj*] which he had sent was symbolical of the sect of the Twelve [Imâms], Sultân Mahmûd paid no attention to that ambassador or his presents, and quickly gave him permission to depart.[71]

After these events it occurred to the mind of Azamat-ul-Mulk, who as the deputy of Majlis-Rafî', was the *wazîr* of government, that as **Majlis-i-Sharîf Bashîr Khudâwind Khân** had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and used to traverse the valley of rebellion, it was advisable to adopt measures to put a stop to his sedition. He accordingly brought the matter to the notice of the Sultân, who summoned Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik in order to take counsel with him. Majlis-i Mukram obeyed the order, and on making his obeisance was distinguished by royal favours. The Sultân asked his advice and assistance in repelling Bashîr Khudâwind Khân. Majlis-i Mukram concurring with the *amîrs* and great men as to the necessity for putting down the rebel, a royal order was issued for the assembly of the army. When the army was assembled pursuant to order, the Sultân, in the month of Sha'bân in the year 923 (August, **A. D. 1517),** marched with it to make war against Bashîr Khudâwind Khân, who was the **feudatory chief of Mâhûr.** When Bashîr Khudâwind Khân heard of the approach of the Sultân with the royal army, finding himself unable to oppose him, he thought the best thing he could do was to go to Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn 'Imâd-ul-Mulk to ask his assistance and then to engage the royal army. He accordingly took refuge with Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn. The latter felt himself bound to assist him now for the sake of the assistance which he had formerly received from Khudâwind Khân; and therefore told off three or four thousand cavalry to accompany him. Khudâwind Khân reinforced by this army then unfurled his standard and made haste to encounter the royal army. From both sides the fire of killing and fighting blazed up, and the hunter Death hastened to the chase of the lives of the brave men. The eldest son of Khudâwind Khân, who was named Ghâlib Khân, was killed in this action, and the army of Khudâwind Khân then took to flight. When he

[69] Not identified.

[70] There appears to be some confusion here. Dastûr Dînâr's quarrel, on this occasion, is stated to have been with his old ally, Barîd; yet from this statement it looks as though it were with Ismâ'îl 'Âdil-Shâh. There was a quarrel of long standing between these two, but it was amicably arranged by the Sultân — *vide* p. 255.

[71] The name of this ambassador was Mîrzâ Ibrâhîm Khân (or, according to the *Tabakât-i Akbarî*, Yâdgâr Beg Kizilbâsh). He had previously visited the court of Sultân Muzaffar II. of Gujarât, where he was well received by the king; but received very rough treatment there at the hands of Shâhzâdah Sultân Muhammad of Mâlwâ (*vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, pp. 244-7). After leaving the Bahmanî court he went to that of Sultân Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh, who, being a bigoted Shî'ah, gave him a cordial reception (*vide* Farishtah). From the wording of this passage it appears that the author of the *Burhân-i Ma,asir* was himself a Shî'ah.

For the origin of the Tâj-i Haidarî and the term Kizilbâsh, *vide Journal* of the R. A. S., April 1896, p. 255.

heard of the death of his son, although he was himself wounded and had left the battle-field, he drew his sword, and turning back, in one attack broke the ranks of the royal army; but at last owing to his many wounds and his want of strength, he fell from his horse and was taken prisoner by the royal troops, who brought him wounded and bound into the presence of the Sulṭân; and the latter ordered him to be put to death as the requital of his rebellion. After that, the Sulṭân turned towards his capital; and the town of Mâhûr with its dependencies he conferred on Maḥmûd Khân, the youngest son of Khudâwind Khân.

Historians have related that before the execution of Bashîr Khudâwind Khân a royal order was issued to the *amîrs* and great men in all parts of the dominions to assemble with a large force at the royal court in order to repel the refractory. The *amîrs*, acccording to orders, busied themselves in preparing war material and collecting their armies; but before they could make their obeisance at court the heart of the Sulṭân was freed from anxiety on account of those three rebels. Since the *amîrs* were thus kept back from attendance at the court, they now hastened to make their obeisance. Greater than them all, Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî with his army presented himself, and was exalted by royal favours. After him Nûrî Khân Khwâjah Jahân, coming from Pareṇḍâ, paid his respects. The remaining *amîrs* and grandees, such as Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides of the *amîrs* and *maliks*, when they heard of the arrival of the Sulṭân at the court, started for the capital with an army in numbers beyond computation, and making their obeisance offered their services.

When the Sulṭân found such an army assembled beneath the shadow of his standard, he was seized with the desire of obtaining the happiness of waging a *jihâd* against the worshippers of idols; so, for the purpose of overthrowing the idolaters and tyrants, he raised his standard and started from the capital. When the Sulṭân arrived at Dîwânî,[72] the enemy becoming aware of his approach, prepared for battle and hastened to engage the royal army. A battle then ensued; but suddenly a fatal misfortune occurred to the royal army. The King of Islâm, from the centre of the army, which was his post, became separated from the rest; and owing to the thronging of the horses and the running too and fro of the troops, fell from his horse; and when the two armies closed they raised so great a dust that friends and opponents were mingled together and could not be distinguished from one another, so no one was aware of what had happened to the Sulṭân till the blessed head of that leader with his most pure body was broken and wounded in several places. In the midst of this some of the attendants saw the king; and immediately went to him and brought him out from the midst of the horses, and putting him in a *pâlkî*, took him to the dwelling of Mîrzâ Lutf-Ullâh, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh.

When the *amîrs* and grandees became aware of the Sulṭân's misfortune, they ceased fighting and repaired to his presence; and seeing the Sulṭân lamenting and afflicted they shed fountains of blood like the Jaihûn. After that, folding up the carpet of contention and war, they turned towards the capital; and when they arrived in the vicinity of Bîdar each of the *amîrs* and grandees, according to custom, was distinguished by a special robe of honour, and they then turned towards their own districts. Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik did not withdraw from attendance on the Sulṭân, but accompanied him to the capital; and by the Sulṭân's orders he was again invested with the government of Bîdar; and as the Sulṭân's wounds were such that for nearly a year he could not tie his turban on the top of his head, Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik exercised sovereign sway.

The *amîrs* of the capital, Bîdar, who always resented the government of Majlis-i Mukram looked on the bruises of the Sulṭân and the supremacy of Malik Barîd, thinking that something might happen to the Sulṭân and that Malik Barîd would then lay hands on the royal treasures and take possession of the capital and its dependencies; consequently in each head melancholy

[72] Not identified.

forebodings arose, and in each heart secret desires. Day and night their anxiety was by some stratagem to remove Malik Barîd from the fortress of the capital.

In the midst of this Shujâ'at Khân, who was one of the principal *amîrs*, ran away, carrying off with him two female elephants of the Sulṭân's for which the latter had a special liking. A number of those who complained of the government of Malik Barîd represented to the servants of the Sulṭân that Majlis-i Mukram was the only person who had the power to go in pursuit of Shujâ'at Khân; and another advantage in nominating him for the duty was that expediency demanded it. The Sulṭân, according to their advice, appointed Barîd-i Mamâlik to go in pursuit of Shujâ'at Khân. Malik Barîd went in all haste after Shujâ'at Khân, and overtaking him, put him to death; then carrying off the royal elephants with all the horses, baggage and other property of Shujâ'at Khân, returned with great pomp and magnificence, and had the honour of kissing the royal vestibule. So each affair that the *amîrs* had arranged turned out exactly opposite to their wishes and intentions. Day by day the power of Malik Barîd in the affairs of State became greater and greater, till he brought into his own hands the whole of the government and the control of the army and the subjects.

In this interval the **Sultân died.**

* * * * * * * *

This great misfortune, which was the cause of the ruin of the world and the affliction of the human race, occurred on the 24th of Ẕî-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 924 (**26th December, A. D. 1518**) His age was forty-seven years and twenty days, and the duration of his reign was thirty-seven years and two months.

Although during his reign, in the dominions of the Dakhan, owing to the opposition and quarrelling of the *amîrs* and generals, and the numerous plots and the quantity of bloodshed, which were the cause of distress among the people and the desolation of the country; yet as long as this Sulṭân remained alive, all the *amîrs, wazîrs* and *maliks* — notwithstanding their contumaciousness among one another — were, *nolens volens*, loyal to their sovereign, and did not withdraw their heads from the collar of obedience and submission. If now and then one of the *amîrs* got perverse ideas in his mind, all the other *amîrs* and *maliks*, treading the path of obedience with the Sulṭân, joined the latter in putting down rebels, and used to strike out the letter of hypocrisy from the page of submission.[73]

Some historians of the annals of this king state that in the latter days of his reign the reins of government entirely left the hands of the Sulṭân, and that Malik Barîd with the approval of the *amîrs* of all parts of the dominions seated the Sulṭân in the corner of retirement and seclusion, and divided the country among themselves; and that the Sulṭân for a long time after that was a prisoner, till at last he died. But God alone knows the truth of matters!

When the Sulṭân departed this life, all at once anarchy and confusion found their way into the country of the Dakhan: each one of the *amîrs* and great men proclaimed his independence and sovereignty in his own place of residence; and the rights of rebellion and confusion became promulgated in that country. The *amîrs* and *maliks* — like the kings of nations — shut on one another the doors of obedience, and hoisted the standards of independent rule. Consequently the infidels of **Vijayânagar,** seizing the property of the Musalmâns, used each year to make raids into the territory of Islâm, and much injury used to be caused by those infidels to the country of the Musalmâns.

Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, who after that became entitled "'Âdil Shâh;" and Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk who sat on the Ḳuṭb-Shâhî throne, since they were in proximity to

[73] This is an important passage, as it shows how the governors of provinces were justified in declaring their independence on the decline and fall of the Bahmani power. If they had not done so, they would have had to submit to the ignominy of being ruled by Malik Barîd instead of their lawful sovereign. Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk's loyalty asted longest.

the country of the infidels, of course the injury and malice of that tribe of infidels reached in a greater degree the capital, Aḥmadnagar and all the territory of that place ; until the time of Shâh Husain Niẓâm Shâh who extinguished by the sword the sparks of the sedition and annoyances caused by the cursed infidels, as will hereafter, please God ! be related in detail in these pages.

**End of the Bahmanî Dynasty.**

(*To be continued.*)

---

## MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE SETTLEMENTS IN THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

### Preface by R. C. Temple.

THE papers I am now able to publish through the courtesy of the authorities of the India Office have a two-fold interest. In the first place they throw light on the earliest and unsuccessful attempts to settle the Andaman Islands, the site of the great Penal Settlement of the Government of India at the present day, by the celebrated marine surveyor, **Archibald Blair.** In the next place they give us part of the story direct from Blair himself.

I now propose to print the papers as they stand and to supplement them with notes by myself and Mr. E. H. Man, C. I. E., by way of postscript.

**The papers consist of —**

(1) **A letter from Archibald Blair** to the Governor-General, dated **19th April, 1789,** from the Andamans.

(2) **A letter from Archibald Blair** from the Andamans, dated **26th December, 1789,** to his brother, Prof. Robert Blair of Edinburgh, and forwarded by him to Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, and by the latter to W. W. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville of the Ministry of "All the Talents."

(3) A Report by **Mr. Patrick Stone** on the present Port Cornwallis, dated **9th June, 1791.**

(4) An abstract of **Major Kyd's Report,** dated **4th March, 1795,** comparing the present Port Cornwallis at the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island, *i. e.*, Penang, as sites for Convict Settlements.

(5) **Memorandum on the Andaman Settlements,** dated **7th January, 1802.**

### No. I.

### Captain Blair to the Right Hon'ble Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor-General etc., in Council; dated 19th April, 1789.

MY LORD,—Though there is no immediate Conveyance to Bengal, nor a probability of this reaching Calcutta before the arrival of the **Elizabeth and Viper** ; but as there is a possibility of accidents to one or both Vessels, I consider it my duty to leave this Account of my Progress, with the accompanying sketch of the Survey, to be forwarded by Mr. Light.

**We made the land near Port Andaman December 27th** when the Viper unfortunately sprung her main mast, this made it necessary to put in, to repair the damage ; and while the Artificers were employed I had the opportunity of surveying that excellent Harbour. It's situation being on the west side of the great Andaman, consequently rather difficult of access in the S. W. Monsoon is the only reason against it's being considered as an Harbour of great importance. It is well supplied with fresh water which is **noticed in the Chart,** and Nature has made it capable of being well defended, from the Eminence on **Interview Island**; from

whence the two Brooks derive their source. Many parts of this Island are covered with a rich soil, which I have not a doubt will be very productive ; it is over grown with a variety of trees, many of which will certainly answer for masts, and probably also for Plank and crooked timber. **The Island is inhabited by Coffrees** which were so timorous, that I could bring about no further Communication with them, than their acceptance of a few Presents, which they would not receive from our hands, but made signs for them to be laid down on the Beach, when they gladly accepted them. Some parts of the Island which were not covered with trees afforded us a supply of excellent grass. There is plenty of clay fit for Bricks and the shores are covered with shells and Coral which will answer to make lime.

**Having surveyed Port Andaman** to the extent of your Lordship's Instructions, the 11th of January, I began the examination of the Coast to the Southward, the Viper tracing the Bank, and the Elizabeth coasting close to the Island ; and boats were dispatched to examine such Inlets, which had anything promising in their appearance ; but I found none between Port Andaman and **Port Campbell** which appeared worthy of an investigation. A reference to the Chart will best convey an idea, of the indentings of the Coast, and the extent of the Bank, with the very few dangers which extend from the shore. The land is moderately high, very ridgy and everywhere thickly covered with trees.

Port Campbell though a perfect Harbour in the N. E. Monsoon, will be found so difficult of access during the S. W. winds from the narrowness and dangers in its entrance that it will be hazardous if not totally impracticable to enter or quit it in that boisterous season.

The Coast from Port Campbell to the west entrance of **McPherson's Strait,** bears a near resemblance to that port which has been already noticed. At a small distance, the West Mouth of the Strait is not perceptible, by the assemblage of Islands which is termed in the Chart **the Labyrinth,** appearing to shut it up.

Ships rounding the south end of the Great Andaman must be cautious not to approach too close ; to avoid the dangers extending from the **Twins,** and that from the South end of the great Island, both which are noticed in the Chart.

The small strait, between the **Cinque Islands** and the **Great Andaman,** appears to me the best, as well as the shortest Passage, for ships intending to touch on the S. E. side of the Island; there being tolerable anchoring all through that strait, and being entirely clear of danger. Macpherson Strait considered as an Harbour possesses many advantages; it is abundantly supplied with excellent fresh water from the Rivulet marked in the Chart, it is well sheltered from the force of both monsoons; is open both to eastward and westward ; and the stream of the tide which is regular will facilitate the entrance or departure of ships. But with all those advantages it has one very great defect, which is a want of tenacity in the ground which forms the Bottom, which is the major part, Coral, Coral Rock, and Sand, with a very small portion of Clay in some places. Upon the whole it will be considered as bad anchoring Ground, both from it's not holding, and the probability of the Cables being destroyed by the Coral. This Strait is evidently what has been named by **Captain Buchanan, McPherson Bay,** and the Harbour four leagues northward is termed by him **Port Cornwallis.**[1]

It is hardly possible to conceive a more secure Harbour, than Port Cornwallis ; it is easy of access, and at the same time capable of being made very strong, the Bottom is a soft Clay, and it is perfectly skreened from wind and sea, that a ship might run in without anchors or cables and sustain no damage. It's situation will render it easy of access at all seasons and ships may depart from it in either Monsoon. To supply a large Fleet with water in the latter part of the dry season it might be found necessary to construct Reservoirs to collect and preserve it; for after a very laborious search, only three scanty Brooks were found, where the

[1] [The present Port Blair. — ED.]

soil was of such a nature as to absorb the whole before it reached the sea; but if Reservoirs or Wells were made one or two hundred yards from the shore, in the beds of the Brooks, I have no doubt but they would be sufficiently productive to supply a large Squadron; by digging a small well about two feet deep the Viper and Elizabeth were supplied with the quantity that was wanted, from one of the Brooks. The face of the country is entirely covered with wood, and the surface is very uneven, being principally composed of high Ridges and Valleys, both covered with a rich soil and the latter seems capable of the highest cultivation. The woods will afford an inexhaustible store of timber which will certainly answer for masts and other purposes in building or repairing ships. I found many trees of Ebbony, and others which may become valuable articles of trade; a specimen of the latter I shall have the Honour of presenting to your Lordship on my arrival at Calcutta, some of the Plants too were gathered which I am apprehensive will not reach Bengal. While in this Harbour we had regular Land and Sea Breezes, and the Climate, judging from our short stay, appeared to be healthy. The Tides at full and change rise 7 feet but the stream of the tide is hardly perceptible. There is plenty of Fish, but not being provided with netts we caught very few; Pamphit Snappers and Rock Cod abound in the Harbour we also saw turtle but they do not appear to be numerous. The soil in many places will answer for bricks, stones which will answer for building are to be had in plenty, and the reefs will afford a constant supply of shells and coral for lime.

The Natives from their features, colour and hair appear to be descended from Affricans and there is an Account in the *Annals of Goa* that two Portugueze ships with slaves bound to Mallana were lost on their Passage thither about 2 Centurys ago which it is probable may have first peopled the Great Andaman, by being wrecked on that Island. They are probably in the rudest state of any rational animals which are to be found; both sexes go perfectly naked; have no other houses than small huts, or rather sheds, about four feet high; they seem to depend principally on shell fish for their subsistance which they gather on the reefs at low water, and it would appear that they sometimes catch turtle and hogs from their Huts being ornamented with the bones of those animals. Their greatest stretch of ingenuity appears in the construction of their Bows, Arrows, Fish Giggs and small nets. The only appearance of Civilization, is their being formed into small societies and some attention paid to a Chief which, with his family are generally painted red. They seem to have very deep rooted prejudices against strangers, and constantly expressed either fear or resentment when they saw us land, except at Interview Island. We were frequently attacked by them which very much circumscribed our excursions but being constantly prepared, in all our skirmishes with them, when they were invariably the aggressors, we had only one man wounded. By the kindest treatment I could devise when they came on board and dismissing them with presents, I endeavoured in vain to bring about a friendly intercourse with them. Their Behaviour was so excessively wild and contradictory, that I found it impossible to sum it with any degree of certainty or success; their good nature appeared rather predominant, and in one instance I thought I could perceive attachment which inclines me to think, that they, with proper treatment might be made useful to settlers. We could not find the smallest appearance or marks of cultivation in a soil which would be highly productive with moderate labour.

After examining **Diligent Strait and the Archipelago** I proceeded to **Barren Island and found the Volcano in a Violent State of eruption,** throwing out showers of red hot stones and immense volumes of smoke. There were two or three eruptions while I was close at the foot of the Cone, several of the stones rolled down and bounded a good way past the foot of it. After a diligent search I could find nothing of sulphur or anything that answered the description of Lava.

From Barren Island I proceeded to explore for **a dangerous ledge of Rocks**[2] which is only noticed in some of the Charts, but having been seen lately by **Captain Hanna** I was determined if possible to ascertain its situation. I first struck soundings on a large bank which environs

[2] [Now the Invisible Bank. — ED.]

the danger which, with proper attention to the Land, will apprize ships of their danger before they approach it too close. The Ledge is situated in Latitude 11° 0′ 7″ N. and bears from the South end of the Great Andaman[3] E. 16° S. distant 17 Leagues. It is of small extent with high Breakers on it, and some parts are Visible after the Surfs.

Your Lordship's Commands relating to the Andamans being executed, our stock being exhausted and several of the people having disorders (contracted at Calcutta) which required assistance, I determined to proceed immediately for this Island, and arrived here the 3rd Instant. I have now the satisfaction to inform Your Lordship that the Major part of our sick will be fit for duty again in a few days, when **I shall proceed directly for Acheen in order to examine Sidoo Harbour,** and another a little to the Southward of it, which Mr. Light has informed me of. He is also to give me a Letter to the King of Acheen, which I have no doubt will procure me Permission to make the necessary examination.

By the middle or end of June I expect to quit the Coast of Sumatra and to arrive at Calcutta in July, when I shall have the honour of laying before Your Lordship, a more detailed account of the service with particular Plans of the Harbours and a General Chart of the whole Survey.

I have, etc., (Sd.) **Archibald Blair.**

**No. II.**

**Henry Dundas to W. W. Grenville, 1790, August 19. ′ Donira Lodge.**

"**Mr. Robert Blair,** who writes the enclosed, is professor of practical astronomy in the University of Edinburgh, and perhaps one of the most ingenious men and best philosophers you ever knew. The letter he sends to me is from his brother, the officer who you will recollect to have been employed in the survey of **the Andaman harbour,** concerning which we entertain such sanguine expectations. The letter is proper for your perusal in every point of view, but I send it on account of what is stated respecting the opinion of **Commodore Cornwallis.** It is more recent than any thing I have seen. Perhaps there is more recent at the Admiralty or your Office, but nothing official has reached me of so late a date on the subject."

**2 Enclosures :—**

**Number 1. — Robert Blair to Henry Dundas 1790, August 6.**
**Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.**

"I should still have delayed writing, if it were not for a letter which I have just received rom my brother, and which I use the freedom of enclosing, as it may possibly contain some farther information concerning an object, about whose importance such sanguine hopes are, and I hope justly, entertained. As I know how readily you will overlook any impropriety in giving a hint on a subject of which you are so much better a judge, I shall also venture to mention a thought which occurred to me on reading Archibald's letter.

"I have heard through a friend, who has long corresponded with **Lieutenant Mears,** that a proposal has been made to Government to send the convicts to one of the Sandwich Islands (which I believe the Lieutenant has purchased from the Natives) instead of sending them to New Holland.

"Might they not be conveyed at much less expence, and turned to much better account, if sent to colonise **Chatham Island?** The supply of Europeans which would thus be at hand, to recruit our military and naval armaments in India, seems alone to be an object of great magnitude. The limited extent of the island, its proximity to the seat of Government, and the military force and fortifications necessary, at any rate, to protect the harbour, would effectually prevent their ever becoming troublesome. But I have said more than enough on a subject, which, if worth attending to, must have already occurred to you."

[3] In the Genl. Chart the South extreme is named Rutland Island.

**Number 2. — Archibald Blair, to Robert Blair, 1789, December 26. Port Cornwallis,[4] Chatham Island.**

"**Commodore Cornwallis** arrived here the 19th, and seems perfectly satisfied that it is a place of infinite national importance. I have therefore little doubt but the Government of Bengal will instantly take the necessary steps to establish it as our principal naval port in India. He proposes to return here next south-west monsoon, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that he approves of what I have done. He quits this place soon to visit Penang, when I shall be left to execute his commands. The vessel I commanded proceeds to Calcutta with dispatches, and will return with provisions and men.

"The soil is productive, the climate healthy; we are well provided with fish, turtle from **Diamond Island** in great abundance, and vegetables from the **Carnicobar**."

## No. III.

### An Account of the Harbour at the North East end of the Great Andaman Island,[5] by Mr. Patrick Stone, Master of His Majesty's Ship Crown, received per Rodney, 9th June 1791.

**Directions for Sailing in, and out of the Harbour.** — When you are between the North and South reefs you'll see far up the Harbour at the N. W. Corner, two Points with a small Island between them; keep this Isle in sight and run in, or if you should have the Wind N. E. you may turn in with the above Isle from Point to Point, but do not lose sight of it; to make it better known you'll see a remarkable Tree on the left hand point, or the North end of **Long Island**, but indeed you may run into this Harbour with the greatest ease without Danger, only give every point a Birth about 2 Cables length and go the Northward of the little Isle, then haul over to the Southward; be sure you keep the Southernmost point of the Harbours Mouth open with the next, and Anchor on the West side of the little Isle: this is called the Outer Harbour.

**Marks for Anchoring.** — This is such a good and fine Harbour, there are no particular Marks for Anchoring but I would advise Strangers not to go into any of the Coves, 'till they first Sound with their Boats — without it is the South Cove, which is the first Cove on the South side which is clean and clear of all Rocks; You may Anchor in what Water you please, good holding Ground.

**Wooding and Watering.** — Wood in great plenty, you may cut it alongside of the boats, there are many Streams of Water from the Mountains and with a little trouble might be made very convenient.

**Provisions and Refreshments.** — None to be had here at present as there is no Settlement, you may have Fish with the Seine or Hook and Line.

**Fortifications and Landing Places.** — No Fortifications. You may Land any where here the Water being so smooth, but the Sandy bays are preferable.

**Trade and Commerce.** — Neither Trade or Commerce. The People are quite Black with Woolly Hair and of a Savage Disposition, and of a Small Stature.

This Harbour lies in the Latitude 13° 24′ N. and Longitude 93° 20′ Et. It flows full and change at 9 o Clock and rises and falls 7 or 8 feet at Spring Tides. If coming from the Southward and bound into this Harbour, the first remarkable thing is the High Hill called **Saddle Hill**, which is the highest land hereabouts or I believe the highest on the Island; at the foot of Saddle Hill is a Small Isle called **Craggy Island**, but being badly to be seen 'till you run in shore; but what makes it easily known is a remarkable White Rock standing close to it,

4 [Now Port Blair. — ED.]

5 [Now Port Cornwallis. — ED.]

which at a Distance you will take for a large White Patch, on or near the Island; by this time you will see the Entrance of the Harbour, which is about 5 miles to the Northward of Craggy Island. The Land between the two is remarkable having two Hummocks and a Flat between; the Northernmost Hummock stands on the South point of the Harbour. On the North side of the Entrance you will see a Hill which makes a Peninsula, and both from this and the South point runs out a reef of Rocks, but no Danger as they are always above Water, or the Sea breaks over them, but Deep Water Close to them. You will see in the Middle of the Harbour a little Isle with a Spit running from it S. W., but run round the Northward of the Isle, and Anchor where you please; This small Island would be a fine place to plant Guns upon to defend the Harbour: There is a Channel on each side, but the North side is the Broadest and of course the best for Working; This Harbour forms a long square; at the East end is a long Isle lying N. and S. which I call Long Island, between the N. end of it and the N. W. point of the Harbour is the Entrance of what is called the Interior Harbour, going in you will see three Islands, the first the largest, the 2d the next (which is the Island above mentioned as a mark to come in or go out by) the 3d the Smallest, from the N. W. point of Long Island to the middle of this 3d Isle runs a flat shoal of Mud which you must take care of, for you may have 8 fathoms, and the next cast only two or 3 fathoms, all the N. and W. of those Islands is nothing but a flat of soft mud; on any of the Three Islands I have mentioned you may erect convenient Wharfs, as you [have] 3½ and 4 fathoms close to the Rocks, here you might have Storehouses and Hospitals. To the Eastward of the First Island you will see a round low flat Island, which I call round Island, between this and the above other Isles makes the Harbour which you may lye in what Water you please from 17 to 3 fathoms, From round Island runs to the Southward a Spit of Mud and Sand about 2 Cables length with only 3 fathoms on it and 5 close to between this Island and the N. W. point of the Harbour, there are several Streams of Fresh Water and one large spring which may be cleared out with very little trouble where you may have Plenty of Good Water. The largest Ship in the Navy may Anchor within a Cables length of this place to Complete their Water. This Harbour is capable of containing a great number of Ships, and I think it may be made one of the best in the known World, it is commodious and roomy, very easily defended as there is no such thing as to attack it on the Land side or back part being surrounded with a large Shoal lake, or piece of Water, and it is surrounded again with a very thick Jungle or Mangrove Trees which grows in the Water and of Course it must be a Swamp, so you have nothing to Guard but the Harbours Mouth.

## No. IV.

### Abstract of Kyd's Report relative to the Settlements at Prince of Wales' Island and the Andamans; also his Report on the comparative length of the passages between Madras and Bengal and the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island, 1795.

### I. — Major Kyd's first part of a Report relative to the Settlements at Prince of Wales' Island and the Andamans, dated the 4th March, 1795.

P. 2. — One of the principal objects of his visit to Prince of Wales' Island was to enable him to clear up strong doubts that had arisen in his mind respecting the comparative advantages of the Infant Settlement at the Andamans as a Port of refitment and refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain, with those of Prince of Wales Island, [i. e. Penang] which he surveyed and reported upon to Government soon after it was settled in 1787.

P. 3. — Takes a short view of what has hitherto been done by Government for the establishment of a Port of refitment of our Fleets to the Eastward of Cape Comorin, in order to prevent in future that great loss of the most valuable period of the Year for Naval operations, which has heretofore been sustained by the Fleets being obliged to make a long Voyage to Bombay to repair.

P. 4. — **Lacam's Plan** of new Harbour proposed in 1774 or 5 proved to be totally impracticable.

P. 5. — Next Plan was that at Prince of Wales' Island in 1786.

P. 7. — The next was the Andamans in 1788.

P. 8. — Commodore Cornwallis gave a decided preference to the North East Harbour, now Port Cornwallis, and the Settlement was completely effected in 1793.

P. 9. — But Kyd observes that he never at any period found occasion to alter the opinion he had formed of the comparative advantages of the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Islands, as delivered in his Report of the last place in 1787.

P. 11. — Description of the Andamans.

P. 16. — Only 4 Months fair weather in the Whole Year, from December to March.

P. 17. — About the middle of April the rains begin to fall, 'till the end of November, attended with constant hard Wind and most violent Squalls.

P. 18. — Generally tempestuous for 7 Months.

P. 19. — Of the immense quantity of Rain — double the quantity that falls in Bengal when the excess is deemed detrimental to cultivation.

P. 20. — Of the richness of the Soil and the quickness of Vegetation.

P. 21. — Have not had sufficient experience to judge of the effect of the Climate on the human Constitution.

P. 25. — Opinions of the Surgeons that there is nothing peculiarly noxious in the Climate of the Andamans more than in all tropical Climates subject to great falls of Rains.

P. 25. — Every reason to believe that the situation will in the end become healthy, as, from the nature of the surface of the ground, Water cannot lay an hour after the most violent Rain.

P. 26. — Have as yet discovered few or no Trees of real Value for Ship building.

P. 26. — Abundance of Timber fit for the construction of Buildings on Shore.

P. 28. — On the small Spot that has been cleared they have found all the variety of Fruit Trees carried from Bengal.

P. 28. — The culinary Vegetable and some small experiments of Sugar Cane, Indigo, Rice and other Grains thrive wonderfully well.

P. 29. — A description of the Natives. — Never yet in any part of the Globe has the human Race been discovered in a more degraded or savage state.

P. 30. — The Harbour of **Port Cornwallis** is sufficiently capacious for the largest Fleets — easy of ingress and egress, and a safe shelter for Ships at all Seasons.

P. 31. — Comparison between the Andamans and Prince of Wales Island.

P. 32. — Prince of Wales Island — the entrance perfectly safe, having upon it depth enough at low Water spring Tides for the largest Ships of the Royal Navy.

P. 32. — The inner Harbour under Poolajuajah a safe and smooth Bason, where the largest Ships can be transported with the utmost safety in one Tide even with their Guns on board.

P. 32. — On the Island Juajah is space enough for Store Houses and a Marine Yard sufficiently extensive — and Wharfs may be constructed with great ease.

P. 33. — This inner Harbour has the additional advantage of being easily fortified at little Cost.

P. 33. — Since he surveyed it in 1787 the Island has been cleared and cultivated to the extent of at least 25 Square Miles — Abundance of excellent tropical fruits and all the Vegetables common in India.

P. 33. — The Climate temperate and healthy, and entirely free from Gales of Wind and violent weather of every kind.

P. 34. — A considerable population, particularly of industrious Chinese and Natives of the Coast of Coromandel.

P. 34. — A large Town has been built — Shops and Markets filled with every article of refreshment or Supply that a Fleet can be in want of.

P. 34. — A very extensive Commerce is established through the medium of Ships navigated by Europeans, and Prows from the neighboring Countries even as far to the eastward as Calabar — and capable of being increased to a very great extent.

P. 37. — Gives the testimony of Commodore Rainier in his Letter of 31st Decemr 1794, who was at that Island in the *Suffolk*, in favour of Prince of Wales Island over the Andamans.

P. 38. — Commodore Mitchell's Squadron of 5 Ships remained a Month at Prince of Wales' Island, and received abundance of refreshment.

P. 38. — Captain Pakenham of His Majesty's Ship *Resistance* says he has never been in any foreign Port where a Ship of War was so well and easily supplied with every desirable Article.

P. 40. — States the defects of Prince of Wales Island. It's great distance from any of the Company's other Possessions, so that it cannot be reinforced Troops or supplied with Ammunition and Stores, &ca., &ca., &ca.

P. 42. — States the advantages and disadvantages of the Andamans.

P. 48. — Has a full conviction that Prince of Wales' Island all circumstances considered, is infinitely preferable to the Andamans, and that it in fact provides every thing that Government can want for a Port of refitment and refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain to the eastward of Cape Comorin.

[Then follows his **Report of Prince of Wales' Island in 1787, formerly called Penang,** in the Straits of Malacca.]

**II. — Kyd's Report on the comparative length of the passages between Madras and Bengal and the Andamans and Prince of Wales Island.**

During the South West Monsoon (beginning of April to the middle of October) the Passage from Madras to Port Cornwallis does not exceed 8 Days.

Will be much greater to Prince of Wales Island. But towards the end of October the passage is very quick, not exceeding 20 Days.

The passage from either the Andamans or Prince of Wales' Island to Madras during the South West Monsoon is precarious and difficult and will require nearly equal time.

During the North[5] East Monsoon, particularly during the first part of it, Ships cannot with safety remain on the Coromandel Coast. The Passage, both to the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island tedious — 3 weeks must be allowed.

During the whole of the North East Monsoon the Passage in returning is quick and certain — 7 Days from the Andamans — 12 from Prince of Wales' Island.

[5] November, December, January.

In the North East Monsoon the Passage from Bengal to the Andamans is 8 Days — but to Prince of Wales' Island more than double — 24 days the average.

In returning from the Andamans to Bengal 15 Days — from Prince of Wales' Island 25 Days.

During the South West Monsoon, going and coming from the Andamans 8 — Prince of Wales Island 20 Days.

## No. V.

### Memoranda relative to the Settlement at the Andamans, dated 9th January 1802.

The object in establishing a Settlement at the Andamans was to obtain a refitting Post for Ships in time of War.

**The Settlement was begun early in the year 1790** on the Southermost part of the Island, where a Harbour had been discovered by Commodore Cornwallis which in his opinion was suitable for the purpose. But **in November 1792** the Settlement was removed from this part to the N. E. part of the Island where the Commodore had discovered another Harbour, possessing advantages superior to the former, and which was **named Port Cornwallis.** A good test of the Security of this Harbour was afforded soon after the removal of the Establishment, to this part of the Island, by **a Tempest of uncommon Violence** which prevailed at Port Cornwallis by which two of the Vessels were driven on Shore, but got off without any damage to their bottoms and only trivial loss in other respects. The Soil of this part of the Island is excellent and of a rich quality, which when cleared and cultivated will produce the Natural Fruits and grains of Hindostan in great abundance, but from the enormous size and abundance of the Timber the clearing of the Land must be a work of time and great labor. The supplies of Fresh Water are represented also to be so abundant that with little trouble Watering places may be made for supplying the largest Fleets.

The Natives at first appeared extremely jealous of the New Settlers and put to death some Fishermen sent thither from Bengal and for some time continued to shew very little desire of any intercourse, but afterwards became more familiarized.

**Till the Year 1793 the Settlers** in general appear to have **continued healthy** when about the Setting in of the S. W. Monsoon, an uncommon sickness prevailed amongst them, which rendered it imprudent to determine on the fitness of the place for a Naval Arsenal till the cause from whence such sickness had arisen could be determined by further experience, but altho' the Rains were succeeded by favourable Weather which greatly contributed to the recovery of the Sick, the Settlement still continued unhealthy, which was attributed to a sufficient space of Land not being cleared, but in the Season following the Settlement was more healthy than on any former one, altho' there had been an unusual quantity of Rain.

**In the succeeding Season however namely 1795/6the inhospitality of the climate was sufficiently proved,** above 50 of the Settlers and **Mr. Reddick the Surgeon** having died. It was therefore on this ground **determined to withdraw the Settlement,** but to prevent any Foreign Nation attempting an Establishment there, which it was observed was not probable, a Small Vessel was stationed off Port Cornwallis to keep possession. The Governor General in Council observed to the Court that if it should be thought expedient to prosecute the original plan at the end of the War the Settlemt might be reestablished with little disadvantage.

With respect to the advantages and disadvantages of this Settlement compared with those of Prince of Wales Island the Single circumstances of its local Situation being such as to render a communication with all the Companys Settlements so completely easy at all Seasons of the Year was in **Major Kyds** opinion sufficient to determine in its favor provided the Salubriety of the Climate was ascertained, but that in every other respect Prince of Wales Island had the advantage. [January 9th, 1802.]

# NOTES AND QUERIES.

## SIR PROBY THOMAS CAUTLEY.

"AMONG many greater services to India the late **Sir Proby Cautley** diffused largely in Upper India the delicious fruit of the Bombay mango, previously rare there, by creating and encouraging groves of grafts on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges canals." — *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 424, ii.

He was son of the Rev. Tho. Cautley, B D, Rector of Raydon and Stratford S Mary, Suffolk, by Catherine his wife, daughter of the Rev. Narcissus Charles Proby, M. A., Rector of Stratford and of Toddenham in Gloucestershire.

A pamphlet entitled *The Parish Church of Stratford S. Mary, Suffolk*, by the Rev. J. G Brewster, Rector of Stratford, contains the following information :—

"Of mural tablets there are four, all placed in the South Chancel Aisle." . . . . "The next commemorates the Rev. N. C. Proby, M. A, Rector of this parish and of Toddenham, who died Dec. 20th, 1804, in his 66th year; and the next the Rev. T. Cautley, B. D, Rector at the same time of Raydon and Stratford, and buried at the former place. He died July 13th, 1817 The death of his widow is recorded on the fourth tablet, June 5th, 1830." — P. 15.

*List of the Rectors of Stratford.*

**Narcissus C. Proby**, 1784-1803. (Resigned. Buried Dec 27th, 1804)

**Thomas Cautley**, 1803-1817. (Buried at Raydon.) — *Ibid.*, p 16.

There are also three monuments in Stratford churchyard :—

I. (Altar-tomb within rails.) **Rev. Narcissus Cha. Proby**, 20 years R. of this parish, d. 20 Dec., 1804, aged 66; Arabella, his wife, d. 28 Nov., 1841, aged 89; her mother Mrs. Cath. Weller, wid. of Capt. John Weller, R. N., d. 31 Mar., 1792, aged 76; Mary[1] Proby d. 3 Mar., 1868, aged 92.

II. S. side : Cath , wife of **Rev Tho. Cautley**, R. of this parish, dau. of Rev. N. C. Proby, d. 5 June, 1830, aged 55. N. side : **Cha. Will. Cautley**, their inf. son, d. 22 Mar., 1801.

III. (Recumbent cross within same rails as "II.") S. side: **Col. Sir Proby Tho. Cautley**, K C. B., Member of H. M. Indian Council, d. 25 Jan., 1871, aged 69.

From the above information the following tabular pedigree is formed :

Capt. John Weller, R.N.; d. before his wife. = Cath. . . . b. 1715-16; d 31 Mar , 1792, aged 76 (m. i. in Stratford ch'yard)

The Rev. Narcissus Cha. Proby, M.A., R. of Stratford (1784-1803) and of Toddenham, co. Glouc.; b 1737-38; d 20 Dec. 1804 aged 66 (m. i. in Stratford ch. and ch'yard); bur. 27 Dec at Stratford. = Arabella Weller; b. 1751-2; d. 28 Nov., 1841, aged 89 (m. i. in Stratford ch' yard).

Cath. Proby; b 1774-5; d. 5 June, 1830, aged 55 (m. i. in Stratford ch. and ch'-yard). = The Rev. Tho. Cautley, B D, R. of Stratford (1803-1817) and of Raydon; d. 13 July, 1817, (m.i in Stratford ch ); bur. at Raydon.

Mary Proby; b. 1775-76; d. 3 Mar. 1868 aged 92 (m. i. in Stratford ch'yard).

Cha. Will Cautley; d. in inf. 22 Mar, 1801, (m.i in Stratford churchyard).

Col Sir Proby Tho Cautley, K C B, Memb. of H. M. Indian Council; b 1801-2; d. 25 Jan., 1871, aged 69 (m i. in Stratford ch'yard).

CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

---

## FIRE-WORKS AT PANJABI MARRIAGES.

WHEN a marriage party goes with the bridegroom to the bride's house, and the former do not let off good fire-works, the girls and women from the bride's house and its neighbourhood sing a song including the following verse :—

*Asân galliân hûnj gawâiân :*
*Par hawâiân mûl na âiân.*
We cleaned the streets for nothing :
But still no sky-rockets came.

If the bridegroom has really brought no fire-works, the above jocular verses are meant in real earnest, and he is put to much shame.

MÂYA DÂS in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] In White's *Suff. Directory* for 1844, under Stratford S. Mary : "Proby Miss Mary" (p. 260).

# INDEX.

T